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G. J. Petyman

ANNALS
OF
COMMERCE,
MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, AND NAVIGATION,
WITH
BRIEF NOTICES OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES CONNECTED WITH THEM,
CONTAINING THE
COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE AND OTHER COUNTRIES,
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS TO THE MEETING OF THE UNION PARLIAMENT IN JANUARY 1801;
AND COMPREHENDING THE MOST VALUABLE PART OF THE LATE MR. ANDERSON'S HISTORY OF COMMERCE, VIZ. FROM THE YEAR 1492
TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE II, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.
WITH A LARGE APPENDIX,

CONTAINING
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE, | A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRICES OF CORN, &c and
TABLES OF THE ALTERATIONS OF MONEY IN ENGLAND AND | A COMMERCIAL AND MANUFACTURAL GAZETTEER OF THE
SCOTLAND, | UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;
WITH A GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

*The Antient Part composed from the most authentic Original Historians and Public Records,
printed and in Manuscript; and the Modern Part from Materials of unquestionable
Authenticity (mostly unpublished) extracted from the Records of Parliament,
the Accounts of the Custom-house, the Mint, the Board of Trade, the
Post-Office, the East-India Company, the Bank of England,
&c. &c.*

By DAVID MACPHERSON

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PRINTED FOR

NICHOLS AND SON, W. J. AND J. RICHARDSON, J. STOCKDALE, J. WALKER, WILKIE AND ROBINSON,
SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN, G. ROBINSON, WYNNE AND SON, DARTON AND HARVEY,
CLARKE AND SONS, CADELL AND DAVIES, LACKINGTON ALLEN AND CO. J. MAWMAN,
J. HARDING, BLACKSAND PARRY, J. BOOKER, AND J. ASPERNE,
LONDON;
AND FOR MUNDELL AND SON, EDINBURGH.

1805.



EDINBURGH, PRINTED BY MUNDELL AND SON.

THE SECOND VOLUME CONTAINS

(PART II)

The commercial Transactions of the British Kingdoms and other Countries, from the Discovery of America in the year 1492 to the Union of England and Scotland in 1707, originally written by the late Mr. Anderson, and now re-edited with the Retrenchment of Superfluous Matter, with Additions, and with Amendments.

ANNALS OF COMMERCE.

A. D. 1492.

IT is not our intention to transcribe all the relations, which have been so often published in every part of Europe on the subject of the discovery of America, nor to enter minutely into the motives which induced the Genoese navigator, Christopher Colon (commonly called Columbus), to attempt so great an enterprize. The opinion of most authors is, that he founded his scheme upon his knowledge of the structure of the globe, in which he certainly surpassed the navigators of his age. But others, with greater probability, tell us, that he was assisted by the discoveries actually made by preceding navigators, and particularly by those of Martin Behem of Nuremberg. It is asserted, that the whale-fishers of Biscay had discovered the cod banks near Newfoundland about a century before the age of Columbus, of which he was informed. Canes, canoes, and dead bodies, resembling none of the people of Europe, were found floating in the sea, and were sometimes driven on the shores of the Azores (or Western islands) by strong westerly winds. It is said, that Columbus met with a sailor, who informed him, that having been driven by a storm about 450 leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, he had found a piece of timber floating on the water, curiously wrought, but apparently without the use of any tool made of iron; and that a Portuguese vessel had actually been driven on the coast of some part of America in the year 1484, the pilot of which afterwards lodged and died in the house of Columbus, who then lived in the Azores; and that from that man's conversation, and his charts and journals, Columbus found sufficient assurance of the existence of a western land. At any rate, he

was certain, that by persevering in a western course he should arrive at the eastern coast of Asia, if he did not fall in with any intervening land *.

His greatest difficulty was, to find the means to make the attempt, he himself being a poor and obscure person. He first proposed to undertake the discovery in the service of his native city of Genoa; but the senate treated it with ridicule. He next addressed himself to John II, king of Portugal, who, it is said, kept him unfairly in suspense, till a ship, he had secretly sent to attempt the discovery, returned unsuccessful, and then rejected his proposal. He next applied to the court of Spain, where he solicited for eight years, during which time he sent his brother Bartholomew on the same errand to the court of England. After many ignorant objections to his proposal by the Spanish courtiers, he at length obtained three ships, with ninety men. In August 1492, he sailed from Palos in Andalusia, and in thirty-three days landed in one of the Lucay or Bahama Isles, which he named St. Salvador (at present known by the name of Cat-Island), having sailed 950 leagues directly westward from the Canaries. He sailed thence to the westward, and at last discovered the great island of Cuba; but he no where found the riches he hoped for, there being neither gold, manufactures, nor product found among the simple and innocent natives; who had no poultry, oxen, sheep, goats, swine, horses, asses, camels, elephants, cats, nor dogs, excepting a dumb unbarking creature, resembling our dogs. Neither had they any lemons, oranges, pomegranates, quinces, figs, olives, melons, vines, nor sugar-canes; neither apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, currants, gooseberries, rice, nor any other corn but maize, on which, and on cassada and other wild roots, and on fish, they usually fed, and occasionally on worms and other vermin bred in rotten trees; neither knew they the comforts of fire-light, either by oil, wax, or tallow-candles; nor had they any iron instruments. Yet (such are the almost marvellous effects of commerce and navigation, joined to a tropical climate) those very isles are, in our days, plentifully stocked with all such conveniences, (the vine only excepted, which does not usually thrive so near the equator), which are long since naturalized to their climate. It is true, that on the middle continent of America (which was not discovered till the former part of the next century), the Spaniards found the natives of Mexico and Peru much more civilized than in any other part of America, whether islands or continent; they had better houses and temples; they made a sort of cotton cloth; they had wooden swords and spears, hardened by fire, and pointed with flint; and although they had no iron, yet in Peru they had copper tools, instruments, and vessels.

* To find the way to the East Indies was undoubtedly the object of Columbus; and he was encouraged to expect the accomplishment of it by the position of the eastern parts of Asia in the maps of Ptolemy, who has extended them eastward to a prodigious distance beyond their true situation. *M.*

Herrera, the great Spanish historian of America, expressly affirms, ' That neither on the continent, nor isles of the West-Indies, (the name the Spaniards usually give to all America), were there either silk, wine, sugar, olives, wheat, barley, or pulse; all which, and many other things, have been transplanted thither from Spain.' Their own original productions were only tobacco, indigo, cochineal, cotton, ginger, cocoa, pimento, sundry useful drugs and woods for dying, furniture, physic, and ship and house-building. Our British colonists have since found plenty of ironstone, as also copper and lead mines. And it is from those two countries of Spain and Portugal, that Europe has been supplied with that immense quantity of treasure, which has so much enriched and improved it. From Peru and Mexico, as also from some West-India isles, Europe has been supplied with great quantities of excellent materials for dying, (and above all, with that incomparable one of cochineal, hitherto peculiar only to Mexico), drugs, gums, colours and minerals for painters, preserved fruits of their own growth, ginger, Jamaica pepper (called pimento), tobacco, furs, skins, and many excellent timbers; all which were originally in those countries, but which have, by the cultivation of the Europeans, been since improved in quality, and much increased in quantity: So that, upon the whole, it may be said, that, even abstracting from the gold and silver of America, there has really been a greater accession of rich and useful materials for commerce introduced into it by the Europeans (their great improvements of American productions jointly considered) than all America afforded, before it was known to Europe; all which, through the benignity of the climate, and the fertility of the virgin soil of America, have long since repaid, and do still continue to supply Europe with immense usury. This, it is true, was also mostly the case with respect to many of the colonies settled in ancient times by the Arabians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, though perhaps not in so eminent a degree as in the modern case of the plantation of America.

Columbus, in his way homeward, called at the great and fine island of Espanola (or Hispaniola), where he bartered bits of glass, small hawk bells, and such other trifles, with the natives, for plates of virgin gold, which they wore as ornaments, beaten into shape with a stone, and made without melting or refining the ore, of which they were totally ignorant. Here he lost his best ship; and, leaving forty-nine of his men in a wooden fort, he returned to Spain, full of glory, having been no longer than six months and an half in making these discoveries, from his setting out to his return.

That America could not have been much longer hid from the Europeans seems at least probable, by reason that the use of the magnetic needle in navigation was general, if not universal; more especially after the Portuguese went so far southward in their discoveries on the west

coasts of Africa, which, lying so near to Brasil, any strong easterly wind would have brought them on that coast, as was actually the case in the year 1500. There is also one part of our old continent which lies yet nearer to America than the most westerly part of Africa does to Brasil, viz. the north part of Norway-Lapland, opposite to New-Greenland, which is now known to be a part of the American continent: But the island of Iceland, known and peopled from Norway many centuries prior to the discovery in question, is yet nearer to another part of America.

Thus have we endeavoured, as briefly as consisted with perspicuity, to exhibit the original grounds and actual accomplishment of the discovery of America by Columbus.

1493.—Loaded with honours, titles, and applause, that now great man set out in the following year on his second voyage to Hispaniola, which continued to be the principal colony of Spain in America, until Cortes conquered the kingdom of Mexico in the year 1519. Thither Columbus now carried fifteen hundred men in seventeen ships, with provisions and ammunition in abundance, and also seeds of various kinds, horses, cows, hogs, &c. implements of husbandry, and tools for working silver and gold mines; commodities for barter, and many other necessary things. And as his forty-nine men, with their fort, were destroyed, he now built several new forts, and founded the present capital city of that island, which he named St. Domingo; but the numbers he brought with him now excited a jealousy in the minds of the Indian caciques or princes, which engaged him in a bloody war with the numerous natives, a third part of whom were, it seems, destroyed by the Spaniards in three or four years. By a tax of gold-dust, to be gathered by the natives out of their rivers and brooks, he amassed a good deal of treasure, which he sent home to his Catholic Majesty; and he returned home in 1496, to answer the accusations raised against him by the Spanish settlers at Hispaniola; which island, however, had not hitherto made Spain gainers upon the whole, by reason of the very expensive embarkations to it, and the maintenance of garrisons, &c. Pope Alexander VI, upon application from King Ferdinand the Catholic, granted him the sovereignty of this new world; and to prevent disputes between Spain and Portugal, he particularly confirmed to the Spanish crown all the countries which they already had, or which they afterward should discover, westward of a line drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verd isles; but the king of Portugal, objecting to that division, it was this same year agreed between the two crowns, that the line of division should (according to Herrera, &c.) be removed 270 leagues farther west; and that all that should be discovered east of it should belong to Portugal, and all west of it to Spain; those two nations thus modestly claiming an exclusive right to both the Indies, and thereby effectually barring the rest of Christendom from all

future hopes of making any new discoveries, east, west, south, or north, in the whole habitable world !

In the second voyage Columbus visited the considerable isle of St. John de Porto Rico, where there was plenty of timber, but no European grain ; their bread being chiefly cassada root. There were said to have been wild grapes, but they never made wine of them ; they had also pimento and cotton. The Spaniards are said to have destroyed most of the natives, very few now being left in that fine isle, of late much neglected by Spain, although its situation be extremely happy, between Hispaniola on the west, the Virgin and Caribbee isles on the east, and Terra Firma southward ; and its productions, natural and naturalized, said to be equal to any of the other isles, were they equally cultivated.

From this year 1493, when they first began to bring home any considerable quantity of treasure from America to Spain, to the year 1724, Ustariz, an eminent modern Spanish author, asserts, that the gold and silver brought home amounted to five thousand millions of dollars or pieces of eight, being above twenty-one and an half millions yearly on a medium, equal to upwards of five millions Sterling yearly : Yet as all this treasure necessarily goes out every year to other European nations for their manufactures and product, with which Spain and its Indies are supplied in immense quantities, some have been of opinion, that it had been happier for Spain if she had never planted in America, without she had at the same time cultivated manufactures of all kinds, whereby she might have not only kept much of her American treasure within herself for the support of her manufactures, but also those manufactures would, by a necessary increase of people, have contributed to make up the loss of the native Spaniards transplanted in great numbers to America.

Authors compute, that soon after the planting of Mexico and Peru, the quantity of money in Europe was doubled, in respect to what it was before ; wherefore the rates or prices of all things were also doubled : which proportionably decreased the profits of Spain by her American colonies. Baron Montesquieu is of opinion, that in about little more than 200 years, the specie or money of Europe has been doubled five times ; and that it is now, to what it was before the Indian treasure came amongst us, as 32 is to 1. Yet this computation will probably seem much exaggerated to many, who know that a very great part of the silver annually brought from America has been every year transported to East-India, from whence no part of it ever returns to Europe ; neither do the advanced prices of provisions, &c. at this time, bear any near proportion to that author's supposition. Before this grand discovery, the courts of princes in Europe had not the lustre of modern times, though more crowded with attendants, who however were sustained at a much smaller charge than could be done in our days. But when

Spain poured into Europe those American treasures, Europe soon put on a new face; for Spain, having little product, and less manufacture of her own, could by no means keep those treasures to herself, but was obliged to disperse them among the more industrious nations of Europe, to pay for their own wants at home, and more especially for almost the whole of their cargoes for America; infomuch that it soon appeared that the far greater part of the treasures of America centered in the manufacturing and trading countries of Europe.

The archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, having made peace with France, seemed less regardful to keep due measures with Henry VII king of England, with respect to the encouragement given by the duchess dowager to the pretender called Perkin Warbeck. This provoked Henry to break off all commerce with the Netherlands, and to banish the Flemings out of England; whereupon the archduke banished the English out of Flanders, which carried all the English trade directly to Calais; but this could not hold long, the trade being of equal conveniency to both parties.

This suspension of a direct commerce with the Netherlands gave the German Steelyard merchants a very great advantage, by their importing from their own Hanse towns great quantities of Flemish merchandize into England, to the considerable detriment of the company of English merchants-adventurers, who were wont to import such directly from the Netherlands; whereupon the London journeymen, apprentices, and mob, attacked and rifled their warehouses in the Steelyard; but those rioters were soon suppressed, and duly punished.

The manner of making presents to ambassadors in those times was different from the modern more elegant one, though probably more expensive. We find the ambassadors of Denmark, at their audience of leave of king Henry VII, were ordered the following presents, viz. To the chancellor of Denmark L. 100; to the doctor L. 40; to the chancellor's brother L. 20; to the herald L. 10.—[*Fædera*, V. vii, p. 516.]

The same year the alliance between England and Spain was renewed; and the marriage-contract, made three years before, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catherine (with her portion of 200,000 crowns), was now also confirmed. [*Fædera*, V. xii, p. 517.]

An act of the Scottish parliament, this same year, directs that ships and busses for the fishery be built in all sea-ports, so as none of them be under 20 tons burden; and that they be provided with nets, &c. And that the magistrates of those towns compel all idle persons to serve in them.

1494.—The Hanseatic historian Werdenhagen [V. ii, part 4, p. 10.] acquaints us, that the powerful dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg, having with a great force invested the city of Brunswick, the Hanseatic league

so effectually supported that famous member of their confederacy, that they effected an amicable composition between both parties.

In this same year (according to Sir James Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, p. 29.) the Irish statutes were first written in English; whereas the laws of former parliaments were in the old French tongue, and digested into rolls.

The Scottish parliament now made a law, obliging all workmen and tradesmen to submit to the regulations of the civil magistrates, with regard to the prices of things sold by them, more especially of eatables and drinkables. Another Scottish law of this year obliged all freeholders to put their eldest sons to schools to learn Latin, and afterwards for three years to study philosophy and law.

Toward the close of this century, the excellent science of algebraical arithmetic began to be known in Europe; a science which has proved extremely useful in many parts of the mathematics, and in all calculations for interest, annuities for lives and terms, reversiones, discounts, &c. The earliest printed author on it was Lucas de Burgo, an Italian friar, whose work was printed at Venice this year. It is said an Arabian, named Geber, was the inventor of this noble art, about the year 950; though some think that the Persians, Indians, and Chinese, had it much earlier; while others again ascribe its invention to the Greeks, as far back as Plato's time.

King Henry VII, for the accommodation of such of his subjects as should trade to Italy with their ships and merchandize, appointed Benedict and Laurence Bomuci, jointly and separately, to be consuls and presidents of the English merchants at Pisa, and the places adjacent in Italy, upon the same terms or allowance with former consuls, viz. one-fourth part of a ducat upon every 100 ducats. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 553.]

1495.—Upon the death of Don Juan, the heir of the crown of Castile, the people of all ranks clothed themselves in white serge; which, (says Herrera) was the last time that white mourning was used in Spain.

Emanuel king of Portugal, about this time ordered all the Jews and Moors to leave his kingdom by a prefixed time, or else to be perpetual slaves. The Moors immediately withdrew into Africa; but from the Jews he took all their children under fifteen years old, and baptized them; and the old ones were so perpetually harrassed, persecuted, and designedly obstructed in their journey out of that country, that, to avoid the perpetual slavery intended, they outwardly consented to be baptized, but inwardly retained their old religion, and therewith doubtless an irreconcilable hatred to their persecutors. [*Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe*.]

This year was auspicious to the British empire by a treaty being concluded for a marriage between James IV king of Scotland, and the lady Margaret, daughter of Henry VII king of England, which laid the

foundation of an happy union of the two kingdoms ; yet the dowery and portion were not adjusted till the year 1500, nor the consummation till 1504. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 572.]

1496.—After many mutual complaints and differences, and a long suspension of commerce between England and the Netherlands, during which, (says Lord St. Albans), the merchants-adventurers, being a strong company at that time, and well underfet with rich men, held out bravely, taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent, a new and solemn treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was concluded between king Henry VII and the archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, which, for its excellency and importance, was dignified by the Netherlanders with the name of *intercurfus magnus*, both because it is more complete than preceding ones, and also to dignify it from the treaty that followed in the 21st year of the king (1506), which they called *intercurfus malus*; in substance as follows.

I) Mutual liberty allowed on both sides to trade to each others dominions, without asking for licence or passport.—To carry all manner of merchandize, whether wool, leather, victuals, arms, horses, jewels, or any other wares, either by land or water, from Calais, England, and Ireland, to the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Mechlin, and from these provinces to Calais, England, and Ireland ; and that both parties may freely resort to and unload at all the customary ports, and reload, and thence freely depart.

II) Merchants, mariners, &c. may, on both sides, carry weapons of defence in their ships, and bring them on shore to their lodgings, where they shall leave their swords, daggers, &c. till they go onboard again.

III) The fishers on both sides may freely fish on the seas, without any safe conduct asked ; and when driven into each others ports, by tempest or other necessity, they shall be safe there, and have free liberty to depart at pleasure, paying the customary dues.

IV) Pirates, and ships of the enemies of either party, shall not be permitted to rob, or otherwise injure the subjects of either party in their respective havens and countries ; nor to land nor sell there the goods or ships taken from either party.

V) And to the end that captures of ships, persons, and goods, may hereafter cease between both parties, it is agreed, that security, to double the value of ship and goods, be given by shipmasters setting out on a voyage, that they shall not commit any piracy or robbery on the subjects of the other party.

VI) The ships of either party, driven into the ports of the other party, by storm, enemies, &c. shall remain there safely, and may depart again freely ; but they shall not open nor unload their merchand-

ize, without a visible necessity, and without the presence and consent of the custom-house officers.

VII) The merchants, mariners, &c. of both parties shall not import into the other party's country the goods of an enemy to that party.

VIII) If it shall happen, that a ship of either of the contracting parties be wrecked on the shores of the other party, though there shall not be found therein alive either man, woman, cat, dog, or cock *, yet the goods in the said ship shall be preserved, and laid up for a year and a day, by the proper officers of the place ; within which time the proper owners may come and make out their claim, and receive the goods, paying the requisite expenses for recovering and keeping the same.

IX) The merchants of both parties shall have proper houses for themselves and their merchandize, in the several towns and cities of the other party, with the same privileges and immunities as have been customary before the last fifty years ; and shall, in all respects, be as kindly treated as any other foreign nation residing there.

X) The officers in either country, appointed for searching for contraband goods, shall perform it civilly, without spoiling them, or breaking the chests, barrels, packs, or sacks, under pain of one month's imprisonment. And when the searchers shall have opened them, they shall assist in the shutting and mending of them, &c. Nor shall they compel the owners to sell or dispose of the same against their own inclinations.

XI) If the English residing in the Netherlands shall suspect a debtor there to intend an elopement, the debtor may be compelled to give security there for paying the debt ; and the Netherlands in England shall enjoy the same benefit.

XII) Upon any damage or violence done to the subjects of either of the contracting parties, the damaged party shall not immediately take out letters of marque or reprisals, nor arrest either the person or goods of the accused party ; but shall first warn and summon him before his respective prince, who alone ought to give redress to the injured party.

XIII) All letters of marque and reprisals shall be called in, and shall remain suspended on both sides, unless it shall be otherwise determined by a future congress of both parties.

XIV) And as it is forbidden to the English and others to enter the castle of Sluys in Flanders ; it is now stipulated, that in case, through ignorance, or any other cause not appearing to be fraudulent, any merchants, or other subjects of the king of England, shall happen to enter the gate of the said castle, they shall not, merely for that cause, be injured in their persons nor goods.

* This is an enlargement of the former wreck-law in favour of the sufferers.

XV) The English shall freely bring bullion of gold and of silver through the Netherlands from other countries, in order to carry the same into England, provided they bring certificates from the proper officers of those other countries, of the quantity of bullion so bought or otherwise lawfully acquired.

XVI) None but the public and anciently known and received weights shall be used in either country.

XVII) For conservators of this peace and intercourse of commerce, there were appointed by king Henry VII, on the part of England, sundry lords therein named, and likewise the mayors and aldermen of London, York, Bristol, Winchester, Canterbury, Rochester, Southampton, Sandwich (Zandwic), Dover, Lynn, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Hull, Winchelsea, Boston, Yarmouth, and Berwick; who also bound themselves to the archduke Philip, under the obligation of all their goods, present and future, to endeavour to the utmost of their power, that their sovereign king Henry VII should faithfully keep it inviolable in all its parts: And on the part of the archduke there were likewise bound several lords of his countries, and also the burgomasters of Gaunt, Bruges, Ypres, Dunkirk, Newport, Antwerp, Bergen-op-zoom, Doort, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Zirikzee, Terveer, Mechlin, and Briel, to see the said peace and intercourse of commerce faithfully kept.

Signed at London, 24th Feb. 1495-6; ratified April 1476.

Whereupon (says Lord St. Albans, in his *history of king Henry VII*), the English merchants returned to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and joy.

The reader, who knows the histories of those times, will, we apprehend, plainly perceive the reasons for the Netherlands stiling this treaty the *intercurfus magnus*; as it is, indeed, a very distinct and ample one for the prevention of all depredations and wrongs on either side, as well as for a free and undisturbed fishery and commerce.

We need not here remark, that the ancient way of cautionary conservators, both of nobility and cities, for the keeping of such treaties, is long since laid aside between princes and states, as not answering any valuable end: Yet, in treating with the Hanse towns, and other popular governments, such conservators might have possibly added some force to their treaties. For this very treaty is declared to be made not only between the sovereigns of both countries, but also between the vassals, cities, and subjects; and that those alone who should do any injury should be punished, and none others; the peace, nevertheless, remaining in full force. And this treaty was not only signed by the plenipotentiaries of both princes, but was likewise signed and sealed by the burgomasters of the cities of the Netherlands above mentioned; all which is thereby declared to be for the greater security of amity and commerce.

We now come to the first attempt by England for the discovery of unknown countries. King Henry VII, perceiving his error in neglecting the proposal of Columbus, thought to retrieve it by his grant on the 5th of March 1495-6, to John Cabot (or Gabota), a citizen of Venice, then settled at Bristol, and to his sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanches, authorising them to navigate all the parts, countries, and bays of the eastern, western, and northern seas, under the English flag, with five ships, and as many men as they shall judge proper, at their own sole costs and charges, to discover the countries of gentiles or infidels, in whatever part of the world they may be situated, which have hitherto been unknown to all christians*; with power to them, or any of them, to set up our banners in any town, castle, island, or continent of the countries so to be discovered by them: And such of the said towns, castles, or islands, so found out and subdued by them, to occupy and possess, as our vassals, governors, lieutenants, and deputies, the dominion, title, and jurisdiction thereof, and of the *terra firma* or continent so found out remaining to us; provided (says this wary king) that out of all the profits, emoluments, advantages, gains and produce arising from this navigation or expedition, the said Cabot and sons shall be obliged to pay us, for each voyage they shall so make, on their return to our port of Bristol (to which port they are hereby absolutely bound to steer), after all needful costs and charges are deducted, one fifth part of the whole capital gain, either in merchandize or in money.—The said Cabots to be free from all customs on the goods they shall so import.—The lands they shall so discover and subdue shall not be frequented nor visited by any others of our subjects, without the licence of Cabot and his sons, under forfeiture, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 595.]

Here was a sufficient charter to the Cabots for taking possession of all the continent of North America, had they had resolution and means sufficient for planting what they the following year discovered; or rather, had this king had spirit and generosity enough to support such a plantation at his own expense, whereby the English would not only have been the first discoverers, but would have had the start of all other nations, in being the first planters of the American continent. They set out (says lord St. Albans) with one Bristol ship, and three from London, loaded with gross and flight wares, and went as far as the north side of Terra di Labrador, in $67\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude.

Captain Fox, in his book called the North-West Fox, printed in the year 1635, says he took the way towards Iceland from beyond the Cape of Labrador, until he found himself in 58 degrees and better; thence he sailed southward along the shores of America, as far as the isle of

* King Henry evidently pays no regard to the Pope's division of the undiscovered parts of the world between Spain and Portugal.

Cuba; and so returned back to England; where, king Henry VII being engaged in a war with Scotland, there was no inclination to any farther discoveries of the new world; so that Sebastian, the most active and ingenious of the Cabots, entered into the service of Spain, and was instrumental in farther American discoveries. Hakluyt (in the dedication of the 2d volume of his voyages to Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, 1599), asserts, with justice, that not only the principal Spanish writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, Francis Lopes de Gomora, and the most learned Venetian, John Baptista Ramusio, as also the French geographer Popliniere, &c. all acknowledge, with one consent, that of the great tract of land, from 67 degrees northward to the latitude of Florida, was first discovered by England, as above. The president De Thou, or Thuanus, (l. xlv.) speaking of the first discovery of Florida, about the beginning of the next century, which the Spaniards absolutely claim to themselves, has this expression, viz. 'But what is more certain, and which very many affirm, long before this time, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian navigator, not unskilled in astronomy, under the authority of Henry VII, king of England, and in emulation of Columbus (whose fame at that time was spread abroad), did, in the year 1496, first of any arrive in this province.' Herrera likewise, in his general history of America, says of Cabot's expedition, 'That he advanced as far as 68 degrees of north latitude, and finding the cold very intense, even in July, he durst not proceed any farther; but that he gave a better account of all those parts than any other had done.' How weak then are the pretensions of France to the prior discovery of North America, alleging that John Verazzani, a Florentine, employed by their king Francis I, was the first discoverer of those coasts, seeing that king did not come to the crown till above nineteen years after Cabot's discovery of the whole coast of North America, between 68 degrees north and the south end of Florida? So that, from beyond Hudson's bay, (into which bay also Cabot then sailed, and gave English names to sundry places therein), southward to Florida, the whole extent of North America, on the eastern coast, does, by all the right that prior discovery can give, belong to the crown of Great Britain; excepting, however, what our monarchs have, by subsequent treaties with other European powers, given up or ceded. These authentic authors are a cloud of evidences, greater than which cannot perhaps be matched in history; and even Columbus himself saw not the continent of America till the year 1497: Yet, as sundry new interests, claims, and encroachments have been made since the times in which they flourished, the nations to which they belonged would not probably be sorry that their testimonies were buried in eternal oblivion. The main end of the above attempt of Cabot's from England was said, by the writers of and near those times, to have been to discover a north-west passage to the

Indies or spice-islands, or China, then called Cathaya, whither some travellers had gone over land in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries. Cabot having sailed as far north as $67\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, the land which he first saw was the country between the mouth of the river of Canada and Hudson's Strait, and which he therefore named *Prima Vista* [*i. e.* first seen] which name it soon lost, and next got the name of *Corterealis* from a Portuguese, who, from Lisbon, fell in with that coast in the year 1500, calling also the north part of it *Estotiland*. After the French had settled in Canada, they called the whole country *New France*. Lastly, from the English discoveries on the north parts of that country, deep into the bay of Hudson, it was called *New Britain*; though the Portuguese, in some of their maps, call it *Terra di Labrador*, its only product hitherto being peltry, furs, and feathers*.

The first statute made in England, giving any particular directions concerning impotent beggars [*11. Hen. VII, c. 2.*] directs, that every beggar not able to work, shall resort to the hundred where he last dwelt, is best known, or was born; and shall there remain, upon pain of being set in the stocks three days and three nights, with only bread and water, and then shall be put out of town. A poor relief this for those impotent people! Yet as there were monasteries and nunneries every where, which had good incomes and warm kitchens, the poor had then a much better chance than if they were now to be referred only to such precarious relief.

Foreigners residing in England, having frequently been made denizens by letters-patent from the king, whereby they had the substantial benefit of paying no higher customs, &c. than natural born subjects, they greatly abused that privilege, by colouring the merchandize of other foreigners or merchants-strangers, by entering their merchandize at the custom-houses as their own proper goods.

To obviate this fraud, a law was made [*11. Hen. VII, c. 14.*] that all merchants-strangers, made denizens by letters-patent or otherwise, should hereafter pay such customs and subsidies for their goods and

* As Mr. Anderson builds so much upon the priority of the discovery of the continent of America by Cabot in the service of England, it is a pity that authors do not agree in the date of it. But, without repeating the discordant authorities of those who date it in 1496, 1498, and 1499, we may depend on the contemporary testimony of alderman Fabian, who says, that he sailed in the beginning of May, in the mayoralty of John Tate (*i. e.* 1497), but returned in the subsequent mayoralty of William Purchase, with three *salvages* from Newfoundland. Fox also quotes the following inscription, engraved near Newfoundland, in a map published by Sebastian, the son of John Cabot.

' A. D. 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian his son, with an English fleet, set sail from Bristol, discovered that island, which before that time no man had attempted, on the 24 of June.'

This date (1497) has accordingly been adopted by the judicious authors, Raynal, Forster, Henry, Robertson, &c.

Without paying any attention to priority of discovery, the English could found their right, at least to a very great part of their territories in America, on the much more honourable title of a purchase from the aboriginal proprietors. M.

merchandize, inward and outward, as they should have paid if such denization had never been granted them.

This year (or the beginning of the year 1497) Columbus arrived at the port of Venezuela; but not being then certain that it was a part of the continent of South America, and Americus Vespucius going soon after on that coast, he (says Herrera) artfully gained the glory of the discovery of the continent; although, when Columbus came again on that coast, he made it appear that it was the same he had discovered before.

An act of parliament [11. *Hen. VII, c. 4.*] gives directions for making weights and measures, as a public standard all over England, to be taken from those in the exchequer, and to be lodged in the principal cities and towns; from which standards other weights and measures were to be made, sealed, and marked, for private use. Those cities and towns were the shire-towns, and most frequented places in each county, and therefore needless to be here particularized, as being the same as at this time.

1497.—The Portuguese, since the discovery of Africa as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, seem to have contented themselves with what they had already done, till the year 1497, when king Emanuel determined to push his inquiries farther. He therefore sent out Vasco de Gama with three ships and a tender, who, in five months time, got to the north-eastward of that famous promontory, and at Mozambique (where they spoke Arabic) he got a Moorish pilot for Quiloa and Mombaza on the same coast, where he found large ships from Arabia and India; and here he found the Moors possessed of sea-charts, quadrants, and even of the compass; and at Melinda he got a Guzerat pilot for Calcut in India, which he found to be a large and populous place, where there were above 1500 sail of ships, ill built, and worse supplied with proper tackling, &c. for long voyages; neither had they as yet there got the use of the compass; but they carried on a great trade in spices and other Indian merchandize; and here he found some Moorish merchants and one Italian. Thence he returned back to Melinda, and so home, in about twenty-six months, to Lisbon. So here was a surprising new theatre for commerce opened for Portugal to act on, which we shall see they for a long time improved to good purpose, till riches brought on pride, prodigality, and effeminacy amongst the people, whereby a door was opened for other nations to strip them of their large possessions and trade in India.

We have an act of parliament [12. *Hen. VII, c. 6.*] intitled 'Every Englishman shall have free recourse to certain foreign marts, without exaction to be taken by any English fraternity;' which very much helps to clear up the disputes which took up so many pages of pamphlets, and even of entire books, from this time downward for near 200

years, between the separate merchants-adventurers * or traders, from many parts of England, on one side, and a select company of merchants, which had existed for 200 years, and about these times began to give themselves the pompous title of the Company of Merchants-Adventurers of England, though they were not dignified by royal charter with this title till the year 1505. The preamble to this statute, of which we here give the substance, sets forth (by way of petition to the House of Commons, from the merchants-adventurers residing in divers parts of England out of the city of London), That whereas they trade beyond sea with their goods and merchandize, as well into Spain, Portugal, Bretagne, Ireland, Normandy, France, Seville, Venice, Dantzic, Eastland, Friseland, and many other parts †; there to buy and sell, and make their exchanges, according to the laws and customs of those parts; every one trading as seems most to his advantage, without exaction, fine, imposition, or contribution, to be had or taken of them, or any of them, to, for, or by any English person or persons: And in like sort they, before this time, have had, used, and of right ought to have and use the like commerce into the coasts of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and other adjacent parts, under the obedience of the archduke of Burgundy; in which places are usually kept the universal marts or fairs, four times in the year; to which marts all Englishmen, and divers other nations, in time past, have used to resort, there to sell their own commodities, and freely to buy such merchandize as they had occasion for; till now of late, that the fellowship of the mercers, and other merchants and adventurers, dwelling, and being free within the city of London, by confederacy amongst themselves, for their own singular profit, contrary to every Englishman's liberty, to the liberty of the said mart there, and contrary to all law, reason, charity, right, and conscience, have made an ordinance amongst themselves, to the prejudice of all other Englishmen, that no Englishman, resorting to the said mart, shall either buy or sell any merchandize there, unless he shall have first compounded and made fine with the said fellowship of merchants of London, at their pleasure, upon pain of forfeiture to the said fellowship of such their said merchandize: Which fine, imposition, and exaction, at the beginning, when first taken, was demanded by colour of the fraternity of St. Thomas Becket; at which time it was only an old noble Sterling: And so, by colour of such feigned holiness, it hath been suffered to be taken of a few years past. It was afterwards increased to 100 shillings Flemish; but now the said fellowship of London take of every Englishman or young merchant, being there, at his first coming, L.40 Sterling for a fine, to suffer him to buy and sell his own goods. By reason

* A merchant-adventurer was one who adventured his merchandize to foreign countries.

† The old acts of parliament are often very inaccurate in their recital of foreign countries.

whereof, all merchants, not of the said fellowship, do withdraw themselves from the said marts, whereby the woollen cloth of this realm, which is one of the greatest commodities of the same, as well as sundry other English commodities, are not sold nor got off as in times past, but are, for want of sale thereof, in divers parts where such cloths are made, conveyed to London, and there sold at an undervalued price, even below what they cost the makers. Moreover, the merchandize of those foreign parts, imported by the said fellowship, is sold to your complainants and other subjects, at so high a price, that the buyers cannot live thereupon; by reason whereof, all the cities and towns of the realm are fallen into great poverty, ruin, and decay, and the king's customs and subsidies, and the navy of the land, greatly decreased. It was therefore now enacted, That all Englishmen from henceforth shall and may freely resort to the coasts of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and other parts adjoining, under the obedience of the archduke; and at their marts or fairs there, sell their merchandize, and buy and make exchange freely, without exaction, fine, imposition, or contribution, taken or received of any of them by the said fraternity or fellowship, excepting only the sum of 10 merks (L. 6 : 13 : 4) Sterling, on pain of forfeiting L. 20 Sterling for every time they take more, and shall also forfeit to the party so imposed on, ten times so much as contrary to this act is taken of him.

By this memorable law we are informed of the extent of the foreign commerce of the English merchants at this time; and we are acquainted with the gradual steps of the society of London merchants-adventurers, for increasing their freedom-fines from 6/8d to L. 40 Sterling. These freedom-fines are now, by act of Parliament, fixed at L. 6 : 13 : 4. Nevertheless, as this fine was hereby permitted to be demanded and taken by the London society of merchants-adventurers, who soon after assumed the appellation of the merchants-adventurers of England, it was thereby in effect established by law, although the fine was thereby thus limited, which, in some measure, clashes with the preamble of this statute.

A supplemental treaty of commerce was concluded between king Henry VII and the archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, whereby it was stipulated,

I) That the new duty of one florin on every English woollen cloth, and also whatever other new imposition had been laid thereon, should now be absolutely annulled; and English cloth be freely imported and sold in all the archduke's countries, Flanders only excepted*, free of that duty of one florin, and of all the other new impositions.

II) And in case at any time the archduke or his successors shall

* This exception was in favour of the vast woollen manufactures of Flanders.

again lay on the duty of one florin on English cloth, or any other new imposition, then it shall be free for the king of England either to keep or to break this and all former treaties or intercourses of commerce with the Netherlands.

III) As to the duty of one mark per sack of wool, which the Netherlands are obliged to pay at the staple of Calais, that point shall be duly considered at the ensuing diet or congress, to be held at Bruges, between the two contracting parties. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 654.]

1498.—In the year 1498, Louis XII king of France, ratified and confirmed the treaty made by his father Charles VIII with Henry VII king of England, wherein it had been stipulated, that shipmasters, or owners of ships, should give security to double the value of ship and cargo, not to commit piracy, nor to molest the subjects of the other party; and sundry other stipulations were now made for preventing pirates from selling their spoils in the ports of either party, &c. All which stipulations between England and other nations plainly show, that in those times there must have been much robbing and violence on the seas, even whilst peace existed between nations in general. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 690.]

This year the city of Riga, as a free and independent state, entered into a treaty with Henry VII, whereby, I) The mutual intercourse of commerce was renewed.

II) The English, trading to Riga and its territory, were to pay no custom, duty, or toll whatever.

III) But Riga traders, with their ships and merchandize brought from Riga, coming to England, were to pay the same duties, &c. as the merchants of the Teutonic Hanse towns do; and for merchandize from other parts the same duties as other merchants-strangers pay.

IV) Lastly, Riga hereby remits all former claims of money due to her from England, or for which England was any way engaged to the master-general and knights of the cross of Prussia; particularly the sum of 10,637 gold nobles, [2*ſ* 2*d* Sterling each] the written obligation for which is hereby promised to be delivered up into the hands of the master of the society of English merchants residing at Antwerp or Bruges*. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 701.]

1499.—It seems to have been about the middle, or perhaps nearer to the beginning of this century, that the Scots began to have a considerable fishery for exportation to foreign markets, which their Parliaments continued for some time to encourage by well-judged laws, although their corporation-towns were still desirous to confine it to themselves. The forty-ninth act of the fourth parliament of king James IV, now takes notice of the vast riches lost to Scotland for want of a sufficient number of convenient ships and buffes to be employed in the fishery.

* Though this treaty may seem scarcely worth notice in the present state of affairs, it may convey some information to statesmen or merchants.

Wherefor, on account of the great advantage which thereby might be had, and to cause idle men and vagabonds to labour for their livings, for the common profit and universal welfare of the realm, the Parliament appointed, that fishing ships and buffes, of twenty tons burden or upwards, should be made in all [sea-port] towns of the realm, in proportion to their ability.

Such regulations brought their fishery, and consequently their naval strength, as well as several other improvements, to a considerable height; but their subsequent ill-judged laws of restraint and prohibition threw all things retrograde. For, by the 98th act of the seventh Parliament of king James V, 1540, they enacted, that none should send any white fish beyond sea; but that strangers be permitted to come and buy them of merchants and freemen of burghs with ready gold and silver or merchandize. And the 60th act of the 4th Parliament of king James VI, enjoins all fishers of herring, or other white fish, to bring their fish to free ports, there to be sold, first in common to all subjects, and afterward the remainder to freemen; that the king's own subjects may be first served; and that if abundance remain, they may be salted and exported by free burghesses, under forfeiture of ship and goods. How much wiser would those law-makers have been, had they permitted the fish to be immediately exported by any persons whatever, as it seems had formerly been practised, and without any particular regard either to free ports or freemen? Thus the Scots now entirely lost to the Netherlanders their former exportation of fish, which imprudence was first begun by the restraining by-laws of what they call their royal burghs about 70 years before, which they now at length got confirmed by Parliament.

King Henry VII now concluded a new commercial treaty or intercourse with the archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands; in substance as follows, viz.

I. That, for twelve years to come, a duty of only half a merk (instead of one merk as hitherto) shall be paid by the Netherlanders, on every sack of wool sold to them at the staple at Calais; unless it shall at any time happen that there may be a great mortality amongst the sheep in England (of which certificates, properly vouched upon oath from England, shall be produced), in which case the whole duty of a merk shall be taken.

II. On the other side, the archduke remits, in favour of the English merchants, the one florin per English woollen cloth imported into the Netherlands.

III. The English shall not, as formerly, be obliged to bring all their woollen cloth to the staple of Antwerp or Bruges, and no where else, there to be sealed before removed; but they shall now be at full liberty to carry their cloth, and to sell it in every part of the archduke's dominions, Flanders alone excepted.

IV. The chief of the English merchants at the fairs of Antwerp and Bruges, called the court-master, shall not, as formerly, fix a set price on the merchandize they are to buy at those fairs.

The other articles relate to the packing of wool in England, wherein we find the mayor and constables of the staple at Westminster for the south parts of England, and the like officers at the staple at Boston for the north parts of England, were to be judges and certifiers of the package of wool to be brought to the staple at Calais. Other articles related to the recovery of debts in both countries, and to the effects of persons dying intestate, &c. All which (the half merk per sack of wool excepted) were to remain in force during the joint lives of both contracting parties, and one year after the death of the first. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 711.]

Américus Vespucius, a Florentine, in the service of Spain, now sailed from Port St. Maries in Andalusia, and made some discovery on the coast in South America; and as this was by Spain deemed the first discovery of the continent, that whole country had its name from him, who did very little towards any material discoveries, and undoubtedly was not the first discoverer of that continent, as we have abundantly shown under the year 1496.

1500.—Emanuel king of Portugal, encouraged by the success of the first voyage to East-India, sent out Cabral with 13 ships and 1200 men, to make a settlement there; but a violent storm drove him on the coast of Brasil, of which he immediately advertised his king, by a vessel sent home on purpose; and there he left two Portuguese to explore that country*. Every one knows that this noble province has ever since proved an almost inexhaustible fund of riches to Portugal, and that all parts of Europe, which have any commerce with that kingdom, do, in some measure, reap the benefits of this fortuitous discovery. In another storm near the Cape of Good Hope, they lost several ships, and with only six remaining, they arrived at the town of Sofala on the south-east coast of Africa, which they took possession of, and fortified. They afterwards possessed themselves of the island of Mozambique on that coast, where they built and fortified, and where they also refitted, and went thence to Quiloa and Melinda, farther north-eastward on that coast. Travellers observe, that there is such plenty of gold along part of the coast of Africa, that it is justly supposed to have been the Ophir of Solomon: Besides, this coast affords silk, ambergrease, ivory, and slaves; and Mozambique has ever since proved a seasonable port for the Portuguese ships to refresh and refit in their voyages to and from India. Thence Cabral sailed to Calcut, and having contracted friendship with

* Thus, as has already been observed, America after the Portuguese began to navigate the south could not possibly have long remained unknown part of the Atlantic ocean.

the kings of Cochin and Cananor, he at length returned home, loaded with the richest Indian merchandize, to Lisbon, now crowded with commerce. Portugal was now, indeed, in its meridian glory; so that it was said the golden age was revived in the reign of Emanuel; which prosperous state continued to the year 1578, when the fatal death of their romantic king don Sebastian turned their fortune very much to the reverse, and it has never yet recovered that most prosperous situation it was in before that period.

The success of Spain, in discovering America, occasioned about this time sundry attempts from different countries for farther discoveries. One Cortereal discovered a coast in upwards of 50 degrees of north latitude, south of the entrance into that since called Hudson's Bay, which country the English afterward named New Britain, and the French would fain have included in New France; but in the first maps it is called Corterealis. Other voyages of discovery were, at different times, made from France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark on that bleak coast, from whence the various names of Estitoland*, Terra di Labrador, Eskimaux, &c. are given to it, or to some part of it, by the maps of different nations; but finding no kind of wealth, but what could be got nearer home, viz. by the fishery (nor a passage that way to India), they all seemed to have no farther inclination for so inhospitable a coast.

In the treaty for the marriage of Arthur prince of Wales with the king of Spain's daughter, there is a renewal of the intercourse of commerce between England and Spain, wherein there is nothing particular, but a clause in those days much used in treaties of commerce (not much to the credit of that age), viz. That the shipmasters of both nations should thenceforward give security, on their setting sail for foreign parts, in double the value of ship and cargo, not to commit depredations, nor any kind of violence nor injustice, against any of the subjects of the other contracting party. It was hereby also in general stipulated, That special care should be taken of the merchandize of ships wrecked on the shores of either party, to be saved and kept for the right owners. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 741.]

1501.—Emanuel king of Portugal, flushed with the success of the discoveries of India and of the south continent of America, now sent out three ships to India. In their way they discovered the isle of Ascension, lying eight degrees south of the line, and other isles on the south coast of Africa. On their return from India they discovered the uninhabited isle of St. Helena (in south latitude 16°, and about mid-way between Africa and America), which has since been long and most use-

* Estitoland is mentioned in the middle of the fourteenth century by Zeno, whose voyage was published in Ramusio's Collections, and is also related and illustrated in *Forster's History of Voyages, &c. in the North*. M.

fully in the possession of the English East-India Company, as a refreshing place for their ships returning homeward. The Portuguese stored it with hogs, goats, and poultry; and for many years after this, they were wont to stop at it in their homeward-bound East-India voyages, to supply themselves with those provisions and fresh water; but it is very difficult to find in their outward-bound voyages, because of the trade winds. The next year Vasco de Gama was sent to India with ten ships, and was the first who crossed over directly from Mozambique to India and Soderias, with fifteen ships. The following year they built a fort at Cochin, subdued the king of Mombaza and others on the east coast of Africa, and sent ships to cruise at the entrance of the Red Sea against the Moors, who were their greatest enemies in India. In brief, they pushed on so numerous and great conquests in commerce to India, that a viceroy was soon established there; and afterward, under the conduct of their great general Albuquerque, they became masters of the isle of Ormus in the Persian gulf; of Goa, and many other ports on the coasts of Malabar and Cormandel, and also the coasts of the isle of Ceylon, where the best, and almost the only true, cinnamon is produced; they also mastered the peninsula of Malacca; and, to complete all, the famous Moluccos, or spice-islands, were subdued: Insomuch that the princes of India began to court their favour. Thus was Portugal, from a very moderate condition, in a very few years greatly exalted and enriched, by the sole enjoyment of the commerce to India, which that nation then probably flattered themselves they were never to be rivalled in.

1502.—Whilst such great acquisitions were making by Portugal in the east, Columbus and Bastidas were making many useful discoveries in the West Indies for the future benefit of Spain.

We should here also note, under this year 1502, that Cabral, the Portuguese admiral, in his return from India, settled factories at Melinda, Quiloa, Mombaza, and Quirimba, on the Zanguebar coast. On the coast of Ajan also, the Portuguese reduced most of the princes to be their tributaries; insomuch that they soon became masters of the whole south-east coast of Africa, as far as the entrance into the Red Sea. Before the Portuguese came thither, the Arabians carried on a great commerce on this coast, upon which they had made many settlements; but how long they had been there does not appear. They also had traded thence to Persia and India; but the Portuguese ruined that commerce, and got it all into their own hands.

About this time also, Emanuel king of Portugal turned his arms against the Moors of Barbary; on which coast he took and garrisoned fundry ports, such as Magazan, Agadir (called also Santa Cruz by the Europeans), Azamor, &c.; most of which places, and those they had before on that coast, they have long since lost or abandoned. Neither

did Portugal ever reap much advantage from those port-towns, in point of commerce, any farther than they helped to curb the Moorish pirates; whom, however, neither they nor Spain have ever been able effectually to suppress.

In this year was finally concluded the most auspicious marriage of Margaret, eldest daughter of king Henry VII of England, to king James IV of Scotland. The lands assigned by James for her dowery of L.2000 per annum, in earldoms, lordships, manors, forests, with the palaces and castles of Linlithgow and Stirling, are at this time probably more than ten times their value at that time.

A treaty of friendship and intercourse of commerce was concluded between king Henry VII of England, and Maximilian king of the Romans, &c. where it is in general terms stipulated, 'That the merchants on both sides may freely resort and trade to each others dominions.'

In another treaty, in this same year 1502, between those two princes, there is a grant of L.10,000 Sterling from king Henry VII to Maximilian, for enabling him to make war against the Turks on the side of Hungary, where at this time they were pushing on their conquests; on which account the popes laboured to excite all Christian princes to contribute. And it must be owned, that, considering the character of king Henry VII, this was a large contribution for those times. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 6, 9.]

King Henry VII, by a charter, licensed Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashhurst, merchants of Bristol, John Gunsalus and Francis Fernandus, natives of Portugal, to sail with such ships and mariners as they shall judge proper, under English colours, into all the parts and countries of the eastern, western, southern, and northern seas, in order to discover any islands, coasts, and countries of heathen and infidel parts of the world; and to erect king Henry's banners and ensigns at whatever town, castle, island, or continent, they shall so discover, and to hold the same (says the king) for our use, as our lieutenants there: Provided they do not concern themselves with, nor offer to molest such heathen and infidel countries as are already discovered, and reduced to the obedience of the king of Portugal, or of any other prince our friend or confederate.

Whenever any discovery shall be made, it is our will that men and women from England be freely permitted to settle therein, and to improve the same under the protection of these grantees, whom we hereby empower to make laws, &c. there.

The seven remaining clauses relate to the settling, sailing, and trading to such supposed, and to be discovered country; the customs to be paid, and the restrictions of the trade thither to his own subjects, &c. And he thus concludes:

And whereas we have, by other letters-patents of the 16th year of our reign [*i. e.* two years before, but not to be found in the *Fœdera*], granted to Richard Ward, John Thomas, and John Fernandus, together with the four grantees herein named, a licence to go and discover new countries and islands; yet we will not have the said three first named persons to attempt or meddle with any such new discoveries, without a licence from the four grantees of this present charter*. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 37.]

At this time there were differences between John king of Denmark and the Hanse Towns; the latter, like true merchants, striving to have commerce wherever they could obtain it; the former being driven out of Sweden by Steen-Sture the regent, insisted that the Hanse-Towns should forbear trading to Sweden; in which (says the Hanseatic historian Werdenhagen, *Vol. I. par. iii. cap. 17.*) king John was seconded by the ambassador of his uncle James IV king of Scotland (who also, according to Meursius's *Historia Danica*, sent John an aid of two stout ships of war), at a general assembly of the deputies of the Hanseatic league at Lubec: Yet the general assembly at length convinced the Danish king of the unreasonableness of that demand, as it would be very unreasonable that they, who had great concerns in Sweden, should be obstructed in their commerce by the quarrels between Denmark and Sweden.

King Henry VII of England now caused the chapel of the Virgin Mary, and a tavern adjoining, at the east end of the abbey-church of Westminster, to be taken down; on the site whereof he erected the present most beautiful and magnificent chapel which goes by his name, at the expence of L. 14,000, which at this time would probably at least cost five times that sum.

1503.—In Scotland, the 70th act of the sixth parliament of king James IV confirmed that of 1406, and directed that none shall beg, but lame, sick, and impotent people, under a penalty on the magistrates suffering any others to beg.

By another Scottish law of that same year, all lords and lairds (landed gentlemen) were enjoined to have parks with deer, also stanks (fish-ponds), conningares (rabbit-warrens), dove-cots, orchards, and hedges, and to plant at least one acre of woodlands, where already there are no great woods or forests. The wars with England had occasioned their woods to be destroyed, so that they were in great want of timber and firewood; they had also much neglected inclosures and parks. Some

* Here, again, Henry pays no regard to the pope's presumptuous division of the world between Spain and Portugal. And he equally neglects giving any pecuniary assistance to the adventurers, who in those days seldom had abilities and patience to accomplish such enterprises. This expedition, therefore, succeeded no better than Cambot's.

of these points were pretty well prosecuted ; but others of them, and the most important too, very much neglected, though enforced by many subsequent laws.

The same year we first find mention, in a Scottish act of parliament (c. 81), of the office of conservator of that nation's mercantile privileges in the Netherlands, though the office was apparently of an earlier date than this time ; when it was now enacted, that for the well of merchants, and because of the great exorbitant expenses made by them upon pleas in parts beyond the seas, the conservator of this realm shall have jurisdiction to do justice between the said merchants (being the king's subjects) in the parts beyond the seas. But the conservator shall have six, or at least four, Scottish merchants to sit, and determine all matters jointly with him ; and that no Scottish merchant beyond sea shall sue another Scottish merchant there before any other judge than the conservator. By another act of the same year (c. 82), the conservator is directed to come home yearly to Scotland, or else to send his responsible procurator to answer for his conduct in his office beyond sea. This office of conservator nearly resembles that of the English consuls in foreign ports ; and although in neither of the above-quoted acts the place of his residence be mentioned, yet it is well known that he always did, and still does reside in the Netherlands, where the principal foreign commerce of Scotland had always centered. And in a Scottish act of parliament, anno 1535, which confirms certain former laws, prohibiting petty merchants from going beyond sea to France, Flanders, &c. with less than half a last of merchandize, he is called the conservator of the nation in Flanders, and is thereby directed to send home the names of all merchants going thither in every ship, contrary to the tenor of this act.

Under this year we may transiently remark, that the accession of Spain to the house of Austria, by a marriage at this time, paved the way for great alterations in the commercial as well as in the political system of Europe ; which conjunction had like to have been an overmatch for all the rest of Christendom, had not England and France been vigilant on the opposite side.

According to Morisot [*Orbis Maritimus*, L. ii, c. 13, p. 410.], there arrived two Zealand ships at Campveer, loaded with sugars, the produce of the Canary islands. As yet no sugar-canes were produced in America ; they were transplanted soon after this time from the Canaries. We have already seen, that the first sugar-canes, west of the Mediterranean sea, were planted at the isle of Madeira, which had them from Sicily, from whence, or else from the coasts of Africa, they might be brought to the Canaries. 'The boiling and baking of sugars,' (says Dr. Heylin in his *Cosmography*, whose first edition was printed anno

1624), 'as it is now used, is not above 200 years old *; and the refining of it more new than that first found out by a Venetian in the days of our forefathers, who got 100,000 crowns by the invention. Before which art of boiling and refining it, our ancestors made use of it rough as it came from the canes. But they most commonly used honey instead of it.'

1504.—It was not till the year 1504, that any French ship arrived on the coasts of North America, even according to their own accounts; which was eight years later than the English discovery thereof by Cabot, &c.; but it was not till two years later that one Denis discovered the entrance into the river of Canada or St. Laurence. So that the priority of discovery is undoubtedly on the side of England for all North America; and consequently England, beyond all the other nations of Europe, had the best claim to the whole, until she gave up part of it by her succeeding treaties with other European nations.

The renowned city of Antwerp was at this time arrived very near to the summit of its wealth and glory, which it had acquired by the two following considerations, viz.

I.) By the grants of free fairs for commerce, made formerly by the sovereigns of the Netherlands (two of which fairs lasted each time six weeks), whither merchants resorted from all parts of Christendom with their merchandize, custom free. At these fairs vast concerns were managed, not only in merchandize, but in bills of exchange, with all parts of Europe.

II.) But what more immediately and suddenly brought about the wealth, grandeur, and renown of Antwerp, was when Portugal now brought home, in immense quantities, the spices, drugs, and other rich productions of India, first to Lisbon, and thence to Antwerp, as to an entre-port or half-way port, between the north and south parts of Europe. This drew the German and other merchants to settle at Antwerp, which brought great riches to it; and the merchants of Bruges also removed thither, after the archduke Maximilian had, about the year 1499, reduced their city.

Louis Guicciardin (in his judicious description of the Netherlands), was of opinion, that the spices alone, brought from Lisbon to Antwerp, one year with another, amounted to above a million of crowns yearly. In those days the people of Europe were much fonder of the use of spices in their cookery, &c. than they have been in later times.

An English act of parliament (19. *Hen. VII.* c. 21.), for the advancement of the smaller silk manufactures in England, prohibited the im-

* It appears by the *accounts of the chamberlain of Scotland*, published from the originals in the exchequer by John Davidfon, Esq. that, so early as the year 1329, *loaves of sugar* were sold in Scotland at the price of 1*l* 9*½* (above an ounce of standard silver), by the pound. So Dr. Heylin is surely mistaken at least in the date of the invention of sugar-baking. *M.*

portation of any manner of silk wrought either by itself, or with any other stuff, in ribbands, laces, girdles, corsets, and corsets of tissues or points, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. Also (on the other hand), it was made lawful for all persons, as well foreigners as English, to import all other kinds of silks, as well wrought as raw and unwrought, the above excepted. The reader here may plainly see, that at this time there was no broad manufacture of silk made in England, as my lord Bacon also notes, in his history of king Henry VII under this statute.

Another statute passed (*c.* 23), for confirming to the merchants of the Hanse in Almain, having the house in the city of London, commonly called Guilhalla Teutonicorum (*i. e.* the German merchants of the steelyard), all their ancient liberties, privileges, free usages, and customs, granted either by the kings of England, or by authority of parliament; and annulling all acts, statutes and ordinances, made in derogation of their said liberties, &c. The English merchants, increasing in their foreign commerce, had probably occasioned the Hanseatics to procure this confirmation of their ancient privileges, for which, possibly, they might gratify the avarice of the monarch.

In another statute made in this same year (*c.* 17), for regulating the company of shearmen of the city of Norwich, it is (*inter alia*) remarked, that in Norwich, time out of mind, there had been used a certain craft called shearmen, for shearing as well worsteds, stamins, and fustians, as also all other woollen cloth, &c. This statute shows us a general list of their woollen manufactures, which were even then so considerable (especially the thinner sorts), that we find more statutes hitherto for regulating the manufactures in Norwich, and its neighbourhood of Norfolk and Suffolk, than of any other part of England.

The by-laws made by corporations or fellowships of crafts, guilds, and fraternities, were, at this time, found to be many ways against the king's prerogative, the common law of England, and the liberty of the subject, being (says lord Bacon) fraternities in evil: Wherefore an act of parliament (19 *Hen. VII, c.* 7), restrains the masters or wardens of such fellowships from making any new by-laws or ordinances concerning the prices of wares and other things, for their own singular profit, until first examined and approved of by the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, or king's justices, on pain of forfeiting £40 for every such offence.

An English act of parliament passed this same year (*c.* 5), for preventing gold and silver coins from being carried into Ireland, and Irish money from being brought into England*, and for calling all clipped and diminished money into the mint. Neither (says lord Bacon in his history of king Henry VII) was it a small matter that the mint (*i. e.* the

* They had then a mint in Ireland.

king) gained by thus recoinng the groats and half-groats (being, it seems, as large as our modern shillings and sixpences, which surely they could not be, if they were not of baser alloy than the old Sterling fineness). His lordship here likewise recounts many other ways which that king had of getting vast sums into his coffers, even in time of profound peace; such as extorting 5000 merks from the city of London for confirming their privileges; his subsidies, benevolences, and casualties; the marriage portion from Spain, &c. but these are foreign to our subject.

1505.—We have remarked, under the year 1497, that the statute which reduced the exorbitant freedom-fines of the company of merchants-adventurers did, at the same time, by a strong implication, legally establish that company, though they were not then precisely so called; yet in fact they were, and had long before been, what this king made them by his new charter. But now king Henry VII, in the 20th year of his reign, confirmed by charter ‘to the merchants trading in woollen cloth of all kinds to the Netherlands their former privileges.’ And in this new charter of confirmation they were first properly stiled the fellowship of merchants-adventurers of England. They had also hereby authority given them to hold courts and marts at Calais; provided, however, that they exacted no more (as by the act of parliament of 1497) than ten marks of any merchant whatever for his freedom in their fellowship, for trading to Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zealand, and the countries adjacent, under the archduke’s government; hereby enjoining all merchants-adventurers to come into the freedom of this fellowship. Wheeler, secretary of this fellowship, in his vindication of it, under the title of a Treatise of Commerce (4to, 1601), acknowledges, that at this time we are now upon, as well as in the reign of king Henry IV, (as also in his own time) the like complaints were made by the clothiers, wool-growers, dyers, &c. against this fellowship, viz. that they obstructed the free course of commerce by restraints. Yet, adds he, after due examination of the complaint, the issue procured great favour to the company, and occasioned the enlarging of their former charters, with an express restraint of all stragglers and intermeddlers (*i. e.* separate traders). And whereas the Easterlings (the German merchants of the steelyard) at this time had entered into the same trade, king Henry VII not only strictly prohibited them from the same, but likewise obliged the aldermen of the steelyard in London to enter into a recognizance of 2000 merks, that the steelyard merchants should not carry any English cloth to the place of residence of the merchants-adventurers in the Low Countries. Nevertheless, the complaints against the merchants-adventurers’ monopoly grew afterward louder as the manufacturers increased, and the general trade of the nation became more enlarged.

In this 20th year of king Henry VII a few silver shillings or twelve-pences were coined, being about the fortieth part of a pound weight of

silver, fair and broad pieces. These were the first real shillings in England, the shillings of former ages being merely ideal, as the pound is now. They are now only to be found in the cabinets of the curious.

The Portuguese now first landed on the island of Ceylon, where they were strenuously opposed by the Moors, who had long before been settled there, and had supplied all Europe with cinnamon by the way of Alexandria: Yet, in the end, the Portuguese got the better; and having fortified the principal ports of that island, they, in their turn, totally engrossed the cinnamon trade till the year 1639, when they were supplanted by the Hollanders. This spice was well known to the ancients, ever since the commerce from Egypt to India was practised; whereas the spices from the Moluccos, and more especially the places producing them, were not generally known so early.

1506.—King Philip of Spain and his queen, on their voyage from Flanders to Spain, being, by stress of weather, driven into Falmouth, were invited by Henry VII to Windsor and London, where they were entertained with much feasting and splendour. King Henry on this occasion concluded a new commercial treaty with king Philip for his dominions in the Netherlands, which treaty the Flemings termed *intercurfus malus*, for that there be some things in it (says lord Bacon) more to the advantage of the English than of them; especially for that the free fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of the year 1496, termed by the Flemings *intercurfus magnus*, was not by this treaty confirmed.

This new treaty follows, in substance, viz. That whereas the English, residing in and trading to the Netherlands, had made grievous complaints of new and unprecedented tolls and duties laid on their merchandize there, contrary to treaties subsisting; and that there were prohibitions of selling English cloth in many places there; also that there were seizures made of ships and merchandize, and the imprisonment of their persons, &c.

For redress therefor of all grievances on both sides, it was now stipulated,

I) That former treaties be confirmed, particularly those of 1495 and 1499 (that of 1496 being artfully omitted), except so far as altered by this treaty, and all new tolls and exactions utterly abolished.

II) The English merchants may freely resort to Bruges in Flanders, as also to all the other provinces of the Netherlands, with their ships, cloth, and other merchandize, freely to buy and sell. But, in the province of Flanders (and there only), they shall not sell their cloth by retail, or in a smaller quantity than an entire piece; neither shall they be permitted either to dress or to dye their cloth in the said province of Flanders.

And III) For prevention of all impositions for the future, a table of

all the duties, subsidies, tolls, and other payments, which may be legally demanded in either country, shall be affixed on the doors of the customhouses of London, Bruges, Antwerp, Berg (Mons), and Middleburg. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 132.]

King Henry VII most unjustly (and probably for his own private profit) granted a licence to Augustini Chigi, a merchant of Sienna in Tuscany, to import from Flanders or elsewhere, 1300 quintals of alum, and prohibited all others to import any, until he should have sold off all his said quantity; provided, however, that neither he nor his factors should sell the alum at a higher price than £1:6:8 per hundred weight. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 159.]

In this year the ever-famous Christopher Columbus died. About this time sugar-canes, brought from Brasil and the Canaries, were planted in the island of Hispaniola, where (says Herrera) many sugar-mills were gradually erected.—Leave also was granted to all native Spaniards to send merchandize to the West Indies;—and even foreigners were permitted to trade in partnership with native Spaniards, in Spanish bottoms only.—The contratacion-house lately erected at Seville, for the management of all the American commerce, was now enlarged and its constitution settled. The Spaniards also, at this time, improved their pearl fishery at the isle of that name, and other parts of the West-Indies. Before the Brasil sugar was brought into Europe, that commodity was very dear, being only used in feasts and physical necessities; honey being, till then, the general ingredient for sweetening meats and drinks.

1507.—King Henry VII remitted to fix Venetian merchants, and to all other subjects of that republic, all forfeitures, transgressions, and offences committed by them before the first day of March in this year 1507, against any acts of parliament or orders of council, &c. also all manner of usuries, corrupt bargains, buying, selling, and bartering of wool, tin, lead, cloth, &c. also all illegal entries at the customhouses; all payments of gold against law, &c. all deceptions in the manufacture of woollen cloth, and in stretching the same; all exportations and importations of the before-named and other commodities against law; all changes, exchanges, and rechanges (*cambia*, *excambia*, *et recambia*), between the said Venetians and others;—as also misprisions, confederacies, riots, &c.—all condemnations, pains of death, and all other pecuniary and corporal pains which they may have incurred, &c.—And granted them his secure peace: as also all goods and chattels they might have formerly forfeited, and which were in the custody of his officers, &c. to be restored to them, without their rendering any account, provided that the said Venetians be not forgiven any debt to the king, for which there were written securities.

The king also granted licence to the Venetians to buy and sell, at London and elsewhere, in England, Ireland, and Calais, woollen cloth,

lead, tin, leather, &c. with the English, Genoese, Venetians, Florentines, Luccans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Flemings, Hollanders, Brabanters, Burgundians, German Hanseatics, Lombards, and Easterlings, and all other foreigners, as well as natives, for ten years to come.

Moreover, the king granted the like privileges, pardons, &c. to all other strangers in England dealing with the Venetians there. And if all this should not be judged sufficient by the Venetians, they should have other more ample letters-patent for that effect, provided that the Venetians, &c. under colour of this grant, do not, within the said term, import into England any goods from the dominions of the archduke of Austria. This proviso was in favour of the merchants-adventurers privileges*. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 161.]

By the whole tenor of this patent, we see how many different nations then traded to or resided in England, the French and Scots excepted.

The disputes about the new tolls exacted in the Netherlands, from the English trading thither, ran so high, that the commerce between the two nations was, in a manner, quite interrupted, to the very great damage of both; to remedy which, Maximilian, king of the Romans, jointly with Charles his grandson (afterward emperor, by the stile of Charles V), granted a provisional charter, whereby all the new tolls were abolished; and made a declaration, that the English should enjoy all the privileges of commerce in the Netherlands, and the Netherlanders in England, Ireland, and Calais, as stipulated in the intercourse of 1495. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 168.]

The Portuguese, under Albuquerque, fortified the famous isle of Ormus in the Persian gulf, commodiously situated for the trade between Turkey, Arabia, and Persia, on the one hand; and India and China, on the other; there being two caravans yearly between Aleppo and Ormus, for exchanging the carpets, camlets, drugs, dried fruits, pearls, horses, &c. of the three first named countries; for the spices, cotton cloths, precious stones, &c. of India and China; which commerce centered with the Portuguese at Ormus till the year 1622, as will hereafter be seen.

1508.—Although the numerous wars in Europe during this century are not properly within our cognizance, yet, for the glory of the illustrious commercial republic of Venice, we cannot avoid briefly to commemorate its great deliverance from the famous league of Cambray, being a confederacy of the greatest part of Europe, viz. the emperor Maximilian I, Louis XII of France, Ferdinand king of Spain, and pope Julius II, by whose instigation this league was secretly projected for the destruction of the republic. Those powers, in conjunction, easily strip-

* Great and illegal grants having been made to those Venetian merchants for the king's private exultment, to the injury of the native traders, of which the people made loud complaints, it was thought necessary to grant them this charter of indemnification to screen them from prosecutions.

ped the Venetians of all that they possessed on the continent of Italy; yet, with all their power, they were not able to conquer the noble capital city of Venice. And, in fine, the pope being brought (or bought) over, and the rest of the confederacy disjointed, the republic soon recovered much of her former territories: To the pope, however, they were fain to leave Ravenna; to Spain, the five towns which the republic had till now possessed in Calabria; and to the emperor, Trieste and Friuli.

Aubart, a Frenchman, first sailed up the great river of St. Laurence to the country of Canada, from whence he brought home to France some of the Indian natives.

Although the marriage agreed on between Mary, the daughter of king Henry VII of England, and Charles, grandson of the emperor Maximilian, did not take place; yet it is somewhat curious to see the formality of those times for securing the lady's dowery, and her marriage portion of 250,000 gold crowns: For many lords were solemnly bound for the same, as were also the following cities and towns on Maximilian's part, viz. Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Nieuport, Dort, Leyden, Amsterdam, Middleburg, Zirickzee, and Mechlin; and on the part of Henry, the cities and towns of London, Coventry, Norwich, Chester, Worcester, Exeter, York, Bristol, Southampton, Boston, Hull, and Newcastle upon Tyne*. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 173.]

From the *Fœdera* [V. xiii, p. 216] we learn what king Henry VII made by his office of change, exchange, and rechange (*cambii*, *excambii*, *et recambii*) of money, paid by all persons going, or sending money, to foreign parts, and from thence back to England. Henry now grants this office to Peter Corfy, a Florentine, for one year, who, by the king's authority, was to take 3*d* for the exchange and rechange of every gold ducat. For this office Corfy was yearly to pay the king L. 250 Sterling. The record calls this office 'the custody' [*et appruamentum*, possibly written by mistake instead of *aperiamentum*, or opening] 'of the increase of the change, exchange, and rechange.'

Sir Robert Cotton [*Remains*, p. 197.] speaking of the antiquity and use of this *cambium regis*, or office of exchange, in a curious and judicious treatise, intitled, 'The manner and means how the kings of England have from time to time supported and repaired their estates,' written in the year 1609, says, 'It is as ancient as before the time of king Henry III, and continued in use till the middle of king Henry VIII's reign, the profits of it being now (in 1609) engrossed among a few goldsmiths, and would yield above L. 10,000 yearly to the crown, would he erect it

* We thereby also learn, which were then those days, the faith of trading communities was esteemed the most important cities and towns in the held at least equal to that of sovereigns. M.
dominions of the contracting princes; and that in

again, and then should the king himself keep his mint in continual work.' Of this we have no very distinct conception in modern times.

Herrera, the Spanish-American historiographer, relates, that in or about this year, the gold brought from the island of Hispaniola in one year, amounted to 460,000 pieces of eight; by which, together with the cotton, sugar, ginger, &c. and the shipping employed between Spain and America, the West-Indies now began to promise some recompense to Spain for the great charge of the first settlement, and the loss of so many lives. They had, it seems, by this time found that the miserable Indian natives, whom the Spaniards had compelled to work in their mines and fields, were not so robust and proper for those purposes as negroes brought from Africa; wherefore they, about the same time, began to import negroes for that end into Hispaniola from the Portuguese settlements on the Guinea coasts, and also afterward for their sugar works, as already observed.

The Portuguese in India, still under their great commander Albuquerque, took the town and port of Goa on the coast of Malabar; and although its prince Hidalcan soon recovered it, yet Albuquerque retook it in the year 1510. The commodiousness of its situation, and goodness of the country, induced Albuquerque to fortify it strongly, and to make it the capital of the Portuguese dominions in India, its walls being said to have been twelve miles in compass, and many of its structures magnificent; but it is long since much decayed, both with respect to wealth and number of inhabitants, which, some say, are reduced to 20,000, of all nations and religions. Albuquerque, in order to breed up soldiers, very wisely got the Indian maids made christians, and married them to Portuguese, that they might not always stand in need of fresh supplies of men from Portugal.

It is not our province minutely to particularize all the Portuguese conquests in India, whereby they gained immense riches and great glory to that crown and nation. It is sufficient for our purpose in general to observe, that they went on from year to year in discovering more countries, even as far eastward as China and Japan; and southward to the great archipelago of islands in the Indian ocean. They subdued the kingdoms of Decan, Cambaya, and Guzaratte, with the forts of Diu, Suratte, and Cambaya, and many other places and islands for 200 miles along the Malabar coast, and on that of Cormandel, and in the kingdom of Bengal, Macassar, and Malacca, and also the isles of Timor and Solor, with the famous Molucco and spice islands, beside the great isle of Ceylon already mentioned. Their conquests and settlements (already noted) on the north-east shores of Africa, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, were also very profitable to them, where they traded with negro nations for much gold, brought from the far inland countries to the Portuguese settlements on the coast. In Arabia Felix they once got pos-

session of Mascate; also of sundry isles in the Persian gulf, and the important town and port of Balsora at the upper end of that gulf. They, in brief, were become very formidable to all the princes of India, many of whom they made tributary; and as their fleets were very powerful and numerous, so was their dominion on the Indian seas extremely arbitrary, insomuch that no ship whatever could sail thereon without their permission; and if any did presume so to do, they seized on ships and goods, and imprisoned their sailors: Likewise, they almost every where committed great cruelties and massacres on the conquered people at land, and thought to expiate all their crimes and enormities by building a great number of churches and monasteries wherever they were masters. This great prosperity they held throughout all the sixteenth century, and were constantly increasing in power, fame, and riches; yet whoever well considers the present state of the small kingdom of Portugal, will be almost apt to marvel how they got to such a pitch of grandeur and power both by sea and land, and to hold it for near a century and an half, in spite of the emulation of their European neighbours; on which point, though we do not here undertake to enlarge, we may, however, cursorily observe, 1. That Portugal was then much more populous than at this day, and that their present feeble state (for want of manufactures) is owing to the draining of their people to colonize Africa, India, and Brasil. 2. That the Portuguese conquests were made partly over effeminate Asiatics, in warring with whom they had great advantages, and no European rivals, and partly over the miserable savages of Brasil and Africa, utterly unacquainted with fire artillery, iron, warlike weapons, and the European art of war. But when the Hollanders once got to India, we shall see how pitifully those mighty Portuguese conquerors defended their numerous conquests there and in Africa.

1509.—Russia was now aggrandized and strengthened by the conquest of the city and territory of Pleskow (hitherto an independent lordship), by the great duke, or czar, Basilus IV, who also conquered from the Poles the strong frontier town of Smolensko. As Russia had long before this time fallen under the subjection of the Crim-Tartars, and had been divided into many petty principalities, whose princes were tributaries to the Tartars, this czar, Basilus IV, by reducing and uniting many of those principalities, and by his other successful wars against the Tartars, has occasioned chronologers to commence the succession of the czars of Russia or Muscovy from him.

This year is also remarkable for the death of Henry VII king of England. How differently soever his conduct or character may be animadverted on by various authors, it is enough for our present purpose to consider its consequences in a politico-commercial view. We may, therefore, justly remark, that several laws made in his reign, and by

his influence, were very conducive to the advancement of agriculture and commerce, as particularly,

I) By an act for the encouragement of husbandry, in the year 1489.

II) By gradually reducing the exorbitant power of the nobility, who had lately raised such storms in the nation, particularly against himself. Leave was granted to all freeholders, who went with the king in his wars, to alienate their lands at pleasure, without fines for alienation, which was a good means to make landed estates change proprietors the more easily and frequently, as the commerce and wealth of the nation gradually increased. He wisely considered the old maxim, *Dominium sequitur terram*, and that king John's barons were often too hard for him, because most of the lands were possessed by them or by their vassals; and that, as he himself had been raised by the nobles, he might possibly be cast down by them. This act was renewed or confirmed by one of the third year of king Henry VIII, c. 4.

III) By an act of his 19th year, c. 14, directing a penalty for all givers or takers of any livery, or for any persons retaining or being retained with another, during that king's life, the nobility were deprived of their great retinues. This law was, indeed, but a more extensive confirmation of the laws against retainers (more properly to be called retained) of great men, made in the reigns of king Richard II, Henry IV, and Edward IV; for, by the great numbers of men (as well knights and esquires as yeomen or common men) who wore the liveries and hats of the nobility, and were at their devotion in those idle and less opulent times, became formidable to the crown, and formed the best of the English cavalry in the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, so jealous a prince as Henry VII would, therefor, naturally lay hold of such means to break the strength of the nobles; and this law answered the end very well, since we hear very little of retainers and liveries from this time. In this only sense, therefor, may he be said to have altered the balance of the nation (as some authors phrase it), viz. in depressing the nobility, and enabling the commons freely to purchase their lands. But it is an almost universal mistake of our historians, to ascribe to him a kind of total revival of our woollen manufacture, as if, according to them, it had been gradually sunk and neglected ever since king Edward III's time; the contrary whereof is apparent, from so many acts of parliament, and so many treaties with foreign princes in the intermediate reigns, in favour of that manufacture, which not only prospered at home, but was constantly exported beyond sea in all those reigns before his time.

IV) Foreseeing the bad consequences of the noble and great province of Bretagne being annexed to France (in a great measure owing to his avarice and pusillanimity), he had love enough left for his country (and for his own credit in succeeding times), to induce him now and

then, in his parliamentary speeches, earnestly to recommend matters of commerce to his people. This good prince (says Hall's Chronicle), by his high policy, marvelously enriched his realm and himself, and left his subjects in high wealth and prosperity, as is apparent by the great abundance of gold and silver yearly brought into the realm, in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants passing and repassing, to whom the king, 'of his own goods, lent money largely, without any gain or profit, to the intent that merchandize, being of all crafts the chief art, and to all men both most profitable and necessary, might be the more plentifully used, haunted, and employed in his realms and dominions*.'

Lord Herbert, and all other historians, agree, that this king left a treasure of L. 1,800,000 Sterling † in specie, in secret places of his palace at Richmond, he himself alone keeping the keys. 'This,' says that noble Lord, 'was doubtless a greater sum than any king of this realm before had in his coffers, and such as might be thought effectually quadruple to so much in this age,' [i. e. in the time of king Charles II.] Which computation of his lordship's is extremely moderate, when we have seen and considered the rate of living at that time, when the usual price of wheat [anno 1504] was but 5/8d (i. e. 8/6d of our money) per quarter, and ale not quite 3d per gallon.

Lastly, it is said by sundry authors, that there were very few brick buildings, and fewer of stone in England till this king's reign, excepting the palaces of the prime nobility, cathedral, and parish churches, and the greater monasteries; the rest were either the mud-walls of the cottagers, lesser farmers, and villagers, the timber and lath buildings in cities and towns, or houses built with strong oaken posts, interlaced with bricks and mortar, of such substantial duration as (fire excepted) generally lasted several hundred years, and of which some have remained to our own days.

In this first year of king Henry VIII, we have a still plainer account of the now improved royal office of exchange between England and foreign parts, in the king's grant of that office to sir Thomas Boleyn (the father of the unfortunate queen Anne Boleyn), in the terms following, viz. 'We grant to him the custody of our exchange at Calais, and also the custody of our exchange in England towards foreign parts, he to take and receive of every person going to Rome or other foreign parts, (either for devotion or for business, or who sends his

* This eulogium is merely a translation from Polydore Virgil.

† Others have estimated his treasure so high as L. 5,300,000, a sum, considering the value of money in those days, which, notwithstanding every allowance we may be disposed to make for the

king's parsimony, and the national opulence, we may almost venture to pronounce incredible. After the importations of Spain and Portugal had made the precious metals comparatively plenty in Europe, sir William Petty estimated the whole money of England only at six millions. M.

‘ agents or attorneys thither, or who may send moneys for payments to be made), all such sums of money as they are minded to send, and to deliver to them sufficient letters (bills) of exchange to the said parts, as is customary, making such agreements for the said bills as conscience and the various circumstances of distance, and other hazards, require, and to receive such sums out of the said exchangings as are due to us, he paying annually to us £ 30 : 6 : 8, and no more.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 258.]

We find frequent orders made by the crown against making exchanges any where but at the said royal office; yet the frequent repetition of these orders sufficiently shows that they had been frequently evaded.

Admiral James Columbus (son of the great Christopher) now settled and planted the island of Jamaica. The next year they fixed at Nombre de Dios in Darien, the first place where they got permanent footing on the continent. In 1511, they settled on the great island of Cuba, and in 1512 they landed on Florida, In 1513, they crossed the isthmus of Darien, near where Panama was afterward built, and now first discovered the great South sea. In 1515, John Dias de Solis landed at Brasil, and loaded his two ships with Brasil wood for Spain. In 1516, the Spaniards settled at Panama, and with incredible labour carried thither, over land, from the bay of Darien, the timber, iron-work, and rigging of two brigantines, which produced the subsequent discovery of Peru, &c. In 1517 and 1518, the Spaniards discovered, on the coasts of Yucatan and Mexico, many structures built with lime and stone; and it is said that Montezuma king of Mexico, had ordered his officers to treat the Spaniards kindly, who already began to trade with them for gold, &c. All these matters, for the space of about ten years, we have cursorily thrown together, as being very little material to be enlarged on; for as, in their many attempts to make new settlements, they met with various losses from the native Indians (whom they often treated cruelly), as also from storms, and the change of climates, so, upon the whole, it may be truly said, that, until the year 1519, when they mastered the empire or kingdom of Mexico, and thereby gained an immense fund of treasure to old Spain, all their expeditions and settlements were rather promising, than immediately profitable to Spain.

It is well worthy of remark, how much England has improved in gardening, fruits, roots, and pot-herbs, within the two last centuries. In the former part of king Henry VIII's reign, it seems there were no sort of what we usually call fallads to be found in England, nor any carrots, cabbages, turnips, or other such edible roots, but those roots were brought from Holland and Flanders. This we find in fundry authors, how much soever some moderns may be surprized thereat. And [according to the author of a laboured scheme (printed at London *anno* 1723, in 8vo,) for relief of the poor, and for paying old debts without

new taxes], even queen Katharine herself could not, at this time, have a fallad for dinner, until the king sent over to the Netherlands for a gardener, to cultivate those herbs and roots here, where we are now better supplied therewith than perhaps any other part of Europe.

1510.—In this year we find, by Meursius's *Historica Danica* [L. ii, part 3,] that the Baltic sea was much frequented by ships from France, England, and Scotland; for king John of Denmark's dominions being, at this time, invaded by a squadron of ships from Lubeck, which burnt several towns on his coasts, he, in his urgent necessity for getting ready the best fleet he could, pressed all the ships of those three nations into his service. But the Swedes joining the Lubeckers, and king John thereby finding himself still inferior at sea to the Hanseatics, purchased ships of England, France, and Scotland, his allies, at a great expense; so that, in the year following, his fleet, now superior to that of the Lubeckers and Swedes, ranged over the Baltic, took all the Hanseatic ships they could meet with, burnt the suburbs of Travemund (the port of Lubeck), and would have destroyed all the ships there, had not the Lubeckers, in good time, drawn them farther up into the town. Next, the Danish fleet boldly invaded the haven of Wisnar, burnt its suburbs, and carried off fourteen of their ships. After this they destroyed Warnemund, and burnt many villages belonging to Rostock and Straelfund, &c. So great was the loss of the Hanse towns in the space of one year, by this great diligence of the Danish king. The Hollanders also are (by other accounts) said to have sent ships to the assistance of the king of Denmark against the Lubeckers, who had taken eight of their ships; and, in this war, the province of Holland lost fifty ships, according to Pensionary De Witt's Interest of Holland.

So great a plenty or cheapness of provisions was there in this year, 1510, in the province of Zealand, 'That the eighth part of a measure of wheat, a fat goose, a pound of butter, and a pot of Poictou wine, were altogether sold for six stivers.' [*Meterani Hist. Belg. L. i, p. 8, ed. 1597.*] An instance of plenty of provisions, or of scarcity of money, scarcely to be paralleled in history in so late an age.

A new treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between Henry VIII and Louis XII of France. All that relates to commerce therein is, I) That all imposts or tolls laid on merchants or others, in either country, within the last 47 years, should be utterly abolished.

II) That all merchants, even Venetians, Florentines, and Genoese, might freely navigate the seas, armed or unarmed, either with their own ships, carracks, and gallies, or with those of other nations; and that the Venetians might freely and safely resort to England, and depart thence at pleasure, during the term of this treaty, which was for the lives of both kings, and one year after him who shall first decease:

Also the Florentines and Genoese might hereby freely resort either to France or England; provided the Venetians did no injury to the subjects of either king, in their going or returning.

III) That no letters of marque or reprisal should be issued from either country, but solely against the principals themselves and their effects, and this not till justice had been manifestly denied. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 270.]

About this time flourished the famous and eminent philosopher and astronomer, Nicholas Copernicus, of Thorn, in Polish Prussia, who travelled to Rome and other parts of Europe, to converse with the most famous men of the age, on the true knowledge of the appearances, positions, and motions of the planets, fixed stars, &c. so useful to navigators and cosmographers; and introduced such a new and excellent system of astronomy, as, with sundry great improvements since made, remains universally approved of by all nations to this day. He was born in the year 1473.

1511.—Whilst the Lubeck fleet (says Meursii *Historia Danica*) was flying from the superiority of the Danish one, a Dutch fleet, homeward bound from Livonia, consisting of 250 merchant-ships, and four ships of war, appeared in sight of the Lubeckers; who, it seems, thought this a fair opportunity to be revenged of the Hollanders for invading the commerce of the East sea, which the Vandalic towns still imagined they ought entirely to engross to themselves, as they had, indeed, done for several centuries past; for the old controversies between them and the Hollanders, concerning the rights of commerce in those seas, still subsisted. So vast a prize then allured those monopolizers of commerce to fall on the Dutch fleet, many of which they took, and others they burnt; the rest fled to Bornholm, where the victorious Danish fleet then lay; and the Hollanders imploring their assistance to revenge the injury just done by the Lubeckers, the Danes readily complied, and pursued the Lubeckers, who, to avoid falling into their hands, were forced to let go some of the ships they had taken from the Hollanders, and were glad to escape into their own port of Travemund, with a few of the Dutch prizes; the rest, which the Danes had recovered from the Lubeckers, they restored to the Hollanders, who nevertheless lost a good part of this large fleet. This shows how early the Hollanders had a considerable commerce in the Baltic sea, and, at the same time, how insolent it was in those Vandalic Hanse towns, who were also under the protection of the German empire, to attack the subjects of the emperor Maximilian in so outrageous a manner; no wonder, therefore, their downfall was now approaching; for the Danes, at this time, rode triumphant in the Baltic, and seized the Vandalic ships every where*.

* A valuable Scottish ship, commanded by John Bartan, had been taken in the year 1476, on her return from Sluys in Flanders, by two Portuguese armed ships, in sight of a Portuguese fleet, which

King Henry VIII having it much at heart to revive the claims of his predecessors on the kingdom of France, it will, we apprehend, be no very bad entertainment to an English reader, to learn how early some clear-sighted persons at court saw the ill tendency of the pernicious schemes of England making conquests on the continent, in substance (from lord Herbert) as follows, viz. If, when all Guienne, Anjou, Touraine, and (for a long while) Normandy was ours, and when the duke of Bretagne was our friend, and the house of Burgundy an assured ally and confederate, we yet could not advance our designs in France, what hope is there now to attain them? Let it be even granted, that as many battles as we fought against the French were almost so many victories, what was this kingdom the better for them? Had we ever a more glorious time than that of king Edward III, and was yet the country then ever more poor or weary of the wars?—You will (in our records and histories) find, that the kingdom was then much exhausted of its treasure (he might have added also of its men), and shall we trust now to better days? What though, with our 12,000 or 15,000 men, we have often defeated their armies of 50,000 or 60,000, stands it with reason of war to expect the like success still? especially since the use of arms is changed, and for the bow (proper for men of our strength) the calvever (or hand-gun) begins to be generally received; which, besides that it is a more costly weapon, requireth a long practice, and may be managed by the weaker fort. Let us, therefore, in God's name, leave off our attempts against the terra firma, as the natural situation of islands seems not to suit with conquests of that kind.—Or, when we would enlarge ourselves, let it be that way we can, and to which, it seems, the eternal providence has destined us, which is by sea.—The Indies are discovered, and vast treasure brought from thence every day; let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and if the Spaniards or Portuguese suffer us not to join with them, there will be yet region enough for all to enjoy.—

had just sailed from the same port. After a representation of the injury to the king of Portugal, James III had granted letters of reprisal to the sons of the injured commander: but no active steps were taken to prosecute the affair till the reign of James V, when the letters of reprisal were renewed, and many rich prizes were taken from the Portuguese, whose ships were at this time by far the most valuable of any upon the Western ocean. The vindication of their own, and the nation's wrongs, thus committed to the Bartons as a private patrimonial inheritance, was perhaps found too profitable to be willingly relinquished; and there is reason to apprehend, that the retaliation was pursued after sufficient satisfaction was obtained, and at last degenerated into piracy. The Bartons are even accused of plundering English vessels, on pretence of searching for Portuguese property; and Edward Howard (afterwards ad-

miral of England) was thereupon sent out with two armed ships against the Scottish cruisers. In the Downs he fell in with Andrew Barton returning to Scotland in his ship the *Lion*, attended by a small vessel called the *Little Jenny* (June 1511). An obstinate engagement ensued, wherein Barton was mortally wounded; and both his vessels were carried into the Thames. The *Lion* was taken into the service of the king of England, who till now had only one ship of war belonging to himself (or to the public), called the *Great Harry*; and thus by the accession of the Scottish *Lion* the royal navy of England was doubled. [*Epist. regum. Scot. V. i, pp. 91, et seqq.*—*Lesly, pp. 336, 340.*—*Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII, p. 15.*] The capture of these vessels interrupted the amity and commercial intercourse, which had subsisted between the British kingdoms since the marriage of James IV with the daughter of Henry VII. M.

The great and fine island of Cuba, in the West Indies, was not entirely subdued by the Spaniards till this year, when it is said, they had, by various cruelties and tortures, totally destroyed the numerous natives; and as it never could be repeopled in any reasonable degree by Spain (being 660 miles in length), it still remains, in a great measure, a desert to this day, unless it be in and near the few towns they have in it, which likewise are but poorly inhabited, excepting the famous town and port of Havannah, which may possibly contain near 5000 Spaniards (exclusive of negroes), being about half the white inhabitants of this great island; inasmuch that it would probably be totally deserted by Spain, were it not for its important situation; more especially for its most important haven of the Havannah, near the west end of it, commanding the entrance into the gulf of Florida, through which their treasure fleets must necessarily sail home to Spain. And as the Havannah has always been, and must ever be, the general rendezvous of their fleets homeward bound, both from new Spain and from Vera Cruz, Carthagena, and Porto Bello, it is justly called the key of the Spanish West-Indies. This noble island produces tobacco much esteemed, sugar (though in no great quantity, for want of hands), ginger, long pepper, and many useful drugs, copper mines, excellent fruits and vines, timber of various kinds, vast multitudes of black cattle, brought originally from Spain,—but there not being people sufficient to eat them, the Spaniards employ their negroes to kill them (as they also do in Paraguay, &c.) purely for their hides, which they send over to Spain in great quantities.

We find, by the most laborious and judicious Hakluyt, in his second volume, that there was some commerce from England, and in English ships, up the Mediterranean sea, as far as Scio, in the Levant, even as early as this year, chiefly from London, Bristol, and Southampton.

King Henry VIII of England and king Ferdinand the catholic, of Spain entered into a league against France, &c. wherein they stipulated to maintain a maritime force sufficient for protecting the commerce of both nations, viz. each king 3000 men, armed and equipped for naval war; and king Ferdinand was to send his quota of 40 ships, some of which were to be of 300 tons burden, and the rest smaller, down to 100 tons, to rendezvous at Southampton, where Henry's forces were to embark, though his quota be not therein specified. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 311.]

1512.—The next year we have a very particular indenture (in English) between king Henry VIII and his admiral sir Edward Howard, which affords us great light into the manner of setting out fleets for war in those times, viz.

1) Beside the 3000 men (as in the preceding year above related) armed for sea war, there were to be 700 soldiers, mariners and gunners in

king Henry's ship, named the Regent. The above 3000 men consisted of the 18 captains of the English ships, 1750 soldiers, and 1232 mariners and gunners.

II) The admiral to have, for the maintenance of himself in diet, and for wages and reward, 10*s* daily pay during the voyage; and each captain 1*s* 6 per day.

III) The soldiers, mariners, and gunners to have, per month of 28 days, 5*s* wages, and 5*s* more for victuals.

IV) The admiral undertakes to manage this armament for these allowances, he receiving three months expense always beforehand. *Item*, for the coat of every captain and soldier 4*s*, and of every mariner and gunner 1*s* 8.

V) For the dead shares of the said 18 English ships, the admiral was to have as follows, viz.

For the Regent, being of 1000 tons burden, 4 pilots, &c. 50 dead shares.

— the Mary Rose	500	34½
— the Peter Pomegranate	400	28
— John Hopton's ship	400	} (Dead shares needfuls to be named).
— the Nicholas Reede	400	
— the Mary George	300	

The rest of the ships were, one of 200 tons, three of 160 tons, one of 180 tons, two of 140 tons, three of 110 tons, one of 100 tons, and one of 70 tons. Moreover, for re-victualling and watering the ships, the admiral was allowed two crayers, one of 65 tons, and the other of 55; in the former 12 mariners and a boy, in the latter 10 and a boy, beside their commanders; each of the masters and mariners to have 10*s* per month (as before) for wages and victuals.

VI) All the soldiers and sailors to have 6*d* per day for conduct-money, allowing a day's journey to be twelve miles only.

And forasmuch as our sovereign lord, at his costs and charges, victualleth the said army and navy, the said admiral shall therefore reserve for the king the one half of all gains and winnings of the war, which he and the fleet, or any of them, shall fortune to obtain in the voyage, either on land or water; and also all prisoners being chieftains, and one ship-royal of 200 tons or upwards, with the ordinance and apparel of every prize to be taken by them. [*Fædera*, V. xiii, p. 326.]

This English fleet was, by agreement, to guard the seas from the channel to the streights-mouth of Gibraltar; and king Ferdinand's fleet was to do the like in the Mediterranean. It was about this time that ships first began to be reckoned by guns and tonnage jointly; gunners being now for the first time mentioned in the *Fædera*.

In this same year, king James IV of Scotland equipped a fleet, which he intended to send into France, under colour of presenting it

to queen Anne, wife of Louis XII. But this fleet, in which was the largest ship that had yet been seen on the sea *, was lost or disabled by a storm, and the admiral's ill conduct.' King James's real intent was to aid the French king against his brother-in-law, king Henry VIII of England.

Whoever will attentively consider the gradual increase of the trade, manufactures, and people of England, must at the same time acknowledge, that from some of the old acts of parliament it appears that the true condition and increase thereof were far from being fairly or justly stated, and often egregiously misrepresented either in the preamble, or in the main bodies of such statutes; sometimes probably to serve the temporary and sinister purposes of men in power, and perhaps sometimes only from mere inadvertency and ignorance of the true state of the time compared with elder times; proceeding also from a humour, at all times more or less prevailing, of unreasonably depreciating the present, and exalting former, times. Of this we have surely a pregnant instance in a statute [3 *Hen. VIII*, c. 8.], intitled, 'Of the assizing of the price of victuals when a victualler is chief officer,' (i. e. in a corporation), which proceeds thus:

Whereas, by a statute [12 *Edw. II*, c. 6.] in the year 1319, intitled, 'No officer of a city or borough shall sell wine or victuals during his office,' it was enacted, that no officer, who, by virtue of his office, was bound to keep the assizes of wines and victual, should, during his office, sell wines or victuals, either by wholesale or retail; 'Now, since the making of which statute, many, and the most part, of all the cities, burghs, and towns-corporate within this realm of England, be fallen in ruin and decay, and not inhabited with merchants and men of such substance as they were at the time of the making of the foresaid statute; for at this day the dwellers and inhabitants of the same cities and burghs be mostly bakers, brewers, vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers; and few or no other persons of substance be within many of the said cities and burghs at this day able to bear office within the same, and to content, answer, and pay unto the king's grace his fee-farm, wherewith they (i. e. the cities and burghs) be charged †. It is now enacted, for the ease, comfort, and relief of the foresaid poor cities, burghs, and towns-corporate, that whensoever, and as often as any

* This vast ship deserves more particular notice, because she was not indeed the largest that ever had been seen, but larger than any vessel (that we know of) that ever was built since the days of Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt. Her length was 240 feet, and her breadth 36 feet within and 56 without; her sides, which were proof against shot, being 10 feet in thickness. As yet ships carried guns only on the upper deck, and this prodigious ship carried only 35 great guns, 16 on each side, 2 in the stern and 1 in the bow; besides

which, she carried 300 small artillery, called my-and, culverins, double-dogs, &c. Her complement, besides officers, consisted of 300 seamen, 120 gunners, and 1000 soldiers. [*Pitcott's hist.* p. 167. ed. 1778.—*MS. Harl. No. 4687.*—*Epist. reg. Scot. V. i, pp. 39, 137, 214.*—*MS. Cott. Calig. B. vi. f. 70 a.*] M.

† How absurd are these words, as if the bulk of a city should consist of such trades, the rest being represented as persons unable to support those trades!

victualler is chosen to bear any office which should have the affizing and correction for the selling of victuals, that then two discreet and honest persons of the same city or burgh, not being victuallers, shall be chosen by the commonalty of the same city or burgh; which two persons (jointly), with the said officer, shall be sworn to set the affizes or prices of victuals during the said victualler's office; and then it shall be lawful for the said victualler in office to sell wines and victuals by wholesale and retail.'

' — Provided that this act shall not extend to discharge any minister (aforesaid) of the cities of London, York, and Coventry, for any wine or victual to be sold by retail within the said cities.'

Now, will any one seriously believe, that 200 years farther backward, and prior to the reign of king Edward III (who first gave the great and most advantageous turn to the English commerce and manufactures), the cities and towns of England were richer, or indeed near so rich, as at this time, when the exports of the native product and manufactures of England were greatly increased, an infallible mark of increasing riches, and that the most part of the cities and towns of England were fallen into ruin and decay since the 12th year of king Edward II? Certainly quite otherwise. It is rather to be supposed that some other latent reason produced this law; but whether it was intended for the ease of the other more wealthy inhabitants of the said cities and burghs, to bring back the magistracy to the victuallers, and perhaps also for some other political purpose, or for what other reason, we shall not absolutely determine, any more than why York and Coventry, and not Bristol, Norwich, &c. (though superior to them) are (with London) the only places excepted out of this act.

And we have sufficient demonstration of the truth of what we have advanced by another statute [c. 7.] 'for restraining the exportation of woollen cloths before they be fully manufactured;' wherein we find, that the cloths called vesses, rayes, sailing cloths, &c. which in the time of king Edward IV sold for 40s, were now sold for four merks (and two years after were sold at five merks), and that the prices of wool and workmanship were considerably advanced in about fifty years, purely occasioned by the increase of commerce and people.

In this same year, king Henry VIII built the greatest ship ever known in England before, at Woolwich, which is said to be oldest royal dock of any place in England. This is the ship called the Regent, of 1000 tons, already mentioned to be this year fitting out against France.

An expired statute [3 *Hen. VIII*, c. 1.] merits remark. Its title is, 'Every person that shall carry over the sea any money, plate, jewels, &c. shall forfeit the double value.' Plate and jewels are in our age deemed as much a commodity as any other merchandize, and so are foreign coin and bullion. And in fact, the only solid reason for prohi-

biting the exportation of our own coin is, when (like our crown-pieces at present) it happens to be too weighty; for it would be impracticable to be continually altering our coins, in order to keep pace with the current prices of gold and silver on the continent. Moreover, notwithstanding this prohibition, we know that our crown-pieces are melted down, and carried beyond sea, so that few or next to none are to be seen current; which shows that it is the intrinsic value alone of our coins which is at all times regarded, and not their nominal value.

From this year we may properly date the commencement of what may be called an English royal navy, i. e. a number of stout ships for war, actually belonging to, and permanently kept on foot by the crown for national defence; king Henry VIII being the first English king who effectually pursued this plan, and for that end first established a navy-office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present. He certainly employed great sums of money on his marine affairs, as well for the construction of ships of war, as of docks, yards, wharfs, storehouses, &c. Before his time there was no fixed and permanent royal navy, but, on ordinary occasions, the Cinque-Ports supplied the crown with a determined number of such ships as they had in those times; and on great emergencies, we have also seen that all the maritime towns of the kingdom were bound, on due notice, to send their quotas of ships and mariners for a determined time, commanded either by the king or his admiral; such as was the fleet of king Edward III at the siege of Calais in the year 1347, and other capital expeditions.

Bishop Gibson, in his additions to Camden's *Britannia*, observes, that king Henry VIII, in the fourth year of his reign, for the advancement of navigation and commerce, established a corporation for examining, licensing, and regulating pilots, and for ordering and directing beacons, lighthouses, buoys, &c. which is stiled 'The corporation of the trinity-house of Deptford Strond', and has proved of great benefit for accomplishing the valuable ends of its foundation. Another society, for the like good purposes, he afterwards established at Hull, by the name of the trinity-house at Hull; and also another at Newcastle upon Tyne, in the year 1537; which three establishments (says Hakluyt) were in imitation of that which the emperor Charles V had erected at Seville in Spain, who, observing the many shipwrecks in the voyages to and from the West Indies, occasioned by the ignorance of seamen, established, at the contraction-house, lectures on navigation, and a pilot-major for the examination of other pilots and mariners; he also directed books to be published on that subject for the use of his mariners. The king, by his charter, confirmed to the Deptford trinity-house society all the ancient rights, privileges, &c. of the shipmen and mariners of England, and their several possessions at Deptford; whereby it is plain they had

been a society long before, though no where recorded how long. This corporation (whose powers, &c. have been since confirmed and augmented by succeeding kings) have also the power of appointing pilots for the king's ships, and for examining and fixing their wages, and certifying their qualifications, and those of the masters of ships of war; also for clearing and deepening the Thames by ballast-hoys, with which ballast they supply the shipping. They have also the examination of the forty mathematical boys of Christ's Hospital; they have likewise power to hear and determine complaints of officers and sailors in the merchant service; so that this corporation is eminently useful to the nation.

That finery, or gaiety of apparel, was much increased with the increase of commerce in England, appears plain from an act of parliament of this year [c. 6,] reciting part of an act of the 12th of Edward IV (not printed), whereby the custom-house officers are prohibited to take any thing whatever for stamping imported cloth of gold and cloth of silver, vaudekin, velvet, damask, satin, sarcenet, tariton, camel, and other cloths of silk, and of silk and gold and silver. It is in this new act said, 'That many times the merchants import, in one ship only, three or four thousand pieces of those merchandize, which (says this act) amounts to L. 30 or L. 40 to those officers, thus against law still extorting 2*d* for sealing each piece.'

John de Solis, sailing from Spain, along the coast of Brasil, southward, first discovered the great river which they named Rio de la Plata, in 35 degrees south of the equator, in the country of Paraguay.

1513.—King Henry VIII, bent on war against France (says lord Herbert, p. 30. in his life of that prince), thought fit, in the first place, to clear the sea from the French navy. He therefore sent out his fleet toward Brest, consisting of 42 sail, besides lesser barks, without specifying (as the preceding year, unless indeed they were the identical fleet of that year) their tonnage, or their guns, or rates; neither indeed, with respect to the last, can we conceive that it (*viz.* the rate of the ship) had been as yet, nor even long after this time, brought into use any where in Europe: And his lordship probably would have given posterity the tonnage, and number of guns on the French side also, had they been left upon record; but either so incurious, or else so negligent, were the historians of those times, that they have too often neglected such matters, which in our times would be reckoned unpardonable, whilst they often, with the greatest exactness, entertain us with a tedious detail of a public entry, or other trifling show or cavalcade. Burchet, however, in his naval history, acquaints us, that the largest of king Henry's ships, named the Regent, grappled (before Brest) with the largest of the French ships, named the Cordelier, which being ac-

cidentally set on fire, both ships were consumed, with all their crews *; the sight of which so terrified the rest of the French fleet, which had just come out of Brest, to the number of 39 ships, that they all retired again into that port, and so put an end to this marine campaign; though others give a very different account of this matter, and represent the French to have been superior to the English fleet, which (after losing their admiral Howard) was forced to retire home.

Under the year 1511, we have observed (from Hakluyt), that the English began to have some commerce in the Levant sea. We now find king Henry VIII appointing one Justiniano to be master, governor, protector, or consul, of all the merchants and other English subjects, in the port and island of Scio, or Chios, in the Archipelago, still possessed by the Genoese, with powers to govern them, and receive the profits of his office. This island is celebrated for the drug called mastic. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 253.]

The same year king Henry VIII farther confirmed the privileges of the company of merchants-adventurers of England, with respect to their exportation of English woollen cloths, &c.

On the very next page of the *Fœdera*, we find king Henry VIII entering into a league with the emperor Maximilian, king Ferdinand of Spain, and pope Leo X, against king Louis XII of France, under the scarcely-specious show of defending the pope and the church, and agreeing to allow 100,000 gold crowns for supporting this sham holy war. And in the same year (p. 381), he stipulates to pay 200,000 crowns to Maximilian, for keeping up 4000 horse and 6000 foot in the Netherlands for the same purpose; as also for enabling Henry's garrison of Tournay to defend that place from the French.

A magazine and storehouse for the royal navy was now first erected at Deptford, near London, which has since become a large town, more populous than many corporation-towns, occasioned by the noble royal docks, storehouses, dock-yards, wharfs, &c. since erected there.

King Henry VIII, considering how much the river Thames was exposed to insults from foreign enemies, now erected a platform of cannon at Gravesend, and another opposite to it on the Essex shore, where Tilbury fort was afterwards built.

The king, to repair the loss of his fine ship, named the Regent, caused another to be built (says Hall's chronicle), such an one as had never before been seen in England, and named it the Henry Grace de Dieu!

1514.—Guicciardin, in his description of the Netherlands, acquaints us, that the city of Antwerp being, by its vast commerce, greatly enlarged with new buildings, was now surrounded also with a new and

* In the English ship 700 men, and in the French one 900, perished. It is probable, therefore, that the French ship was still larger than the Regent. [*Stow's annales*, p. 822, ed. 1600.] M.

more extensive wall, being the second wall that had been built round that city.

Notwithstanding the preparations made in the preceding year for a confederate and pretended religious war against king Louis XII of France, a treaty of peace was concluded between king Henry VIII and him, for both their lives, comprehending also an intercourse of commerce; whereby it was stipulated,

‘ I) That all duties or burdens on commerce, in both countries, imposed within the last 52 years, shall be absolutely repealed.

‘ II) And that all foreign merchants, and particularly the Venetians and Florentines, should be at full liberty to sail to either kingdom, armed or unarmed, with their ships and merchandize.

‘ III) No letters of marque or reprisal to be issued by either of the contracting parties against any but the principal delinquents, and their effects and abettors, and not even against those until justice has been denied, after being formally demanded.

IV) In another article of this treaty, the two kings engaged mutually to assist each other with land and sea forces; the assistance by sea, on either side, being stipulated to be 5000 armed men, with ships fit for war, cannon, gunpowder, stones (for they had not as yet fallen into the use of iron bullets), darts, provisions, arms, and other necessaries for war, suitable to the number of men above specified, at the expense of the party demanding such assistance. But here is no specification of the precise number, or of the burden of the ships.

‘ V) Louis obliged himself to confirm to the English, trading at Bourdeaux, all the privileges and immunities granted either by himself or his predecessors kings of France.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 412.]

The portion of Mary, second daughter of the late king Henry VII, to be married to king Louis XII of France, was fixed at 400,000 gold crowns; of which sum it was agreed that one half should go towards the lady’s equipage, gold and silver plate, jewels, clothes, &c. and the other half was to be deducted out of a million of crowns, which Louis, by another treaty with Henry, of this same year, stipulates to pay him for deserting the confederacy; although the plausible pretence for this stipulation was expressed to be for sundry old claims of the crown of England on that of France. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, pp. 428, 433.]

In this year also, we see the form of a manumission granted by king Henry VIII to two persons, viz. ‘ Whereas, originally God created all men free; but afterward the laws and customs of nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude. We think it pious and meritorious with God, to make certain persons absolutely free from servitude, who are at present under villenage to us. Wherefore we do now accordingly manumit and free from the yoke of servitude, Henry Knight a tailor, and John Erle a husbandman, our natives (i. e. our slaves), as being

born in our manor of Stoke-Clymmylande, in our county of Cornwall, together with all their issue born, or hereafter to be born, and all their goods, chattels, and lands already acquired, or hereafter to be acquired by them; so as the said two persons, with their issue, shall henceforth be deemed by us and our heirs free, and of free condition.' [*Fædera*, V. xiii, p. 470.]

1515.—Meursius [*Historia Danica*, L. iii.] observes, that the Danes had for a long time complained of the arbitrary proceedings of the Hanse towns in commercial matters; and particularly that when they carried their merchandize to those towns for sale, they were not permitted to ask what price they thought fit for the same; but the magistrates of those Hanse towns assumed a power of arbitrarily setting a price thereon; and those magistrates, being generally merchants themselves, took great advantage thereof, whereby the Danes were frequently obliged to sell at a losing price, they not being permitted to re-export their merchandize from those towns, after they had once exposed them to sale; but at best, if not compelled to sell them at the price first fixed or offered, they had no other remedy but to lodge them in the citizens warehouses till the prices should change in their favour. The great quantity, moreover, of corn, butter, fish, &c. thereby carried out of Denmark, rendering provisions much dearer, and distressing to the poor, king Christiern II therefor directed, that for the future all those merchandize should be exposed to sale only at Copenhagen, whither also he brought the richest merchants from other parts of his dominions. Thus this prince (though in other respects a cruel tyrant) brought Copenhagen to be the emporium or staple for all Danish merchandize, to the great detriment of Lubeck, Wismar, Rostoc, Straelfund, Stetin, &c. This was one great blow to the commerce of the Hanse towns, whose arbitrary proceedings put other princes and states upon the like measures; and as men grow wiser by experience, it also put them upon manufactures and other branches of commerce at home, which gradually brought on the farther decay of those Hanse towns.

In England new measures were projected for the farther prevention of frauds in the manufacture of woollen cloths; and by two statutes [cc. 8, 9] the weight of those cloths is directed to be ascertained, and orders made to prevent stretching in their measure, as also shrinking; and other regulations touching the wool, yarn, &c. And Blackwell-hall is first named therein, though doubtless of a much longer standing, as a repository for woollen cloths.

A new treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between Henry VIII and Francis I, in nearly the same terms as the former one in the year 1514, with Louis XII, now dead, viz. for both their lives; and one year after (the common manner of treating in those times), with an additional clause, prohibiting the privateers of either nation to set

fail, without giving security not to injure any of the subjects of the other contracting party, and to prevent them from selling their booty in the ports of either party, or receiving supplies of provisions. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 476.]

Henry VIII having complained to the senate of Genoa against the new duty laid on the merchandize of his subjects in their island of Scio, they, in the year 1517, informed him, that the heavy annual tribute which they were obliged to pay to the grand signior for the island, obliged them to impose the duty which his subjects complained of: Wherefore they humbly hoped his Majesty would not any more listen to the complaints of his subjects there, since they were no higher taxed than the other inhabitants; adding, that by that grievous tribute to the Turks, they contracted a debt of 120,000 ducats, which they could no otherwise discharge but by those new duties. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, pp. 493, 589.]

A new treaty of peace and intercourse of commerce was concluded between Henry VIII and Ferdinand the Catholic, for himself as king of Arragon, and also as administrator of the person and dominions of his daughter Joanna, queen of Castile, &c. which is much the same with former treaties with Spain; with this addition, that in case the ships of either party should be wrecked on the coasts of the other party, the magistrates should secure and sequester the goods, &c. of such wreck for the proprietors, if within twenty months they should make out their claim, and perishable merchandize should be sold for the benefit of the owners: But if no claim were made within twenty months, then the laws of the country, where such wreck should happen, should take place. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 520.]

1516.—In this year king Ferdinand the Catholic died at Madrid, which place (says Guicciardin, in his History of the wars in Italy) was then but an obscure village. Spain, before the union of its several kingdoms, had as many different capitals as kingdoms; but Madrid being the usual residence of Ferdinand's successors (though still an open town without walls) is become a very large city.

Hakluyt [*Voyages*, V. iii, p. 498.] mentions a voyage made in this year by sir Thomas Port vice-admiral of England, and Sebastian Cabot, from England to the coasts of Brasil, and other parts of South America, by order of king Henry VIII; yet he gives us no particulars of it.

In many different periods we find the Hanseatic historians almost constantly complaining (and particularly the Lubeckers) of the violences committed by the Danes: For instance, in the year 1507, the king of Denmark, just after having concluded a peace with the Hanse towns, seized on nine Lubeck merchant ships, richly laden, from Riga. On the other hand, the Danish historians paint the Hanse towns, and especially Lubeck, in very odious colours, and as being ever the

implacable enemies of Denmark : But as at this distance of time we are not well able to judge of the grounds of many of their quarrels, since both sides set off their respective causes plausibly, we shall not determine thereupon, any farther than historically to note, that the seizure produced an eight years war between them, till this year 1516 ; during which space the city of Hamburgh alone carried on a trade with Norway and Denmark, without any regard to Lubeck and the other Vandalic cities at war with that crown ; whereby, and by their trade with England and the Netherlands, Hamburgh marvellously increased in wealth. [*Werdenbagen, resp. Hans. V. i, part 3, c. 17.*]

The commercial intercourse between England, and Charles, sovereign of the Netherlands, was renewed for five years to come ; when it was farther stipulated,

I) That the English, carrying their merchandize to Antwerp, which is in the province of Brabant, shall not there be obliged to pay the tolls of Zealand ; neither when they carry their merchandize to Bergen-op-zoom *, or to Middleburg, shall they be obliged to pay the tolls of Brabant, but solely those of Zealand.

II) That the merchants of either country shall not make by-laws and statutes amongst themselves, for agreeing not to buy the goods of certain towns or persons of the other country ; neither shall either side set a fixed price on the merchandize of the other side, at their fairs and markets, but all persons shall be free on both sides, to buy and sell as they best can.

Lastly, Within one year from the date hereof, a formal congress shall be held, for terminating all complaints of the subjects of both princes, either general or particular, relating to tolls, customs, the staple, &c. [*Fœdera, V. xiii, pp. 533, 539.*]

Thus were the traders of England and the Netherlands perpetually complaining and treating about grievances ; and yet both parties still found it their interest to go on trading with each other.

This year put an end to the famous monarchy of the Mamelucs in Egypt, after it had lasted upwards of 300 years. It seems that Campson Gaurus, their fifteenth monarch or sultan, had, about or soon after the year 1501, unhappily joined with Ismael, sophy of Persia, against Selim I, the Turkish emperor, who proved too hard for them both, and found means to dethrone and kill Tonombeius, the son of Campson Gaurus. The Mamelucs, however, made resistance to the power of Selim for some years after ; yet he at length reduced, first, the port-towns of Syria, as Tripoli, Sidon, &c. and next the city of Damascus. Lastly, he reduced the entire country of Egypt, after taking the vast city of Cairo, in the year 1516. This was a great blow to the balance of power

* In the original *Bergbes*, which may perhaps be the Dutch name of Mons.

in the East, by throwing two such noble countries as Syria and Egypt into the scale of the Turkish empire, already too ponderous; whereby the sultans were enabled to give the law in the Levant seas, and to distress the commerce and territories of Venice and Genoa in those parts, as they soon effectually did. It also gave them the dominion of both sides of the Red sea, and on the coast of Africa without that sea, and south-east on the Arabian shore. It likewise gave the Turks the means of going by sea to East-India, to the great annoyance of the Portuguese in those parts, as may be seen in the histories of their Indian conquests.

The city of Antwerp constantly increasing in wealth and commerce, and the city of Bruges as constantly declining, such foreign merchants as had not before left the latter, removed in this year to Antwerp. The English had removed thither in the preceding year: So there now only remained a few Spaniards at Bruges; yet the staple for English wool was not as yet removed thence.

1517.—Four Portuguese ships, attended by four Malayan ships, sailed from Malacca for China, with an ambassador to the Chinese emperor, who travelled from Canton to Peking, all the way over land.

The first account we have of the grand cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland was in this year, when an English ship of 250 tons arrived at the island of Puerto Rico, pretending she came with another to discover a passage to Cathay, and had been at Newfoundland, where there were fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese ships on the fishery. Thence she sailed for Hispaniola, but being fired at from the castle, returned to Puerto-Rico, and departing thence, was never heard of more. [*Hakluyt's Voyages*, V. iii, p. 499. Hererra dates it two years later.]

So great an event, and so fraught with interesting consequences, as was the reformation of a great part of Christendom from popery, cannot altogether be passed over in silence for sundry obvious reasons; yet, as ecclesiastical history is not our province, it will suffice that we briefly observe, under this year 1517, that Pope Leo X, being, or seeming to be, alarmed at the conquest of Syria and Egypt from the Mamelucs, by Selim the grand signior, published a croisade against the Turks; and, for that seeming end, dispersed his indulgences all over Christendom, which were so shamefully disposed of in Germany, that the benefit of those indulgences were even to extend to the dead, whose souls, upon payment by their heirs, &c. of a sum of money, were immediately to be redeemed out of purgatory; and Guicciardini, in his wars of Italy, relates, that those powers for releasing souls out of purgatory were openly played for in taverns: which scandalous proceedings excited Martin Luther, a monk, and professor of divinity at Wirtemberg in Saxony, to attack the papal power, wherein being supported by Frederick elector of Saxony, &c. a reformation of religion was gradually

brought about in several kingdoms and states of Europe. That great event has proved very beneficial to those countries wherein protestantism has been firmly established; since, by suppressing the idle drones in the convents, and putting a stop to the great sums annually remitted to Rome, and carried to other parts for pilgrimages, &c. their people are more increased and more profitably employed for the general benefit, and their money, before so unworthily dissipated, is now employed in trade and commerce. Much more might be said on this subject, to show the many benefits which have accrued to those several countries which embraced the reformation of religion; but as these general remarks may be sufficient for our present purpose, we shall leave our readers to supply the rest, as their several inclinations shall direct them.

1518.—On May-day 1518, there was a shameful riot (says Hall in his life of king Henry VIII, p. 62.) committed by the London apprentices, servants, watermen, and priests, against foreigners, by pulling down, and rifling their houses, &c. The complaints against them were, 'That there were such numbers of them employed as artificers, that the English could get no work: That the English merchants had little to do, by reason the merchants-strangers bring in all silks, cloths of gold, wine, oil, iron, &c. that no man almost buyeth of an Englishman: They also export so much wool, tin, and lead, that English adventurers can have no living: That foreigners compass the city round about, in Southwark, Westminster, Temple-bar, Holborn, St. Martin's (le Grande), St. John's street, Aldgate, Tower-hill, and St. Catharines; and they forestal the market, so that no good thing for them cometh to the market, which are the causes that Englishmen want and starve, whilst foreigners live in abundance and pleasure: That the Dutchmen bring over iron, timber, and leather ready manufactured, and nails, locks, baskets, cupboards, stools, tables, chests, girdles, saddles, and painted cloths*.' Dr. Bell's Spital sermon on Easter-Tuesday, had greatly increased the people's jealousy of foreigners. I saw, said John Lincoln (the chief instigator of the people), on a Sunday this Lent, 600 foreigners shooting at the poppinjay with crossbows. This riot was over by dawn of day, called Evil May-day. Several of those rioters were hanged, and the king pardoned the rest. The pretended crimes of those foreigners were probably their working cheaper, and being more industrious than our own people, whose exclusive privileges within the city kept the foreigners in those out-parts above named out of the freedom; thereby getting much of the trade, &c. from the freemen †.

A treaty was now concluded between king Henry VIII and Francis I,

* These accusations throw some light on the commercial condition of London at this time.

† A very circumstantial account of this great

riot is given by Stow, who dates it in 1517, in his *Annales*, p. 848, ed. 1600; *Survey of London*, p. 151, ed. 1618. M.

the French king, for the marriage of Mary, Henry's daughter, with the dauphin of France; wherein Henry stipulates to pay 330,000 crowns, of 35 sols Tournois each, as the lady's portion; but it did not take place. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 632.]

And in p. 642 we have a treaty, whereby Henry stipulates to deliver to Francis the city and territory of Tournay, with Mortagne and St. Amande; for which Francis stipulates to pay him 600,000 crowns, of 35 sols Tournois each, at sundry distant payments.

By a commercial, or rather maritime treaty, between king Henry VIII and king Francis I, the title of which is *Tractatus Depredationis*, it appears there were in those times many violences, robberies, and piracies committed on the seas of Europe. For the prevention whereof it was now stipulated,

'I) That at London, the admiral, vice-admiral, and master of the rolls, for England, and at Rouen, the like officers for France, should reciprocally be the judges of such enormities.

'II) These curity which masters and owners of ships gave (by former treaties), on their setting sail, not to injure the subjects of the other contracting party on the seas or in the port, was by this treaty made general, viz. That they should not injure any nation whatever.

'III) Ships, on their return home, were to undergo a strict examination, and to give a just account how they came by any ships, merchandize, or prisoners, which they might bring home as booty.' [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 649.]

Since all the powers of Europe keep up a standing maritime force even in times of peace, such piratical violences amongst nations in amity have ceased, because they would be so easily detected, and so speedily punished.

And here it may be proper to remark, that in almost all the general treaties between England and France, for about 100 years backward from this time, England (along with such other powers as are comprehended by her in those treaties) generally has comprehended, and now expressly comprehends, the community and society of the Teutonic Hanse.

We may also note, that king Henry VIII was the first king of England that had any correspondence with the Swiss cantons, whom he therefore generally comprehends in his treaties, under the title of the Helvetic Lords ('*Domini Helvetii, sive Suetenses.*')

In this year, according to Thuanus [*L. li.*], 'fourteen of the Hanse towns were cut off from their general confederacy,' (for irregularities, doubtless, in their conduct.) Who adds, that there still remained, unto his own time, 66 cities in that confederacy, viz. 6 Vandalic cities, 8 of Pomerania, 6 of Prussia, 3 of Livonia, 13 Saxon cities, 10 of Westphalia, 7 of Cleves or Marck, 3 of Overijssel, 7 of Guelderland, and 3

of Friseland. By this account, there must have been in all 80 Hanse towns in that confederacy; yet their historiographer Werdenhagen, makes but 64 cities who ever paid annual contributions for the expence of that confederacy.

The Scottish parliament passed an act, with proper penalties, against those who neglected to plant woods, hedges, and fences; though this, like former laws for the same purpose, has never been well executed, even to the present times: But they are in our days setting effectually, though but gradually, about what their own statutes long since enjoined them to do.

1519.—The Spaniards went on with their discoveries on the continent of America, and particularly on the coast of what is called Terra Firma, Darien, &c. although (as elsewhere observed), what with storms and shipwrecks, and the resistance of the native Indians, it may be thought doubtful whether, upon the whole, they were hitherto really gainers until after the year 1519; when the emperor Charles V, king of Spain, received news of the discovery and commencement of the conquest of the famous Indian empire of Mexico by Hernando Cortes; who sailing, in the year 1518, from the isle of Cuba, with about 400 foot soldiers, 7 small cannon, and 15 (some say 50 horsemen) laid the foundation of a very great dominion for Spain in America, by the immense treasures which to this day are annually brought from America into Spain, more especially after they had from Mexico invaded Peru, Paraguay, and Chili, southward, and New Mexico northward. The mention of this particular (says Mr. Rapin de Thoyras judiciously, in his history of England) is the more necessary, as it was the gold and silver wherewith the new world furnished Spain, that contributed most to render Charles V so powerful, as he will hereafter appear; beside, money growing more plenty by the trade carried on by other countries with Spain, the reader must not be surpris'd hereafter to find more numerous armies, greater magnificence in princes courts, and the doweries of princesses much larger than before.

Ferdinand Magellan, who had served under Albuquerque, the great Portuguese commander in East-India, having (through some discontent) entered into the service of Spain, now signified to the emperor Charles V, King of Spain, that by the imaginary line of division or partition, which king John of Portugal had agreed on with King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, all the Banda and Molucco isles must fall to the share of Spain; of which rich isles he proposed to him to make a complete discovery, by a bold, and till then unheard-of, navigation westward. The emperor joyfully embraced his proposal, giving him five ships and 300 men for its execution; yet, through storms, scarcity of provisions, &c. he did not get through that famous strait (to which his name was thereupon given) till November 1520; thence sailing by the Ladrones

isles, he arrived at the isles which he called the Philippines, where he lost his life in a skirmish; but the ships sailed on for Tidore, one of the Molucco isles, where they arrived in the 27th month after their first setting out from Spain, and where (contrary to what the Portuguese had given out, to deter others from coming thither) they found the sea 102 yards in depth, though the Portuguese had (as some write) spread reports of its being so shallow, that there was no navigating it, beside continual darkness, rocks, &c. Here the Spaniards first tasted the spices at their fountain-head, and traded with the king and people of Tidore for them, in exchange for their own cargo of cloth, glasses, &c. to a vast profit; thence they returned home, with only one of their ships, by the Cape of Good Hope (one ship being taken by the Portuguese, and the other left leaky) and arrived at Seville in September 1552; being the first who had ever sailed quite round the globe.

There having probably been some difference, before this time, between England and Genoa, on account of commerce, or perhaps partly for the partiality of the Genoese to France, under the protection and vassalage of whose kings they had for some time past put themselves, the French king, amongst his other titles, now styling himself lord of Genoa, matters were in this year accommodated; and we accordingly meet with king Henry VIII's passport or safe-conduct to Luke Spinola, styled master of the society of merchants of Genoa residing in England, and to all other Genoese merchants and their factors, &c. together with their carracks, galleys, and ships, to resort to any part of England and its territories, there freely to sell their merchandize, and to buy wool, woollen cloth, tin, lead, &c.; provided they do not export any merchandize of the staple of Calais to any port but to Calais, unless it be through the Straits of Morocco; any letters of marque, or reprisals, against the community, dominion, and city of Genoa, their vassals or subjects, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding. Lastly, this safe conduct was to continue for five years, even although it should happen in the interim that war should break out between England and France. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 700.]

According to Sandoval's history of the civil wars of Spain, in the beginning of the reign of the emperor Charles V, when almost all the cities of Spain, in this year 1519 (et seq.), made insurrections, on account of the exorbitant exactions of that emperor's Flemish favourites, and their carrying much money out of Spain into Flanders, &c. we find mention made of fundry clothworkers amongst those rebels, whose army had drawn up articles or conditions to be agreed to by the emperor: Some of them are as follows, viz.

- I) That the cloth imported from other countries shall be of the same size and goodness as the cloths wrought in these kingdoms (of Spain.)
- II) That the merchants and clothiers of the kingdoms (of Spain),

may take, (seize) to work and spend therein, one half of all the wools bought, either by natives or by strangers, to be sent out of the kingdoms, paying the same price as they had done for them. And that the officers of justice may take the said wools either from the shepherds or from the buyers, and deliver them to be manufactured, as above.

Hence it is plain, that there was once a considerable manufacture in Spain *, though it was afterwards neglected, chiefly owing to the influx of gold and silver from America, very soon after this time, whereby the nation grew lazy with their riches, and careless of the labour required in manufactures; and to the temptation of getting suddenly rich, which allured such numbers of people to emigrate to America, that there were not industrious hands enough left in Spain to carry on such manufactures.

Spain has since made several unsuccessful efforts for the revival of that manufacture; and such measures are in our days pursuing by his present Catholic Majesty, as are very likely to restore it in some considerable degree, though the country still labours under the great misfortune of a want of industrious hands: so extremely difficult it is for a nation to recover a neglected and lost manufacture.

1520.—The commercial treaty, named by the Netherlanders *intercursus magnus*, concluded in 1495-6, was now renewed between king Henry and the emperor Charles V, sovereign of the Netherlands, for five years certain. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 714.]

King Henry issued a commission for a congress at Bruges in Flanders, to treat with commissioners from the Hanse towns, concerning the abuses, unjust uses, extensions, enlargements, interpretations, and restrictions, made by the Hanseatic merchants, concerning the several privileges at any time granted to the Hanseatic league by the king or his predecessors, and to remove all the said abuses; also to demand and receive whatever sums of money, and how large soever they may be, due to him on that account. And finally, to renew and conclude an intercourse of commerce between England and the said Hanse-league; but the issue of this congress does not appear. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 722.]

The Genoese observing the various ways of essaying to get to East-India, besides the common way by the Cape of Good Hope; as that now by Magellan's straits, the supposed north-west passage, that supposed from New-Spain, and the hoped-for north-east passage, every nation seeking to excel in industry in this age of discoveries; they, because not so much accustomed to voyages in the ocean, sent Paul Conterano to the czar of Muscovy, with a proposal for carrying the merchandize of East-India overland into Russia; but the difficulties of this under-

* The treaty between Charles V king of Spain, under the year 1526, affords a better evidence of and Francis I king of France, which will be found the existence of woollen manufactures in Spain. *M.*

taking were so many, that the czar rejected their proposal. [*Monson's Naval tracts*, p. 480.]

According to Nicholson, [*English historical library*, p. 6, ed. 1696.] 'since the beginning of King Henry VIII's reign, our eldest general geographer or antiquary is said to have been Thomas Sulmo, a Guernsey man, who died at London, anno 1545; the year following, a much greater man of the profession, Sir Thomas Elliot, one of King Henry's ambassadors, and of Sir Thomas Moore's friends, died also. Contemporary with those two, was George Lilly (son of William the famous grammarian), who lived some time at Rome with Cardinal Poole, and published the first exact map that ever was till then drawn of this island.'

1521.—The great success of the Turks at this time justly alarmed the princes of Europe; for in the year 1521, the sultan Solyman the Magnificent not only took the fortress of Belgrade from Louis king of Hungary, but likewise soon after, the city of Buda, the capital of that kingdom. In the year following he assaulted the famous isle of Rhodes, so long possessed by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and although the city of Rhodes had but 6000 Christians in garrison, they held out six months against the whole power of the Turks, who lost 64,000 men before they were able to take it. Solyman also, out of the Black Sea and other parts, having got together near 600 galleys, &c. attempted the isle of Corfu, and ravaged the neighbouring coasts and isles, proving too hard for the united fleets of the emperor, Venice, and the pope. This proved a great detriment to the naval commerce of England in the Levant seas, where, till now, those zealous knights of St. John had been the common protectors of all Christian ships, and a great obstruction to the Turkish depredations. When those knights got away from Rhodes, with 50 of their galleys, they carried much riches with them; and many people; yet, (that we may not any more recur to this article) in about eight years following, during which they moved about between Candia, Naples, Sicily, Villafranca, &c. their numbers and riches were much diminished; until the year 1530, when the Emperor Charles V. bestowed on them the isles of Malta and Goza in the Sicilian sea: Here they again soon became the terror of the Mahometans, as they still continue to be. Captain Morgan acquaints us, that the naval force of Malta, in his time, consisted of seven stout ships of war, none carrying fewer than 50 guns, beside galleys and privateers of all sizes, with which they are perpetually harassing the coasts of Barbary, and bringing home prizes to Malta. [*Hist. of Algiers*, V. i, p. 315. ed. 1728.]

In those times, when commerce was but in its childhood, there was too much of a monopolizing spirit throughout all Europe. The city of Hamburgh pretended (and partly still pretends) to an exclusive dominion on the river Elbe. This had been connived at in the early days

of commerce, when they even claimed a right to exclude all the other towns lying between it and the sea from a free navigation on that great river, by virtue of grants from sundry emperors ; which, they also alleged, enabled them to oblige the subjects of Danish Holstein to import their merchandize no where else but to Hamburgh, for which, it was said, they were to take what price the Hamburghers pleased to allow them. King Christiern II of Denmark, in the year 1521, opposed their exorbitant claims, in resentment of which opposition, Hamburgh, in the year 1523, actually declared war against Denmark ; yet King Christian III, being of a mild disposition, permitted Hamburgh to keep up those claims during his whole reign, which ended in the year 1558, after which we shall trace those disputes farther.

There being at this time a great decay of husbandry in England, by reason of the many inclosures, which, within the preceding fifty years, had turned much arable land into pasture, thereby lessening the number of husbandmen, &c. most capable of defending the country, whereby also towns and villages were depopulated, and both wool and flesh meat were enhanced, because engrossed by the nobility and gentry, who were not necessitated to sell ; King Henry VIII therefore now issued out his commissions to the magistrates for putting in execution the laws against inclosures.

In the same year was first introduced the use of hand-guns or muskets, whereby, in little more than 100 years later, the practice of bows and arrows in war was quite laid aside.

In the same year there was a great breach from the sea in the dikes or sea-walls of Holland, whereby 72 villages, and upwards of 100,000 people, were said to be drowned ; but we dare not ascertain this for fact without more authentic vouchers of time, place, &c. than merely a general report.

King Henry (by his favourite Cardinal Wolsey) acted as mediator at the treaty of Calais between the two great rivals for power, the Emperor Charles V and King Francis I of France. What relates to commerce is as follows.

Whereas the fierce war carried on between those two princes had occasioned many maritime depredations, to the grievous damage of the innocent subjects on both sides, and it being now the proper season for the herring-fishing,—to prevent those depredations, it was now stipulated,

That the fishers, both of the emperor and France, may freely fish for herrings, &c. from the date hereof (11th October 1521) to the end of January following, even though the war should go on between those princes, and they may return home in safety.

It was also stipulated (much for the honour of King Henry), that during the war between Charles and Francis, none of their subjects should,

in the harbours, bays, rivers, or mouths of rivers, roads or stations for shipping, and particularly the station called the Downs, nor in any other maritime places belonging to the jurisdiction of the king of England, take, spoil, rob, or plunder any ship or merchantman, loaded or unloaded, armed or unarmed, of whatsoever burden or nation they may be; nor rob any such ship of its merchandize, arms, &c. nor injure the same any other way; but both ships and mariners, of whatever nation, should be absolutely secure in those places, and remain at anchor there, without obstruction or molestation from either of the said two princes or of their subjects.

Lastly, the ratification is memorable, viz.

‘ We having seen the above named articles, and being desirous to gratify the said most reverend cardinal, our most dear and most beloved friend, do hereby ratify and approve the same.

(Signed) ‘ CHARLES, emperor.

‘ FRANCIS, king.

We have seen, that so early as the year 1508, the Portuguese had become in some measure masters of the spice or Molucco isles, and that the emperor Charles V had encouraged Magellan to sail to them by a western course in the year 1518; yet the Spaniards proved unsuccessful in all their attempts to possess those islands. At length, King John III of Portugal, in the year 1529, sent the emperor, his brother-in-law, 350,000 ducats (when about this time he went into Italy to be crowned emperor), on condition of not being disturbed in the possession of those isles till repayment of that sum; which being never done (says Sir William Monson in his *Naval tracts*), Spain has never since pretended to those isles.

The Portuguese now brought those spices home to Lisbon in great quantities, whereby, says Pensionary De Witt [*Interest of Holland, part III. c. iii.*] the king of Portugal got above 200,000 ducats yearly.—

‘ Those isles,’ says the same able author, ‘ before they thus lost their independency, were aristocratical republics, and then drove a great trade in their cloves, mace, and nutmegs; and although scarcely a third part thereof was carried by shipping to Calcut, that great staple of India, which being there sold, were carried to Bassora and Egypt by caravans, and thence transported by shipping to Europe; yet the sultans of Syria and Egypt, through whose lands they were brought, were wont to receive yearly above 80,000 ducats custom for the same. No wonder then if the princes of those countries, as well as the state of Venice, were very much offended with the Portuguese for diverting this profitable channel of that trade.’

About this time the French commenced a silk manufacture, having been supplied with workmen from Milan, while they possessed that duchy. In this manufacture they made a very quick progress, principally at

Lyons and other parts of the south of France, and supplied many parts of Europe with silk goods; and until England long after fell into the like manufacture, it was the means of draining us of great sums annually. Yet it was long after this time before France got into the method of raising raw silk from the worms.

In this year the city of Genoa was stormed and pillaged by the Spanish troops of the Emperor Charles V. And the chevalier de Mailly [*Histoire de Genes*, V. ii, p. 81.] acquaints us, that Genoa was at that time esteemed the richest city in the world (in Europe, I suppose, he meant) next after Venice and Lyons.

The republic of Venice having for so many centuries enjoyed the sole commerce for the spices of India, till lately deprived of it by Portugal, made at this time an effort to acquire some considerable benefit therefrom still, by making a proposal to the court of Lisbon to take off all the spice annually imported by the Portuguese (over and above what that kingdom itself could consume) at a certain fixed price; but the proposal was instantly rejected. [*Ofor. de reb. Emanuelis*, L. xii.]

1522.—Censio de Balthazari, a merchant of Lucca, residing in the isle of Crete or Candia, was appointed by King Henry to be for life governor, master, protector, or consul, of the English nation there, with all powers and emoluments which any consul formerly enjoyed there or any where else, either from the said king or any of his predecessors. [*Fœdera*, V. xiii, p. 766.]

So necessary and important are a few single sea-ports to the welfare of a whole kingdom, that even the absolute fate of the latter may depend on the former: Thus, in the said year 1522, the Lubeckers, Dantzickers, &c. sent nine ships of war to the assistance of Gustavus (Erickson) king of Sweden, by whose aid he so well succeeded, that in grateful return he granted those Hanseatic cities great privileges in Sweden. Voltaire, in his general history of Europe, alleges that the city of Lubeck also supplied him with troops, without which he would have found it difficult to succeed. By the assistance of Lubeck the city of Stockholm was taken; and although the 60,000 merks agreed to be paid for that service could not then be paid by Sweden, yet in lieu thereof, says Puffendorf, they were allowed the sole trade of Sweden, and to pay no custom there for merchandize imported, &c.; which benefits were too great to be held long; and thus (adds that spirited author Voltaire) the fate of Sweden depended on a little trading town*. Fowler, in his history of the troubles of Swedeland and Poland (folio, London, 1656), relates, that this great prince very much improved his people in tillage, buildings, and searching out the metal mines, and the more effectual working of them by aqueducts and huge engines, &c. He also erected

* This assertion, like many others of Voltaire's, was not strictly true, for Lubeck was undoubtedly a great trading town.

workhouses, &c. for vagrants. Those Hanse towns (says Werdenhagen their historiographer) at the same time declared war against Christiern II king of Denmark, who had raised on them the toll in the Sound, and obstructed their commerce; yet, by so frequently intermeddling in the wars between potent princes and states, the Hanse towns now and then sufficiently smarted, although for the most part they did not give their aid without at least providing for themselves an ample equivalent.

1523.—According to Lord Herbert's history of King Henry VIII, in the attempts of the English and French courts to gain Scotland to their interest, the English ministers, among other arguments, asserted, that the English were masters of the seas, and thereby were able to stop and interclude all succour that could come to them (the Scots) from any other place. And as in the replications of the partisans of France that assertion is not contradicted, the point seems to have been admitted.

It was now by an English act of parliament determined (*c. xii.*), 'That of every L 100 worth of gold to be coined, there should be L. 20 coined into half-angels, of $\frac{3}{4}$ each; and of every L 100 worth of silver, L 50 shall be coined into groats, L 20 into half-groats or two-pences, L 20 in pence, 10 merks into halfpence, and 5 merks into farthings.' With respect to these silver farthings, Lord Herbert observes, 'that though it was doubtless for the convenience of the people that they should have so much small coin, yet being so very small, they are all long since worn out.' N. B. Here is no mention of shillings. This too was the last time of coining silver farthings, probably for the said reason.

Malynes [*Lex Mercatoria*, p. 189.] alleges, that it was not yet 100 years since one Violet Stephens, and other discontented fishmongers, went to the town of Enckuyfen in Holland, where they procured the inhabitants to fish for them in the seas of Great Britain. In another part of the same book, he adds, 'whereby the fishing trade is so increased, that Holland and Zealand have above 2000 busses or fishing ships, which usually make three voyages yearly.' He had just before said, that in the time of King Henry VII there was no fishing trade established in the Low Countries. By the fishing trade here mentioned by Malynes, we are only to understand their supplying foreign markets with fish; for, with respect to the Netherlands themselves, it cannot be doubted but that they always fished on their own coasts for their own supply, although England might be beforehand with them in supplying other nations.

1524.—Much about this time (says Howell, p. 108.), soap began first to be made in London; before which time that city was served with white soap from beyond sea, and with gray soap, speckled with white, very sweet and good, from Bristol, sold here for a penny the pound, and

never above a penny farthing; also black soap for an halfpenny the pound.

By an act of parliament [14, 15 *Hen. VIII.* c. 2.], for settling how many apprentices and journeymen (not denizens) should be kept by foreign tradesmen settled in London, &c. great powers were given to the corporations of handicrafts over the workmanship of those foreigners, there being in those times smiths, joiners, coopers, &c. of foreigners, who had seals or stamps put on their works, after being examined by the wardens of those corporations both in London and other parts. 'The jurisdiction of the London corporations was by this act to extend to two miles from the city, viz. within the town of Westminster, the parishes of St. Martin in the Fields, and of our Lady in the Strand, St. Clements Danes without Temple-bar, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrews in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, Whitechapel parish, St. John's street (Clerkenwell), and Clerkenwell parish, St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Katherine's (near the tower of London), and Bermondsey-street.' This is an authentic view of the several suburbs of London in the year 1524. Nevertheless, we are not to imagine that all those suburbs were contiguous to each other, or joined, as at present, to the great contiguity; for there were then, and long after, several large breaks or spaces where no buildings were, not only in the street (now so well built) called the Strand, then chiefly taken up with the capital dwellings of the nobility, with their large adjoining gardens, but likewise a great part of St. Martin's parish was still literally in the fields (as it is still denominated), and the like may be said of St. Giles in the fields (then filed the town of St. Giles), and of the upper part of St. Andrews in Holborn; much of all which, and also of Westminster, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and Southwark, was literally fields, even so late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as appears by a map of London and its suburbs, published about the year 1560. This act was not to extend to any other handicrafts but joiners, pouchmakers, coopers, and blacksmiths. Also lords, and all others having lands and tenements of L100 per annum, were hereby permitted to retain foreign joiners and glaziers in their service; which may lead us to conjecture that those two trades were not then so well improved in England as they have since been.

By another act of this year [c. 3.], we find that the manufactures of worsteds, fays, and flamins (now farther regulated), were greatly increased at Norwich, since the former laws made for their regulation in the reign of King Edward IV, and had extended themselves to Yarmouth, Lynn, and other parts of Norfolk, &c.

Francis I, king of France, sent out Verazzani, a Florentine, with four ships on discoveries, three of which he left at the Madeiras, and with the fourth landed on the coast of Florida; whence sailing to 50 degrees of

north latitude, he gave the land there the name of New France; but he returned home without having planted or left any colony there. [*Purchas's Pilgrimes*, V. iv, p. 1603.—*Morifoti Orbis maritimus*, L. ii, c. 34.]

We have now the first statute made in England for mending a particular highway. [14, 15 *Hen. VIII*, c. 6.] There being a certain public way in the Wild of Kent, which was much worn out, and also not so near and commodious as another in the same neighbourhood, the lord of the manor was impowered, at his own expense, to complete the most convenient road, after which he might shut up and inclose the old road for his own sole benefit. By another law [26 *Hen. VIII*, c. 7.], the like was done in Suffex.

Pizarro now sailed from Panama, and discovered the immense riches of Peru, where he found vessels of gold and silver, fine palaces, &c.; the conquest of which country was gradually carried on to the vast emolument of the first conquerors, and the perpetual one of the Spanish court.

About these times many new articles of food and drink were brought into England, &c. some of which occasioned the following rhyme:

' (1.) Turkeys, (2) carps, (3) hops, (4) piccarel, and (5) beer,
' Came into England all in one year.'

Another distich of our writers, under the year 1546, runs thus:

' Hops, reformation, bays, and beer,
' Came into England all in one year.'

(1) Turkies, or Guinea cocks (as then called by some, and by others Indian fowls), were said to have been first brought into England in this 15th year of King Henry VIII, which, though a tender fowl, have since multiplied exceedingly.

(2) Carp came hither also about the same time, and are now common, not only in ponds, but in many rivers. Suffex is more especially famous for the best. The anonymous author of a work, termed *English worthies in church and state*, 8vo, 1684, says, 'that Leonard Mascall, of Plumsted, in Suffex, was the first who brought over into England, from beyond sea, carps and pippins, about the year 1514.'

(3) The use of hops in malt liquor came from Artois, which some say (though untruly) first gave that liquor the name of (5) beer, as distinguished from the ancient and softer malt-liquor called ale: Yet it is certain, that beer, as a malt-liquor, was known and used by that name very long before.

(4) Piccarel, not very intelligible; since we can find no other meaning of the word but that of young pike, which it is said was always an

English pond-fish: This therefore is probably a mistake in the transcribers*.

Sundry other kinds of fruits and plants were first cultivated in England about this time; such as apricots and musk-melons, though others make both these to have come much later, viz. the former in the year 1578, and the melon-seeds not till the time of King James I, from Italy. The large fine pale gooseberry came hither also from Flanders about this time, with salads, garden-roots, cabbages, &c. as elsewhere noted. [See *the present state of England, part iii, anno 1683, p. 258.*]

1525.—Sebastian Cabot, formerly employed by King Henry VII of England, and now employed in Spain as chief pilot, instead of going to the Moluccos, as first designed, sailed a great way up the vast river De la Plata, and found the country of Paraguay so inviting that he built several forts in it; and soon after that country was planted by Spain.

The Hanse towns were still so powerful that Frederick I king of Denmark was induced to desire an union with them, being herein seconded by the great-master of Prussia.

And if Puffendorf's history of Sweden is to be relied on, even the Lubeckers alone fancied themselves so far masters of the northern kingdoms, that they had already sold Denmark to Henry VIII king of England, who had actually advanced to them 20,000 crowns on this account; but it seems he wisely put off the payment of the remainder, till they should fulfill their engagement.

Moreover, King Gustavus Erickson of Sweden, about this time agreed with Frederick I of Denmark, to refer their differences about the island of Gothland and the province of Blekinga, &c. to the six following Hanse towns, viz. Lubeck, Hamburg, Dantzick, Rostock, Wismar, and Lunenburg; between which towns and those two kings an alliance was made against the expelled King Christiern II, who claimed all the three northern crowns; by which alliance a final period was put to the union of those three kingdoms; which the Swedes alleged had ever been prejudicial to them, but beneficial to the Danes, who, whilst they commanded in Sweden, lived like opulent lords, whereas the native Swedes were slaves and beggars.

Although the following treatise of geography was not perhaps the first general one of the kind, since the revival of learning, yet it is doubtless a very old one: It is a Latin work, in folio, printed at Strasburg, 1525, intitled, 'Claudii Ptolomæi geographicæ enarrationis libri octo. Bilibaldo Pirckeymhero interpreté. Annotationes Joannis de Regiomonté in errores commissos á Jacobo Angelo, in translatione sua.'

After Ptolemy's maps, tables, &c. this author gives us a new set of

* 'The pike, as he ageth, receiveth diverse names; as from a *frie* to a *giltbed*; from a *giltbed* to a *pod*; from a *pod* to a *jacks*; from a *jacks* to a *pickerell*; from a *pickerell* to a *pike*; and last of all to a *luc*.' [Harrison's Description of England, p. 244.] M.

maps of his own composing, on wooden plates, according to the new discoveries.

1. It appears, that by means of the Portuguese discoveries, the charts of the coasts of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, are pretty well delineated.

2. With respect to China, to which the Portuguese had not as yet given that more modern name, and which he, after the old authors of the 13th century, styles Cathay, almost all that he seemed to know of it is, that it was to be sailed to from India.

3. He calls America, 'Terra nova inventa per Christophorum Columbus,' i. e. the new land found out by Columbus; which seems to be all that he knew of it. But,

4. His map or chart of what he calls the Maré Congelatum, together with the countries of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, is miserably erroneous, as is also that of the Baltic sea. And between Greenland and Norway-Lapland, instead of an open sea he makes a great bay; which terminates at a fabulous ridge of mountains, like those of Ptolemy, &c.

5. In one of his maps, he makes England and Scotland two different isles, and in another but one isle, though extremely erroneous in figure, &c. The like of other parts of the world. This is enough to show the infant state of cosmographical knowledge in that age.

About this time, King Henry at a great expense erected the pier of Dover. Being afterward decayed, it was repaired by Queen Elizabeth; and both it and the harbour have since at many different periods been, with very great charge, repaired and enlarged. Dover was anciently a flourishing town, and had seven parish churches, since reduced to two; partly occasioned by the loss of Calais, and partly by the suppression of pilgrimages and monasteries; (which is also the case of the anciently famous city of Canterbury) partly also by the decay of its harbour: Yet Dover has since in some measure recovered its former prosperity; and its harbour is one of the best dry harbours of England.

No discovery of any consequence had been made from England since Cabot's voyage to the coasts of America. King Henry now sent out two ships towards the same coasts, one of which was cast away in the gulf of St. Laurence, and the other returned home the same year without any material discovery. Some place this attempt in the year 1527. (*See Hakluyt, V. iii, p. 129.*) This voyage is probably that which Robert Thorn put King Henry upon, for a north-west passage to the Moluccos.

1526.—In this year the famous treaty of Madrid was made between the Emperor Charles V, and King Francis I of France, then his prisoner. What relates to commerce is in substance,

I) That only the antient customs and duties on merchandize should

be paid, annulling the new imposts laid on within twenty years past on either side, and particularly those on wines and salt.

II) That notwithstanding the late prohibitions of the kings of France, the woollen cloths made in Catalonia, Roussillon, Sardinia, and the other territories of the crown of Arragon, and also all other cloths and merchandize belonging to the subjects of that crown, might be carried by land or water through the dominions of France, in order to avoid the many dangers of a long navigation, paying no other than the ancient imposts established twenty years before, but not to be sold in France. On the other hand, the cloths of France might be freely sold in the emperor's dominions. [*Fœdera*, V. xiv, pp. 309, 322.]

This is one of many proofs that the Spaniards manufactured their excellent wool into cloth before the national industry was poisoned by the influx of gold and silver from America.

It appears from Hakluyt [V. ii, p. 3.] That now, and for some time before, some merchants of Bristol traded, by means of the ships of St. Lucar in Spain, to the Canary islands, sending thither cloth, soap, &c. and returning with dying drugs, sugar, and kid skins; and that they also sent thither their factors from Spain.

Hakluyt observes, that the Spaniards first planted vines and sugar-canes in the Canaries, as the Portuguese also did in Madeira; but it is to be presumed that they had not as yet got wine enough for exportation at those islands. He adds, that at Palma, one of the Canaries, he was well informed they had twelve sugar-houses, called ingenios (as the Spaniards still call them), in which they made great quantities of good sugar.

1527.—In a treaty between King Henry and Francis I. king of France, the latter obliges himself to pay Henry a *perpetual* annuity of 50,000 crowns, and also as much salt annually as should amount to 15,000 crowns more, to be delivered at Bruage in Saintoigne, free of all charges or exactions, on board the vessels sent by King Henry to receive it. [*Fœdera*, V. xiv, p. 218.]

To the performance of this treaty, agreeable to the usage of those times, many great lords and the principal cities of both countries were bound. The English cities mentioned are, London, York, Canterbury, Norwich, Coventry, Winchester, Exeter, Salisbury, Lincoln, Welles, Hereford, Chichester, and Chester.

Francis had great need of Henry's friendship against the ambitious schemes of the Emperor Charles V. He was therefore extremely liberal of his promises to Henry, more especially as the latter was at this time making large monthly payments for supporting the war in Italy against the emperor.

One Simon Fish of Gray's-Inn, in his treatise called a supplication of the beggars to the king, represents the number of lepers and poor

to be so much increased, that all the alms of the realm were not sufficient to relieve them; occasioned (says he) by counterfeit holy beggars, who have got into their hands more than a third part of the realm; the goodliest lordships and manors are their's, besides the tithes, oblations, mortuaries, &c. But his computations in political arithmetic are extremely erroneous; for instance, he says, there are 52,000 parishes in England, and 10 households to each parish, in all 520,000 households: That every one of the five orders of friars received a penny a quarter, and 20*d* yearly from each household; so that those friars, though not the four-hundredth person of the realm, had half its profits.

It was even long after this time a question whether the precise number of the parishes of England was known.

Their number in King Edward I's valuation (as per MS. copy in the Bodleian library), was about 8900, without including chapels, many of which have since been erected into parishes.

According to the valuation in the king's books in King Henry VIII's time, the number of parishes was considerably above 9000.

Yet even in our own days, it is disputable whether there be quite 10,000 parishes in England and Wales. If then the number of parishes remains still uncertain *, it cannot be wondered at that the number of

* It is probable that the number of parishes in the year 1527 was nearly the same as in 1520, when an enumeration of those in every shire was made by the direction of Cardinal Wolsey, which is subjoined by Camden to his descriptions of the shires; and he, except in a few instances, expresses no doubt of its accuracy. As it appears to have escaped our author's research, it may not be unacceptable even to those readers who possess the *Britannia*, to see collected in one view

CAMDEN'S ENUMERATION OF THE PARISHES IN ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY'S BOOK.

Parishes in England.

Cornwall,	-	-	161	Essex,	-	-	415
Devon,	-	-	394	Suffolk,	-	-	575
Dorset,	-	-	248	Norfolk, about	-	-	660
Somerſet,	-	-	385	Cambridge,	-	-	163
Wilts,	-	-	304	Huntingdon,	-	-	78
Hants,	-	-	253	Northampton,	-	-	326
Berks,	-	-	140	Leiceſter,	-	-	200
Surry,	-	-	140	Rutland,	-	-	48
Suſſex,	-	-	312	(or 47, ed. 1600.)			
Kent,	-	-	398	Lincoln, about	-	-	630
Gloceſter,	-	-	280	Nottingham,	-	-	168
Oxford,	-	-	280	Derby,	-	-	106
Buckingham,	-	-	185	Warwick,	-	-	158
Bedford,	-	-	116	Worceſter,	-	-	152
Hertford,	-	-	120	Stafford,	-	-	130
Middleſex, in the country, about			73	Salop, about	-	-	170
London and the ſuburbs,	-	-	221	Cheſter, about	-	-	68

the people is not exactly known. Accordingly, we find many various, and some not a little extravagant, computations on this subject. But, without paying any attention to such guesses, it may be sufficient to observe, that from many various reasonings, there may probably be above 7,000,000 of souls in England at this time. Lord Chief-justice Hale, in his *Primitive origination of mankind*, written above 90 years ago, makes them to be at least 6,000,000, and subjoins, 'That nothing can be clearer than the gradual increase of mankind, to be seen by the curious observations on the bills of mortality.' He also makes an elaborate comparison between the number of people in Gloucestershire (with which county he was well acquainted), in the time of making *Domesday-book* and in his own time; and he thinks them at least twenty times as many as they were at that time, by reason of the vast

Hereford,	-	176	Durham and Northumberland,	118
Monmouth,	-	127	Lancaster, only	36
York,	-	459	Westmoreland,	26
Richmond,	-	104	Cumberland,	58
Besides great chapels,	—	563	Parishes in all England, about	— 9161.

Parishes in Wales.

Radnor,	-	52	Montgomery,	-	47
Brecknock,	-	61	Merioneth,	-	37
Glamorgan,	-	118	Carnarvon,	-	68
Carmarthen,	-	87	Anglesey,	-	74
Penbroke,	-	145	Denbigh,	-	57
Cardigan,	-	64	Flint,	-	28
			Parishes in Wales,	—	838

Total in England and Wales, according to Camden, - 9999

From a glance of this table it is evident that the number of parishes affords no just standard for an estimate of the population; for by such a standard Hertford must have contained more people than Durham and Northumberland together, Suffolk more than York, and the small pastoral shire of Rutland more than Lancaster, which even in Wolsey's time had some manufactures and commerce.

It is proper to observe, that Camden [*Britannia*, p. 117, ed. 1607] gives 9407 as the total number of parishes in Wolsey's catalogue. He at the same time gives another enumeration of the parishes in England and Wales, as divided into dioceses, amounting to 9284, taken from a catalogue presented to King James I; and he offers some conjectures to reconcile the different numbers.

The difference between the total in this table

and 9407, the total as given by Camden, is perhaps owing to some error in the printing; for all the numbers are in figures. The table is collated with two editions, viz. that of 1600 in quarto, and that of 1607 in folio, the last and best; and the only variations are in Rutland, as above noted, and the total omission in the edition of 1600 of the parishes in London and its suburbs, in Monmouth, and in all Wales.

The *Magna Britannia* published in 1720 [*V. i.*, p. 216] reckons 191 parishes in Buckinghamshire. Stow [*Annales*, p. 1112, ed. 1600] reckons 119 parishes in London and the suburbs in the year 1563.

The enumeration of parishes made in the year 1371, for the purpose of a parochial taxation, differs widely from the above, and the total number is only 8600. [*Stow's Annales*, p. 424, ed. 1600.] *M.*

increase of the people in the towns and villages then in being, as well as of the great number of towns, villages, &c. now existing, which are not named in that famous book. Yet though this may possibly be true of Gloucestershire, the like proportion cannot possibly be supposed to hold in other counties; and it may even be well if the number of people at the Norman conquest (supposed to be 2,000,000) be at this time increased, in seven centuries, to much more than three and a-half times that number, or seven, or perhaps nearly to eight, millions.

Lord Herbert says, that the Emperor Charles V proposed to King Henry a treaty for selling to him his claim to the Molucco or spice islands, perhaps merely with a view of drawing him over from the side of France, since we hear nothing farther of it afterwards; and we have elsewhere noted, that he resigned all his pretensions to those isles for 350,000 ducats, borrowed of the crown of Portugal, his own title to them not being justly supportable.

Narvaez failed from Spain with five ships and 400 men, for the conquest of Florida, being the first attempt of the Spaniards to settle in North America. But finding no gold and much hardship, with the loss of ships and men, the remainder got from the North Sea to New Spain, after living among the Indians nine years, and travelling 200 leagues; and at length only three of them returned alive to Spain.

1528.—In a prolongation of a truce for eight months between the Emperor, France, and England, the mutual freedom of fishing on the seas was stipulated, and also that the commerce between England and the Netherlands should be absolutely free and undisturbed for this and all subsequent continuations of the truce; and moreover, the freedom of commerce was extended to the Mediterranean sea, as well as to the seas surrounding the British islands.

At this time, in the wars of Italy between the emperor and the king of France, the Imperialists, commanded by Andrea Doria, took Genoa from the French; and by an agreement with the emperor, Doria, to his immortal honour, restored his native country of Genoa to that liberty and form of government which it has enjoyed to the present time, instead of imitating the Medici family at Florence, as he might easily have done.

A war being likely to break out between England and the emperor (King Henry having at this time entered into engagements with France), Lord Herbert thereupon remarks, that our merchants, who used not then the trade to the many northern and remote countries they now frequent, foreseeing the consequence of those wars, refused to buy the cloths that were brought to Blackwell-hall in London; whereupon the clothiers, spinners, and carders in many shires of England began to mutiny; for appeasing whereof, the cardinal-minister

commanded the merchants to take off those cloths at a reasonable price from the poor mens hands, threatening otherwise that the king himself should buy them, and sell them to strangers; but the fullen merchants, little moved herewith, said they had no reason to buy commodities they knew not how to vend: Therefor, whatsoever was proposed for staples at Calais or at Abbeville (the English staple being then at Antwerp) the merchants did not, or at least would not understand it. But this discontentment did equally extend to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and especially to those of Antwerp, where the chief mart was.

This matter, however, blew over for that time; yet this relation plainly shows that the commerce to the Netherlands was the most important that England then possessed.

1529.—Cortes, the viceroy of Mexico, having sent Saavedra with three ships from New Spain, to find a passage that way to the Molucco or Spice isles, one of them got safe thither, and returned the same way back to Panama this year with the spices of those islands. This voyage paved the way to the conquest of the Philippine isles in the East-Indian seas by the Spaniards, who still possess them.

1530.—It may not be here improper to take notice of an act [21 *Hen. VIII*, c. 12.] for the regulation of rope-making in the town of Bridport (therein named Burport) in Dorsetshire. It sets forth, ‘That whereas the people of that town have, out of time that no man’s mind is to the contrary, used to make the most part of all the great cables, hawfers, ropes, and all other tackling, as well for your royal ships and navy, as for the most part of all other ships within this realm, by reason whereof your said town was right well maintained,’ &c.—Then comes the grievance, viz. ‘That the people of the adjacent parts to this town have set up rope-making, and make slight goods, whereby the prices of the said cables, &c. are greatly enhanced *; and your said town or borough, by means whereof, is like utterly to be decayed †.’ For remedy whereof, it was enacted, that all hemp growing within five miles of Bridport should be sold no where but in that town; and no persons but such as dwell in the said town should make out of the said town any cables, hawfers, &c. made of hemp, in any other place or places within the distance of five miles from the said town.

* A most glaring falsehood. Nothing is clearer than that the multitude of workmen must effect a competition for cheapness, as well as goodness of the commodity, greatly to the advantage of the purchasers. Such absurd allegations in favour of monopoly frequently occur in old acts of parliament, procured by the pewterers, clothworkers,

and other companies of London and some other towns. They show how very little the plainest principles of trade were known or attended to by the legislature in those times.

† This was probably very true; and it was the sole ground of the application to parliament.

The law is but too evident a confirmation of what we have elsewhere remarked, that the preambles to many acts of parliament, and also very often the reasons assigned for particular clauses, are by no means to be relied on, in point of just and true reasoning.

In this same year, the city of London obtained a decree of the star-chamber, wherein it is represented, 'I) That the realm is over-run with foreign manufactures. II) That foreigners export bacon, cheese, powdered beef, mutton, &c. whereby great portions of corn, victual, &c. grown and bred within the realm, are consumed.' These are such grievous accusations as would generally be deemed blessings in our days. 'Thus,' says a reverend and learned modern writer (Dr. Tucker), to whom we are indebted for this decree, 'did the monopolizing societies, in those infant days of commerce, impose on the legislature, not then judges of commerce. And by such means, foreigners being greatly discouraged, withdrew from us, and with them many of our own manufactures; insomuch that our woollen manufactures very much declined, and foreign cloth was sold cheaper than our own, by means of those monopolizing laws; the nation grew thinner of people, and provisions not selling so well, the gentlemen turned much land into sheep-walks, for supplying the Netherlands with wool.'

In an act of parliament of this same year [c. 13.] intitled, 'Spiritual persons abridged from having pluralities of livings, and from taking of farms, &c.' there is the following clause: 'And be it enacted, that if any person, having one benefice with cure of soul, being of the yearly value of eight pounds or above, accept and take any other, with cure of soul,—that then, and immediately after such possession had thereof, the first benefice shall be judged in the law to be void. And it shall be lawful to every patron, having the advowson thereof, to present another; and the presentee to have the benefit of the same, in such manner and form as though the incumbent had died or resigned.'

In this year, Dionysius Harris, of London, merchant, was appointed by King Henry VIII to be consul of the English merchants at Candia during life. He was the first Englishman who was appointed consul in those remote parts, where the English commerce being but small as yet, our own merchants might not be well enough acquainted with the customs, language, &c. for that office. The year following, the king appointed a foreigner to be consul at Scio, or Chios, and parts adjacent in the Archipelago, during the king's pleasure only; whereas till now, all foreign consuls had been constituted such during life. [*Fœdera*, V. xiv, pp. 389, 424.]

It was about this time, according to Paulo Paruta's history of Venice, [*L. vii, part 1.*] that the Turkish sultan, Solyman II, is said to have been

first instructed, by his famous admiral Barbarossa, to manage a navy; the Turkish emperors having till now applied themselves principally to the increase of their power by land armies only. It was by this famous sea-commander's advice that the Turks first manned their galleys with slaves, instead of raw and unexperienced men. By such regulations did Barbarossa greatly increase the strength of the Turkish navy, which from that time became much more terrible to Christendom than before; as the Venetians, and also the Genoese, soon and sadly experienced, by the loss of most of their islands and ports in the Levant seas.

About this time, according to Hakluyt, Captain William Hawkins of Plymouth made a voyage to Guinea, and traded there for elephants teeth, &c. and thence sailed to Brasil, where he also traded. In those days the Europeans had not confined the commerce of their American colonies so entirely to themselves as to exclude the approach of all other nations thither. Captain Hawkins traded to Brasil again in the year 1532*.

1531.—Several historians tell us, that in the year 1531, a terrible earthquake happened at the city of Lisbon, which lasted eight days, and overthrew 1500 houses and many churches.

The same year the new canal from Brussels to Antwerp was begun, but not completed till the year 1560.

The citizens of Antwerp, being now in great prosperity, the fruits of an immense commerce, built their famous bourse, or exchange †, the noblest of that age in Europe, for the daily resort of merchants of all nations. Upon the front of that edifice, according to Louis Guicciardin, in his history of the Netherlands, there was placed the following inscription:

S. P. Q. A.

In Usum Negotiatorum cujuscunque Nationis ac Linguae, Urbisque adeo suae Ornamentum, Anno MDXXXI, à Solo extrui curaverunt ‡.

* Hawkins's ship was remarked as exceedingly large, being of 250 tons burthen. *Hakluyt's voyages*, V. iii, p. 700. M.

† Guicciardin gives the following account of the origin of the name of bourse, given to such edifices in sundry cities of Europe.

There was, it seems, before this time a commodiously situated square in the middle of the city of Bruges, in which stood a large antient building, which had been erected by the noble family of La Bourse (which signifies purse in French and Flemish), whose coat-of-arms on its walls was three purses. The merchants of Bruges made this old house the place of their daily assemblies; and when afterward they went to the fairs of Antwerp and Mons, they called the places they found there for the merchants assembling by the same name of la bourse; whereby at length that name alone ob-

tained. The French merchants also carried the name to the same kind of places at Rouen, and even as far as Tholouse: Yet, says he, Queen Elizabeth of England (in whose reign he wrote), upon viewing the newly-erected magnificent bourse of London, would have it called the royal exchange, though foreigners there still call it the bourse-royale. He tells us also, that in Antwerp there is a handsome edifice, called the English bourse, built in the year 1550, for the accommodation of English merchants; and another noble bourse or structure for the German merchants of the Hanse.

‡ In English; The senate and people of Antwerp erected this structure for the accommodation of merchants of all nations and languages, and for an ornament to their city, anno 1531.

Lord Herbert relates, that King Henry VIII, being informed that Italian and other foreign merchants brought commodities into England, which they sold well, and then returned the money home by exchange, to the exhausting of the wealth of his realm, and diminution of his customs, now issued a proclamation, (pursuant to a statute of King Richard III) that the money they received here for their wares should not be exchanged to other countries, but laid out in the commodities of his realm, which, as long as it was observed, proved a great benefit to both king and subject. This might possibly be true in those days, and is one proof of the smallness of commerce, compared to what it is in our time, when such unreasonable restraints would create infinite disorders, if not a total stagnation of trade. It also shows how little that king's advisers understood the true nature of commerce and the interest of the kingdom.

Beggars, and the other necessitous poor of England, had as yet no other relief than an act of parliament [22 Hen. VIII, c. 12.] whereby the justices of every county were empowered to grant licences to poor, aged, and impotent persons, to beg within a certain precinct; and such as should beg beyond their precinct, were either to be whipped, or set in the stocks three days and three nights, and fed on bread and water. Begging vagabonds were also to be whipped.

Charles V published an edict in his Netherland provinces much to the same effect; wherein he justly remarks, that the trade of begging fixes people in idleness, and leads them into bad courses of life: none therefor, except mendicant friars and pilgrims, and people reduced by calamities, are allowed to beg, under pain of imprisonment, whipping, &c. The poor residing in the provinces one whole year, were to remain where they were settled, and share in the alms ordered for them; and a common purse was to be established at all poor-houses, hospitals, brotherhoods, &c. where alms were usually given, poor-boxes in churches; and once or twice in every week magistrates were to collect alms in churches and at private houses for the poor. Idle and roguish livers were to be compelled to work. Poor women in childbed, and also orphans and foundlings, to be taken care of, and the latter put to schools, and taught on Sundays and holidays the pater noster, creed, and ten commandments, and put to trades and services. But since those times, the Dutch have so greatly improved in their provisions for the helpless poor, and methods of compelling the idle to labour, that they have become a pattern for all other nations.

1532.—James V, king of Scotland, instituted a new college of justice, commonly called the lords of council and session, formed upon the model of the parliament of Paris. It consisted, and still consists, of a lord president, and fourteen other lords, commonly called the fifteen.

lords of session, but more properly the senators of the college of justice.

King Henry having entered into a stricter alliance with the king of France against the Emperor, the maritime force of each party was appointed to consist of a squadron of ships, (not mentioning their number, tonnage, or force), having 1500 soldiers in it, with artillery, &c.; which squadron, when demanded by either party, was to cruise between Ushant and the Downs for six months in the year, for the defence of both coasts of England and France from the attempts of the emperor. If the emperor should at any time seize on the English merchants and their effects in the Netherlands, Francis obliged himself to seize on the effects of the Netherlanders in France for satisfaction. On the other side, Henry stipulated to do the like in England in behalf of the French merchants, in case their effects should be seized in the Netherlands.

In an act [23. *Hen. VIII*, c. 8.] for mending the havens of Plymouth, Dartmouth, and Teignmouth in Devonshire, and of Falmouth and Fowey in Cornwall, it is asserted that those ports were in former times esteemed the principal and most commodious havens of England, until they were choked up by the gravel, sand, rubble, &c. of certain works of tin in those counties, called stream works; and that ships of 800 tons burden have formerly come easily into them at low water, whereby a great multitude of ships, as well foreign as English, have been preserved and saved; whereas now a ship of 100 tons could scarcely enter them at half flood.

1533.—Beef, pork, mutton, and veal, were directed by act of parliament [24 *Hen. VIII*, c. 3.] to be sold by weight; no person to take above one halfpenny a pound for beef or pork, nor above three farthings for mutton and veal. The number of butchers then in London and its suburbs was reckoned to be one hundred and twenty, each of whom killed nine oxen weekly, which, in forty-six weeks, (none being then killed in Lent) amounts to 33,120 oxen yearly. [*Stow's Survey of London*, p. 356, ed. 1618] Lord Herbert observes that this law was afterward justly repealed, in consideration that unseasonable years did not permit any certain rule for the prices of flesh meat, which were afterwards fixed occasionally by a committee of the privy-council.

By another statute [c. 11.] the street-way between Charing-cross and Strand-cross, (*i. e.* near where Somerset-house now is situated) in the suburbs of London, was directed to be sufficiently paved and maintained at the charge of the owners of the lands adjoining. This shows that the Strand was not as yet built into a continued street.

Another statute of this year [c. 4.] directed, that for every sixty acres of land fit for tillage, one rood should be sown with flax-seed or hemp-seed. And by the 5th of Queen Elizabeth, [c. 5.] that queen had power,

by her proclamation, to revive this law in such counties as she should judge proper, 'for the better provision of nets for help and furtherance of fishing, and for eschewing of idleness;' but no mention of a linen manufacture is therein made.

The tree, or shrub, bearing currants, or grapes of Corinth, is by some authors said to have been brought from the island of Zant, and planted in England about this time. This delicious fruit or grape has long ago become so plentiful every where throughout Britain and Ireland, that it would be difficult to convince some people that currants were not original natives here; which is also the case of many other fruits, plants, roots, and flowers. Dr. Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, observes, that the people of Zant were very poor when the English began to purchase their currants, and wondered to what end they annually brought away such quantities, asking them, whether they used their currants to dye cloths, or to fatten their hogs? He adds, 'that our trade thither has enriched those islanders.'

The Lubeckers, who had been serviceable to Gustavus Erickson king of Sweden, demanded of him the sole right of trading on his northern sea-coasts; but this being judged unreasonable, they thereupon demanded immediate payment of what he owed them; and also joining with the refugees of the expelled King Christiern's party, they proposed to themselves (says Puffendorf) no less than the conquest of the northern kingdoms.

Concerning this King Gustavus I, Voltaire observes, 'that he was the first of the Swedish kings who made foreign nations sensible of the weight which Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a time when European policy was putting on a new face, and when first the notion was started of a balance of power. Sweden' (continues this author) 'had as yet no regular commerce nor manufactures; and the useful inventions were unknown there. It was this King Gustavus who first drew the Swedes out of obscurity, and likewise stimulated the Danes by his example.'

1534.—Jacques Cartier sailed from France with one ship, to search for a north-west passage to the East-Indies: but after sailing up the bay of St. Laurence as far as the isle of Assumption, he returned home in the same year. The next year he sailed up the great river of St. Laurence, (or Canada) with three ships, as far as Montreal, 200 leagues from its entrance, and wintered there among the natives; some of whom, with their king, he invited onboard his ship, on pretence of an entertainment, and carried them home to St. Maloes (where their king died four years after), in hope thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of their country, and of the hoped-for passage to India: But the natives were so enraged at his treachery, that they could not, in many years after, be

brought to permit the French to trade thither. On Cartier's return, in the year 1536, he found many French ships fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, which shows how early the French fell into that fishery.

Cartier made no settlement in Canada, only he erected a cross there, with the arms of his king, and called the country *la Nouvelle France*: yet a village there has preserved his name to this day*.

By an act of parliament [25 *Hen. VIII*, c. 8.], the street between Holbourn-bridge and Holbourn-bars at the west end thereof, was directed to be paved with stone (*i. e.* we may suppose from St. Andrew's church westward, the other part down to the bridge being already paved.) The streets of Southwark were hereby also directed to be paved; and every person was ordered to maintain the pavement before his own ground, or forfeit to the king sixpence for every yard square.

An act of parliament [25 *Hen. VIII*, c. 13.] represents the practice of engrossing farms, and diverting land from tillage to the support of vast numbers of sheep, as an evil lately sprung up; 'whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns†, and enhanced the old rates of rents, or else brought them to such excessive fines, that no poor man is able to meddle with them; but also have enhanced the prices of all manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, eggs, &c.; by reason whereof a marvellous multitude of people be not able to provide meat, clothes, &c. for themselves and families. One of the greatest occasions why those greedy and covetous people do keep such great quantities of lands in their hands, from the occupying of the poor husbandman, and do use it in pasture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh of sheep, now got into few persons hands, in respect of the whole number of the king's subjects, that some have 24,000, some 20,000, some 10,000 to 5000 sheep; whereby a good sheep, that used to be sold for 2/4, or 3/ at most, is now sold for 6/ or 5/ or 4/ at least; and a stone of wool, which used to be sold for 1/6, or 1/8, is now sold for 4/ or 3/4 at least, &c. which things tend to the decay of hospitality, the diminishing of the people, and to the let of cloth-making, whereby many poor people have been accustomed to be set on work. For remedy, it was in substance, enacted,

I) That none shall keep above 2400 sheep (exclusive of lambs) at any one time, unless it be on his own land of inheritance; in which case he is not hereby limited, nor are spiritual persons.

II) No man shall hold above two farms; in the parish of one of which he shall be obliged to reside.

* Sebastian Munster, in his *Geographia vetus et nova*, (Basiliæ 1540) has placed the name of *Francisca* where Canada is situated; and C. Britonum at the island still called Cape Breton, in his map of America, which he calls *Novus Orbis*.

† Quere, how could that be?

The increase of the woollen manufacture increasing the demand for wool, gave rise to this practice of engrossing farms, and turning them into sheep-walks, which undoubtedly can be managed by fewer hands than tillage farms can be, whereby depopulation necessarily must ensue.

We have seen the monopolizing law in favour of the town of Bridport, for engrossing the manufacture of ropes, exclusive of the villages or open country. We have now such another, upon a petition to parliament from the city of Worcester, and the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove, representing, that the said city and towns were in times past well and substantially inhabited, and employed in the manufacture of woollen cloths, until within a few years past, that divers persons, dwelling in the hamlets, thorps, and villages of the said shire, have not only engrossed and taken into their hands sundry farms, and become graziers and husbandmen, but also make all manner of cloths, and exercise weaving, fulling, and shearing, within their own houses, to the great depopulation of the said city and towns: For remedy, it was hereupon enacted, 'that no person within Worcester-shire shall make any cloth but the proper inhabitants of the said city and towns, excepting persons who make cloths solely for their own and family's wearing.' [25 *Henry VIII*, c. 18.]

Thus did the legislature mistake the true interest of the public. It is the cheapness of the manufacture which enables the merchant to export it, and to undersell foreign competitors; and confining it thus to towns was the way to make it come dearer to the merchant than it would have done, had it been in the open country, where every necessary comes cheaper than in towns; which point those Worcester monopolists well understood, and that therefore they could not hold the manufacture long, without a restricting law to bring it back solely to themselves. Formerly, the counties of Surry, Berks, &c. nearer to London, enjoyed a considerable woollen manufacture; but their nearness to London occasioning all, or most necessities to become dearer than in more remote parts, the western and northern counties have beaten them out of that manufacture. And as the northern counties have necessities considerably cheaper than the western ones, it is probable they will in time gain considerable ground on the latter in this respect.

Marvellous was the progress made by the Portuguese at this time in India. We find Da Cunha in this year had built the fort of Diu, had sent a fleet 100 leagues up the river Indus, and had invaded the kingdom of Cambaya with his land-army*.

According to Hakluyt, [V. ii, p. 96.] from about the year 1511 to the year 1534, divers tall ships of London, Southampton, and Bristol,

* Their exploits in India may be found in Stephens's *Portuguese Asia*, 3 volumes 8vo, 1695.

had an unusual trade to Sicily, Candia, and Chio, and sometimes to Cyprus, and to Tripoli, and Barutti, in Syria. Their exports were woollen cloths, calf skins, &c.; and their imports were silks, camblets, rhubarb, malmsey, muscadel, and other wines; oils, cotton-wool, Turkey carpets, galls, and India spices. The English merchants likewise employed sundry foreign ships in that trade, as Candiots, Ragusans, Sicilians, Genoese, Venetian galeasses, and Spanish and Portugal ships. In those days they generally employed a whole year in such voyages.

1535.—The next year, a ship of 300 tons, from London, went on the same Levant voyage, with 100 persons in her, and returned in 11 months; and the English merchants settled factors in those places. All these particulars the indefatigable Hakluyt picked out of the ancient merchants books of those times; and he traced those voyages down even to the year 1552, though not so frequent in the latter years as in the former. The journals of those old voyages show that they were then thought exceedingly difficult and dangerous.

We must not forget the great generosity of a very famous and rich merchant at Augsberg, named Fugger, who had also an house and great dealings at Antwerp. For defraying the expense of an expedition to Tunis, the emperor had run deep in debt to Fugger, who having invited him to an entertainment at his house, in order to testify his respect for that prince, made a fire in his hall with cinnamon, and threw all the emperor's bonds into that costly fire, now made much more so by that great act of generosity.

It was in this year, according to Lord Herbert, that great ordnance of brass, as cannon and culverins, were first made in England, they having before been had from foreign parts*.

We may have already observed, that since the accession of King Henry VIII, there was not only a great increase of the woollen manufacture of England, but likewise of its foreign commerce, and also sundry other marks of increasing riches. Nevertheless, any one entirely unacquainted with the then circumstances of England would be led to imagine quite the contrary, from the preambles of certain acts of parliament of the 26th and 27th years of that king's reign, where it is said that great numbers of houses have of a long time lain in ruins in the city of Norwich, occasioned by a fire there twenty-six years before; also in Lynn-Bishop in Norfolk, and in Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Ludlow,

* Other cannon, we may presume, had been made in England long before now, as we know for certain, that great cannon, most probably of iron, had been made in the castle of Edinburgh by a Scottish artist called Robert Borthwick, who used to inscribe upon them

^a Machina sum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.

according to Lesly [*De reb. gest. Scot. p. 338, ed. 1675*], who says, that in his time very many cannon with that inscription were to be seen in Scotland. Seven cannon made by Borthwick, called the *seven sisters*, were particularly noted. [*Pit-scottie, p. 174, ed. 1778.—Stow's Annales, p. 829, ed. 1600.*] M.

Glocester, Bridgnorth, Queenborough, and Northampton; many of which ruins, filled with nastiness, are in the principal streets of those towns, where in times past have been beautiful dwelling-houses, well inhabited: And therefor the owners are thereby directed to rebuild them in a fixed time, or else the property to go to the lord of the manor, or to the community of those respective towns. No certain judgment can, however, be formed respecting the general state of a country from the decline of some of the towns in its commerce, which is ever shifting and varying; and there are, even in our days, when commerce and wealth are so greatly increased since those times, particular towns that are in a declining state, from certain local circumstances. Probably the manufactures of those towns above mentioned, by spreading into the adjacent villages, and perhaps into other countries, might occasion their decline. Possibly also the skirts or suburbs of some of those places might be so overbuilt (as is perhaps partly the case in London itself) as to make the centres of them be neglected, more especially if those suburbs were exempted from the heavy freedom-fines of the corporations; which last consideration I conceive to have been one main cause of the decay of such towns.

In this year the first commercial treaty between any Christian monarch in Europe and the Ottoman Porte was concluded by Francis I king of France and Solyman II, surnamed the magnificent, the Turkish emperor or sultan, whereby many commercial privileges in Turkey were obtained for the French, who were allowed to have a consul of their own nation in the several ports of Turkey both for civil and criminal affairs, together with the private exercise of their own religion. These privileges France alone of all Christian nations enjoyed for some time, no others being allowed to resort to Turkey unless they went under the protection of the French flag.

The Venetians next obtained a like commercial treaty with the Turks, in the year 1580; and next to them, the English obtained the like, without the interposition of any other nation, in the year 1604. The Hollanders, next to the English, concluded a commercial treaty with the Turks. Last of all, Genoa (though not till the year 1665) obtained a like commercial treaty with the Ottoman Porte, as will be shown in the next century.

In this same year Mendoza was sent from Spain with 2200 soldiers to the river De la Plata in Paraguay, on the south side of which he founded the town of Buenos-Ayres, which, though soon again abandoned during his absence, was again refounded; as also some other towns and colonies in Paraguay.

1536.—Until this year Portugal enjoyed without a rival the sole trade of all the vast western coasts of Africa, whereby considerable riches had

been brought to Lisbon, even before they had made their discoveries in either the East or West Indies.

But next to the Portuguese, the English now began to trade to the Guinea coast, some of whom, it is said, were so successful as to bring home in one voyage above 100 pound weight of gold dust, beside elephants teeth, &c. Yet the English erected no forts on that coast till long after this time*.

King Henry having suppressed the hospital or sisterhood of 'Seynt James in the fylde,' near Westminster, declared that the said house or hospital of Seynt James in the fylde he had now inclosed, and there made a park and manor for himself. [*Fœdera*, V. xiv, p. 563.] At present they are the royal palace and park of St. James's, in the liberty of Westminster.

Wales, which had long before been absolutely subject to the crown of England, was now, by a judicious act of parliament, totally united and incorporated with England, its people being declared English subjects to all intents whatever, and subject to the laws of England only; all their own peculiar tenures, descents, customs, and usages contrary thereunto being abolished. The whole principality was now divided into twelve shires, as at present, beside Monmouthshire and the town of Haverfordwest, which was before a county of itself. [27 *Hen. VIII*, c. 26.]—And by the act [34, 35 *Hen. VIII*, c. 26.] it is declared that eight have been shires formerly, and the four newly made are Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh. In this copious act many regulations were made to reduce Wales entirely to the laws and customs of England; and divers lordships and manors in the marches of Wales were annexed to the counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester. The justice of Chester had annexed to his office the shires of Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery, and yet (says the act) he shall have nothing but his old fee of £100 yearly. And three other justices were appointed, each having three counties under his circuit; and each of these three justices had £50 yearly salary.

By these wise regulations, not only all former national prejudices on either side have been gradually removed, but the people of Wales have been brought to a more industrious course of living, by applying themselves to manufactures and a better cultivation of their lands, insomuch that in our times that country wears quite another and more beautiful aspect than when this incorporating union was made. And we hear no more of the rapine, murders, &c. before so frequent on the borders between England and Wales; but, to the mutual felicity of both countries, a regular intercourse has long since been established between them, in like sort as between one county of England and another.

* At least one voyage to Guinea before this time by an Englishman, captain Hawkins, is already noted, from Hakluyt, in the year 1530. *M.*

In the latter end of the year 1535 and the beginning of 1536, the king suppressed all the lesser monasteries (i. e. such as had estates not exceeding £200 per annum.) Bishop Burnet, in his History of the reformation, observes, that the full report of the visitation of those houses previous to their suppression is lost; yet he saw an extract of a part of it, concerning 144 houses, which contained abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom! In some they found tools for coining; and briefly, in almost all of them, the greatest lewdness and wickedness. Lord Herbert [*p.* 441.] says, that the yearly amount of all these lesser monasteries was £32,000, but that the king sold them at such easy rates, to enable the purchasers to keep up the hospitality which the monks had done when they possessed them, adding thereto a penalty of £6:13:4 per month on the farmers and possessors of the monasteries and lands belonging to them, on failure of keeping up hospitality and husbandry therein. But the penalty being not ordinarily required, due hospitality was for the most part neglected; for the forfeitures being great, were, at the supplication of the parliament [21 *Jac.* I. *c.* 28.] wholly abolished at length by the indulgence of the king. Somewhat surely ought to have been done in time to prevent the poor from becoming so heavy a weight on the landed and trading interests, as it was easy to foresee they would be on the suppression of those monasteries, whose kitchens were ever open to the poor of their neighbourhood.

Had the purchasers of those church lands in every parish been obliged by their tenures to support the poor thereof, or at least to contribute thereto in a much greater and fixed proportion than others, it would have been extremely reasonable, as they purchased them at very low prices. This would have been more conducive to the benefit of a free and trading people than Lord Herbert's scheme of annexing them all to the crown for ever, for enabling the king to keep up a good army and navy, without being obliged to have recourse to the people's purses from time to time: A dangerous scheme for a free people!

King Henry gave encouragement to certain merchants to send out two ships on discovery to the north coasts of America, where they visited Cape Breton and Newfoundland; and being in great distress for want of provisions there, they returned home in October the same year. And although this voyage proved unfavourable to their main intent of finding a north-west passage to India, yet it gave rise to the very beneficial fishery of the English on the banks of Newfoundland, on which barren island Mr. Hoar, a merchant of London, attempted a settlement at this time, though he met with much misfortune in that unsuccessful attempt.

An act of parliament was passed, to enable the governors and magistrates of counties, towns, and parishes, to find and keep every aged,

poor, and impotent person, who should have dwelt three years in any place, by way of voluntary alms, with such convenient alms as should be thought meet by their discretion, so as none of them should be obliged to beg openly; and to compell sturdy vagabonds to work. Also that children under fourteen years of age and above five, who lived in idleness, and were found begging, should be put to service. No person was allowed to make any open or common dole, or give any money in alms, but to the common boxes and common gatherings in every parish. [27th Hen. VIII, c. 25.]

This was the first law made in England that seemed to make any provision for aged poor, yet being merely voluntary, it will appear from succeeding ones that it did not prove by any means effectual. Those open doles were made by persons of wealth, and of a charitable disposition, at the gates of their houses on certain fixed times, whither the poor of the neighbourhood came, at a known hour, to have money or provisions dealt out to them. The same practice is still retained in many parts of Scotland.

1537.—An English act of parliament having directed of what length and breadth the linen cloths called lockrams and dowlas, made in and imported from Britany, should be, (a thing indeed somewhat extraordinary, to direct another nation concerning their own manufactures!) the French refused to be regulated by it; and as those linens were usually paid for in English woollen cloths exported to Britany, whereby great numbers of weavers, tuckers, spinners, dyers, wool-pickers, &c. were constantly employed, and all those trades were now at a stand, that extraordinary statute was this year repealed. [28th Hen. VIII, c. 4.]

About this time (according to Camden in his *Britannia* *) the woollen manufacture was introduced at Halifax in Yorkshire. He says, that besides the largeness of its parish, which contained eleven chapels and about 12,000 people, nothing is so admirable in this town as the industry of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding an unprofitably-barren soil, have so flourished by the cloth trade that they are become very rich, and have gained a reputation for this above their neighbours; and this confirms the truth of the observation, that a barren country is a great whet to the industry of its natives; whereby alone we find Nuremberg in Germany, Venice and Genoa in Italy, and Limoges in France, in spite of their situation on a barren soil, have long been flourishing cities.

1538.—Solyman the Magnificent, the Turkish emperor, feeling the great loss his subjects sustained by being deprived of supplying Europe with spices and other Indian merchandize from the port of Alexandria,

* Camden says *seventy years ago*; and the number stands the same, I believe, in all the editions: to that, as Mr. Anderson has reckoned seventy years before 1607, the date of the *last* edition, above twenty years may be added to the antiquity of the clothing trade at Halifax. *M.*

made an attempt to drive the Portuguese out of India. He for that end sent his admiral, Solyman Bassa, with eighty ships and galleys, from the Red Sea, to besiege the strong fort of Diu, near the mouth of the Indus. The Turks, however, were repulsed with firmness, after using all kinds of means to master it.

After the dissolution of monasteries, the clergymen throughout England were enjoined by an order from Thomas Cromwell earl of Essex, vicar-general of King Henry VIII, to keep a register of all weddings, christenings, and burials in their parishes. This laudable custom has been continued (though it is to be feared not so carefully as it should be) ever since. It is a practice which on many important occasions may be of great use to princes and statesmen, both for political and mercantile considerations; and, as Bishop Nicolson observes, such registers are some of our best helps for the preservation of history; and their use (says he) might be more extensive, if care were taken to register also many other remarkable occurrences relating to the public concerns of the several parishes; and therefore persons of all persuasions or opinions ought, under a penalty, to be obliged to register the same in the vestry-books of every parish. Such registers are also of great use and authority in law disputes and trials, for proving the age of persons, the titles to estates, &c.

Ferdinando Soto, having a grant from the Emperor Charles V of the country of Florida, went thither with nine ships and 600 men at his own expense, and travelled many hundred leagues over that country, meeting with many great misfortunes; and after fundry battles with the natives, returned home with the remaining half of his people in the year 1543.

1539.—In the year 1538 was begun, and in 1539 was completed, the dissolution of all the remaining abbeys, called the greater ones; and soon after those in Ireland shared the same fate.

Lord Herbert computes the total yearly value of them all (both greater and lesser ones) to be £161,000; but this is far from being an exact account of their annual value; for the abbots and priors, foreseeing the impending desolation, had raised the fines for leases very high, which brought the rents in consequence very low, that they might thereby have wherewithal to support themselves when they should be expelled. Indeed, the heads of those convents had, in part at least, long before fallen into that practice, that they might not be bound to entertain too great a number in their houses, whereby they much enriched themselves.

The author of a small folio, printed in the year 1689, with the title of the Happy future state of England (said by many to be the earl of Anglesey *), thinks there were in all about 50,000 persons maintained

* According to Mr. Chalmers's information, the author was Sir Peter Pet. *M.*

in the convents of England and Wales. Now, if they were then maintained at L7 each person, their annual expence would be L350,000, which probably was then near the yearly value of their lands; and living then being about five times cheaper than in our times, the total yearly value of their lands in our money would be L1,750,000; and if on an average those lands be worth 20 years purchase (as being since greatly improved), then the total present value of all the abbey-lands may be about L35,000,000 Sterling. That author farther observes, that as Camden in his *Britannia* makes all the parishes of England amount to 9284, thereto may be added 26 bishops, 26 deans, 60 archdeacons, and 544 prebendaries; these, joined to several rural deanries, may make about 1000 more; though here our author seems to have forgot that the deans and archdeacons, as well as the prebendaries, have, almost without exception, at least one parish living, in some of which they may perhaps officiate (though but few) without entertaining a curate. And there being then (*i. e.* at the dissolution of the monasteries) in Oxford and Cambridge about 60,000 students, who, in expectation of church preferments, either as regulars or as seculars, abstained from marriage, there were then in all about 120,000 persons restrained by their function from increasing and multiplying; as at present double (he should at least surely have said treble) that number is in France; which consideration alone gives a considerable advantage to protestant countries in point of commerce as well as population. And reckoning that every marriage, one with another, produces four children, these would more than double their number in the same age. This we doubt is not strictly true*.

According to Camden [*Britannia*, p. 117, ed. 1607], the number of monasteries suppressed in England and Wales, first and last, was 645, besides 96 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals. It is now too late to lament the demolition of all the monasteries, two or three of which in every country (as being many of them spacious and stately edifices) would excellently well have served for county hospitals and workhouses. Much more should the overthrow of the colleges be lamented, since even the two illustrious universities of Oxford and Cambridge were included in the dissolution act; and it was some time after that the king was, with some difficulty, induced to continue them in their former condition; yet so inconsistent was he, almost at the same time, as to found new and magnificent colleges in the same universities. And what shall we likewise say of the destruction of such as were real hospitals for the sick poor, the most innocent and useful of any one kind of charity whatever?

According to Herrera and other historians, it was about this time

* The increase of mankind in any country must the great body of the people can procure the ever be in proportion to the facility with which means of subsistence. *M.*

that the French pirates or freebooters began to infest the Spanish West-Indies. In the following year, Herrera reports that many Portuguese caravels traded to the island of Hispaniola, who at their return did not (as all the Spaniards were bound to do) carry their cargoes to the India contraction-house at Seville, by which means the king was defrauded of his duties. It was therefore ordained in that same year that none should take in any cargo at Hispaniola without giving security to enter the whole of it at the said house at Seville.

1540.—It was now that the French made the first attempt to establish a colony in Canada; Cartier, already mentioned, having now failed again from St. Malo with five ships up the great river of St. Laurence, four leagues above the haven of St. Croix, where he, jointly with the baron de Roberval, erected a fort. Others place Roberval's first settlement at Canada with 200 men and women in 1524.

The state of shipping, even in the port of London, was at this time but low, compared with the present time. If we may give credit to *Wheeler's Treatise of commerce* (4to, 1601), who wrote in defence of the company of the merchants-adventurers, to which company he was secretary, and who testifies considerable knowledge in mercantile concerns, he expressly asserts, that about sixty years before he wrote, there were not above four ships (beside those of the navy-royal) that were above 120 tons each, within the river Thames.

There being a great coolness at this time between King Henry VIII of England and his nephew King James V of Scotland, who was ever much attached to the French interest, the latter prepared a navy of fifteen ships, with 2000 men in them, for some enterprise. Lord Herbert does not pretend certainly to know James's design in those preparations, though it looked as if he hoped to annex Ireland to his crown, since about that time certain Irish gentlemen came to invite him over to their country, promising to acknowledge him for their king; and that divers noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland should come over to do him homage. It seems King James wanted not money at this time, his monastical clergy giving him great sums to keep their houses from being dissolved*.

* Lord Herbert, in the usual jealousy of politicians, supposed that a fleet could be equipped for no other purpose but to disturb the tranquillity of the neighbouring nations; but this Scottish fleet had a very different, and much more laudable, destination.

James V, king of Scotland, having extended the authority of the laws through all the rest of his kingdom, resolved that the remote highlands and islands should also be brought under regular authority. With this view he prepared a fleet of twelve (not fifteen) stout ships, with which he himself sailed from Leith, attended by several of

the principal nobility, and a competent military force. Landing in most of the principal islands, he carried with him the chiefs as hostages for the peaceable behaviour of their clans; and, for the first time since the islands were subject to Scotland, peace and order prevailed in those distant territories.

With an attention to science worthy of an enlightened sovereign of a maritime country, James carried with him Alexander Lindsay, an excellent navigator and hydrographer, whose chart of Scotland and the islands, compiled from his observations made in this voyage, and which has been re-

Baldivia invaded the fine country of Chili in South America, and became master of some part of it. Nevertheless, what the Spaniards have held in that country did for many years cost them very much bloodshed, and the loss of a great number of lives.

It was about this time that (according to the ingenious author of the third and fourth parts of the present state of England, 8vo, 1683) cherry-trees were first brought into England from Flanders, and planted in Kent, with such success that an orchard of only 32 acres produced in one year as much as yielded 11000. Probably the novelty of so delicious a fruit made people at first give high prices for them. Yet this author, in another place, says that Leonard Mascall, King Henry VIII's gardener, alleges that both pippins and cherries were in England before the year 1524. Nevertheless, Camden alleges that the Romans introduced the growth of cherries into Britain. If so, it is strange the Saxons suffered so fine a fruit to be lost in England*.

An act of parliament now passed in Scotland, which appointed in every burgh an officer for the sealing of all woollen cloths, by way of prevention of all drawers (strainers or stretchers) thereof, and also of all distaffs (dyers) of false colours. [*Jac. V, parl. vii, c. 112.*]

1541.—Gustavus Erickson, king of Sweden, observing that the emperor gave all kinds of assistance to the Count Palatine, brother-in-law to the dethroned and imprisoned King Christiern II, in order to restore that unhappy king to the thrones of the three northern kingdoms, found it needful to strengthen himself by some potent foreign alliance for a counter-balance: And Francis I, king of France, being engaged in the Smalcaldic league of the protestant princes of Germany against the emperor, Gustavus dispatched an ambassador to him, with proposals for a mutual commerce between both nations; particularly, that the Swedes would fetch their wines, salt, &c. directly from France in their own bottoms, instead of taking them at second-hand from the Hollanders; and Gustavus, moreover, proposed to erect magazines of salt in Sweden, and to compell every family (as is done in France itself) to take a set quantity of it at a fixed rate. His salt project, it is true, did not succeed; but his other proposals for trade were well received by Francis, to whom Gustavus offered his aid against the emperor. Yet, as the kingdom of Sweden was till then very little known in France, Francis made a strict inquiry into its power, constitution, &c. and finding so warlike a nation capable of being very conducive to the purposes of France, he not only agreed on a treaty of commerce between the two kingdoms, but

peatedly engraved, is very accurate for the age, and much superior to some which were drawn after it. *M.*

* The cherries brought to England at this time must have been a new species. Nothing is more

certain than that the Romans introduced cherries in Britain, as I have shown, in the year 54. I believe there is no reason to suppose that they were ever lost. *M.*

likewise to a defensive alliance, whereby the two kings mutually engaged to assist each other with 25,000 troops and 50 ships.

A statute was made, whereby all former ones were confirmed, for confining the importation of wines from Gascony, and woad from Tholouse, to English and Irish ships only. [32 *Hen. VIII*, c. 14.]

By an act of this same year [c. 16.] the power which the king had before assumed, by his proclamation alone, of remitting to merchants-aliens the duties they would otherwise have been obliged by law to pay, was confirmed and made legal. Such abject slaves did those parliaments render themselves to the pleasure of that monarch.

There is an act for paving the following streets or ways in London, viz. 1) The street leading from Aldgate to Whitechapel church. 2) The upper part of Chancery-lane. 3) The way leading from Holbourn-bars westward towards St. Giles in the fields, as far as any habitation is on both sides of the said street. 4) Gray's Inn-lane. 5) Shoe-lane; and, 6) Feuter (now Fetter) lane; the two last being thorough-fares and passages from Fleet-street into Holbourn. That part of Chancery-lane now to be paved is thus described, viz. from the bars beside the rolls, lately set up by the lord privy-seal, unto the said highway in Holbourn. This passage shows the age of the rolls-office in Chancery-lane; and also that all Holbourn above the city-bars remained unpaved till now; neither was it now all built on both sides, (nor a good while later than this time, as appears by a map of London in Queen Elizabeth's reign). All these six ways now directed to be paved are herein described as very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous, and noxious (noisome), as well for all the king's subjects on horse-back as on foot, and with carriage. [32 *Hen. VIII*, c. 17.] Yet three of these, viz. Shoe-lane, Fetter-lane, and Chancery-lane, are now in the very centre of the present vast contiguity, and all the rest are likewise well built and inhabited. So great is the increase and improvement of London since those times.

In the same year, by a statute [c. 18.] a list of decayed cities and towns is exhibited (as in 1535) wherein it is said, there had been in times past many beautiful houses within the walls and liberties of York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Coventry, Bath, Chichester, Salisbury, Winchester, Bristol, Scarborough, Hereford, Colchester, Rochester, Portsmouth, Poole, Lynn, Feversham, Worcester, Stafford, Buckingham, Pontefract, Grantham, Exeter, Ipswich, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Oxenford, Great Wicomb, Guildford, Eftretfore (quære, if Stafford?) Kingston upon Hull, Newcastle upon Tyne, Beverley, Bedford, Leicester, and Berwick: And in another [c. 19.] Shafton, Sherborn, Bridport, Dorchester, and Weymouth, (all in Dorsetshire); Plymouth, Plympton, Barnstable, Tavistoke, and Dartmouth, (all in Devonshire); Lancelton, Leskeard, Lestwithiel, Bodmin, Truro, and Helfton, (all in Cornwall);

Bridgwater, Taunton, Somerton, and Alcheſter, (all in Somerſetſhire); Maldon in Eſſex; and, laſtly, Warwick: ‘ which houſes now are fallen down, decayed, and at this time remain unre-edified as deſolate and vacant grounds, many of them nigh adjoining to the high ſtreets, replenished with much uncleaneſs and filth, with pits, cellars, and vaults, lying open and uncovered, to the great peril of the king’s ſubjects; and other houſes are in danger of falling. Now, if the owners of the waſte grounds (on which houſes had ſtood within twenty-five years back), and of the decaying houſes, do not in three years time rebuild them, then the lord of whom the ground is held may re-enter, and ſeize the ſame, &c. as in a like law anno 1535.’ Concerning which laws (now and afterward) it may be truly ſaid, they were well enough judged, as probably thoſe nuisances complained of were more owing to careleſſneſs, than to any real decay in moſt of the places mentioned in thoſe two acts, and in the ſubſequent ones of this century; ſince it is well known, that many of thoſe cities and towns were, in thoſe very times, increaſing in commerce and manufactures: ſo that theſe two ſtatutes ſeem to have proceeded rather from a particular humour of that parliament, than from any real decay of all, or at leaſt of many of the places; ſince, excepting London, Norwich, Liverpool, Northampton, Cheſter, Nottingham, Cambridge, and a few more, almoſt all the conſiderable cities and towns of the kingdom are thus enumerated as decaying ones, which is almoſt impoſſible to have been the caſe, whiſt the nation in general was increaſing, though then but ſlowly, in wealth and commerce. This therefor ſeems to be one inſtance at leaſt of the fallibility of ſome of our old ſtatutes: Some of thoſe places might complain of a real decay, which might give a handle to the representatives of other places to include them alſo in that number, though probably without any ground.

1542.—The humour of coercive laws for building up waſte grounds in cities and towns of England, ſeems to have prevailed much in the reign of King Henry VIII. We have juſt exhibited a long liſt of ſuch, by an act of parliament in 1541; and another act [33 *Hen. VIII.*, c. 36.] ſays, that whereas in times paſt, many beautiful houſes have been within the walls and liberties of the cities of Canterbury and Rocheſter; the towns of Stamford and Grimsby in Lincolnſhire; the towns of Cambridge, Darby, Guildford, Dunwich; the towns of the Cinque-ports, with their members; Lewes in Suffex, and Buckingham; which are now fallen down, decayed, and remain unre-edified; lying as deſolate, with much ordure, filth, &c. as in the preceding laws is ſpecified; wherefor, the owners of ſuch waſte grounds, and of thoſe decayed houſes, are to rebuild them within two years after proclamation made by the magiſtrates; or failing them, then the next or chief lord of the ſoil may ſeize on and rebuild the ſame for his own uſe, ſo he does it within two

years and a half after. And in default of his not re-entering thereon, then any person, having a rent-charge on the premises, may re-enter, as in the before-named case. And in default of him who has the rent-charge, then the magistrates of the respective cities and towns may re-enter. And, lastly, if they fail to re-enter and rebuild in three years time, then the first owners might re-enter and possess them, as in their former state.

The English merchants of Southampton and London, we find (by Hakluyt) traded to Brasil in the years 1540 and 1542; and so it seems to have at those times been permitted, and until the year 1580, that Spain got possession of Portugal.

The Portuguese governor of Malacca having made a full discovery of the coast of China in the years 1540 and 1542, they were in 1542 driven by storm to make an accidental discovery of the islands of Japan, where they were at first well received.

By virtue of an act of the Irish parliament, King Henry now assumed the title of king, instead of lord, of Ireland; whereupon Sir James Ware, in his historical relations, observes, 'that albeit the kings of England had been absolute monarchs of Ireland before, though only with the title of lords of it; yet because, in the vulgar conceit, the name of king is higher than that of lord, assuredly the assuming of this title hath not a little raised the sovereignty of the king of England in the minds of this people.' Yet he at the same time acknowledges, 'that although Sir Anthony St. Leger, then lord-deputy, took several good measures for the improvement of Ireland, all this while the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, with a good part of Leinster, were not reduced to shire-ground. And although Munster was antiently divided into counties, yet the people were become so degenerate, that no justice of assize durst execute his commission amongst them.' In such a state of affairs there could be no room for any thing like a settled commerce in Ireland: For the bulk of the old English race were so far degenerated as to lose the use of the English tongue, and becoming mere Irish, they assumed Irish names.

The negligence and decay of the (east) coast fishing towns of England at this time is apparent from an act of parliament, which describes a bad custom of our people on that coast, who, instead of fishing themselves, went in their boats half-seas over, and bought fresh fish of the Flemings, Zelanders, Picards, and Normans. It was therefor now enacted, that whosoever should buy any fresh fish in that manner (sturgeon, porpoise, and seal excepted), to put to sale to any person within this realm, should forfeit for every time ten pounds; but this not to extend to fish bought in Iceland, Scotland, Orkney, Shetland, Ireland, or Newfoundland, (then called Newland.) [33 *Hen. VIII, c. 2.*]

1543.—We have now the title of the first law ever made in England
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relating to bankrupts, [34 *Henry VIII.*] viz. ‘ The lord chancellor, treasurer, &c. shall take order with bankrupts bodies, lands, and goods, for the payment of their debts *.’

In this year, according to Lewis Guicciardin’s History of the Netherlands, the renowned city of Antwerp had its third and last great enlargement, by extending the walls so as to inclose what is called the new town, towards the north. The new walls were built of fine hewn stone, and beautifully adorned. That illustrious mercantile city then contained about 100,000 inhabitants, according to Guicciardin, who had diligently computed the same.

We may infer from a statute [34, 35 *Hen. VIII.*, c. 6.] concerning pins, that such as are now used by the ladies are but of recent invention. The act says, that no person shall put to sale any pinnes but only such as shall be double-headed, and have the heads soldered fast to the shank of the pinne, well smoothed, the shank well shaven, the point well and round filed, cauted, and sharpened. Now, the labour of making pins after this manner, as it must have rendered them much more expensive, shows the novelty of the invention, which probably was but lately brought from France. And the inconveniency of the make of those pins naturally set our people upon improving so tedious and clumsy a manufacture; for, in about three years time, they fell into the present ingenious and expeditious manner of making them, as appears by an act [37 *Hen. VIII.*, c. 13.] for repealing the above statute. Before the invention of these brass pins, there were many pretty and ingenious contrivances for the conveniency of the dress and ornament of both sexes, such as ribbons, loopholes, laces with points and tags, clasps, hooks and eyes, and skewers made of brass, silver, and gold. From the last it is very probable that pins naturally proceeded, being no other than smaller and more convenient and delicate skewers.

Herrera acquaints us that the Spaniards from Mexico now sailed for discovery on the west side of North America as far as the latitude of 44 degrees north, even to the farther end of California; but as they found there neither gold nor silver, and only very cold weather, they returned home to Mexico.

1544.—Upon King Henry’s return from his successful siege of Boulogne, whereby he had ground to apprehend reprisals from France, he set about fortifying his sea-coasts. He began with guarding the entrance into the river Thames, by erecting the fort of Tilbury, and a battery opposite to it at Gravesend. Dover was his next care, where he built its fa-

* A subsequent statute [13 *Eliz.* c. 7.] explains who were to be accounted bankrupts, and puts the methods of proceeding concerning them nearly on the same footing as at present.

At this time letters written in London were received in Edinburgh on the fourth day. [*Sadler’s*

Letters and negotiations, pp. 138, 139, 146, &c.] Such dispatch was little or nothing inferior to that of the post in our own days before the establishment of mail coaches; but it was only a temporary establishment for the conveyance of the English government letters. *M.*

mous (though too fruitless) pier, running out into the sea, at the expense of no less a sum than £65,000 (if transcribers have not added a cypher too much), since frequently repaired at a great expense. Portsmouth was his next care, and afterwards fundry other places. Moreover, the tower of London having till then been the only magazine of the kingdom for artillery and military stores, he now prudently distributed much of them in those newly-fortified places on the coast, which happened extremely opportune; for this same year, a large French fleet of 150 great ships and 60 smaller ones, beside 25 galleys from the Mediterranean (being all hired merchant ships), made an attempt upon Portsmouth, whither King Henry went in person to its relief. Lord Herbert and other historians relate, that the English fleet of 100 sail (which also were hired merchant ships) fought that of France, though much more numerous, for two hours, and made them fly to their own coasts; but none of them are accurate enough to give us any account of the order or form, &c. of that sea-fight, nor indeed of many others of the like kind. This Mr. Rapin terms the greatest effort that France had ever made at sea.

We again find the French pirates or freebooters in the West-Indies, according to Herrera, who tells us, that four of their ships, with a tender, entered the port of Santa Marta, where, landing 400 men, the Spanish inhabitants abandoned the place, which the French plundered and burnt. From thence they sailed to Carthagená, where they practised the like rapine, that place not having been as yet well fortified. Afterward they attempted the Havanna, in the island of Cuba; and being there repulsed, returned home by the gulf of Florida.

We have in two former instances noted the great influence which corporation cities and towns had in parliament, in monopolizing the manufactures of their respective counties, exclusive of the villages and open country, viz. in the case of ropemaking at Bridport in Dorsetshire, and that of the woollen manufacture at Worcester city, and the other corporations of that county. The case now before us is that of a peculiar manufacture in the city of York, viz. coverlets for beds. The act establishing this monopoly, as usual, sets forth, that the city of York had been formerly supported by fundry handicrafts, and principally by making coverlets and coverings for beds, whereby great numbers of inhabitants and poor people in that city and suburbs, and in other places of the county, have been constantly employed. But that of late years, fundry *evil-disposed persons*, apprentices, not expert in that occupation, have withdrawn themselves out of that city into the county; and divers other persons inhabiting the villages and towns of that county, and nigh to the said city, have intermeddled with the said craft, and do daily make coverlets, neither of good stuff nor proper size; and do hawk and sell them abroad in the county to villages and mens houses, &c. to the

great deceit of the king's subjects, &c. (most of which representation appears to have been an imposition on the parliament.) It was now therefore enacted, that no person whatever, within or nigh to the county of York, shall make any coverlets for sale, but inhabitants alone, dwelling within the city of York and its suburbs, upon forfeiture, &c. What could be a greater monopoly than this? Or what a greater injustice to the poor manufacturers in other parts of the county?

As the gradual increase of the suburbs of London does in a great measure keep pace with the gradual increase of the general commerce of England, and as it is, moreover, a piece of curious and entertaining history to mark the gradual advances of both, we therefore have no need of an apology for exhibiting whatever falls in our way of that kind. By a statute [34, 35 *Hen. VIII, c. 12.*] the streets and lanes called Whitecross-street, Chiswell-street, Golding-lane, Grub-street in the parish of St. Giles's without Cripplegate, Goswell-street, Long-lane in the parish of St. Botolph, and St. Sepulchre's without Newgate; St. John's-street, leading from the bars of Smithfield up to the pound, at the corner of the wall extending along the highway leading to Islington; and also the street from the said bars to Cow-cross; Water-lane in Fleet-street, leading down to the Thames; the way leading without Temple-bar westward, by and unto Clement's Inn gates and New Inn gates, to Drewry-place in the county of Middlesex; (this shows that this way was not then built on) and also one little lane stretching from the said way to the sign of the bell at Drewry-lane end; and the common way leading through a certain place called Petit-France, from the bars of the west end of Tothill-street at Westminster, to the uttermost part of the west end of the said place called Petit-France; the street or highway leading from Bishopsgate to and above Shoreditch church; and the bridge called Strond-bridge, and the way leading from the same bridge towards Temple-bar; and the lane called Foscue-lane, from the garden and tenement of the bishop of Litchfield, and the gardens and tenement called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strond-bridge (these names now unknown), be very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noxious, and very necessary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt favours, and an occasion of pestilence; for the amendment and reformation whereof, all who had any lands or tenements adjoining to the aforesaid streets, lanes, and ways, were ordered to pave the same with paving stones before their tenements to the middle of the street or lane, in like manner and form as the streets of the city of London be paved, with causeys or channels in the midst of the same streets; and also to maintain the same.

In this year, King Henry VIII being at war with Scotland, the English army took and pillaged the town and port of Leith, (which is properly the port of Edinburgh.) And Lord Herbert hereupon remarks,

that on that occasion the English found more riches in Leith than they could have easily imagined.

In that war the English took twenty-eight of the principal ships of Scotland, fraught with all kind of rich merchandize, as they returned from France, Flanders, Denmark, and other countries, and they brought them into the English ports. [*Drake's hist. Anglo-Scotica*, p. 351.] So that it should seem that Scotland at this time was not without some considerable share of foreign commerce.

As yet the present great suburb of London eastward along the north bank of the Thames, since named Wapping, had not (as far as appears) any existence as a suburb, or was not built up into houses; for by an act [35 *Hen. VIII*, c. 9.] Wapping-marsh, in the county of Middlesex, is directed to be divided by certain persons assigned. And Richard Hill of London, mercer, (the assignee of Cornelius Wanderdelf, who, at his own charge, inned, inbanked, and recovered the same, being drowned) was to have the one moiety thereof to him and to his heirs; it having been before this time within the flux of the tide. Those banks being in the year 1565 broken in several parts by inundations, were repaired; but were again damaged in 1571, when, for the greater security of the banks hereafter, they first began to erect houses thereon, the memory of which is still preserved in a street there, called Wapping-wall.

In an act of parliament [34, 35 *Hen. VIII*, c. 21.] relating to grants of lands by the king, it is enacted, that for over-grants of lands, more than was specified and intended by the king, the grantees shall pay to the king after the rate of twenty years purchase. Yet this is by no means a rule to judge of the value or purchase of lands at that time, which certainly was very much lower than this valuation, which most probably was intended as a punishment and a caution to all grantees not to conceal the quantum of the crown's grants.

The streets of the town of Cambridge were directed to be paved with stone. [35 *Hen. VIII*, c. 16.]

And in the same year, a very good statute (the first of the kind) was made for preserving the woods of England, as well for the benefit of house and ship-timber as for firing. [35 *Hen. VIII*, c. 17.] This statute was afterwards made perpetual. [12 *Eliz.* c. 25.]

By an act of parliament of the same year [c. 24.] we find that 200 acres of land (100 of meadow and 100 of pasture) at Maddingley in Cambridgeshire, with the appurtenances, are thereby declared to be in the whole of the yearly value of ten pounds, and so letten to farm, to the use and intent that the profits thereof should be for the fees and wages of the knights (in parliament) for the county of Cambridge; and this land therefor was called the shire-manor; and was now actually let to John Hinde serjeant-at-law for that sum yearly, being at 12*d* per

acre yearly rent. This is a better guide to the true value of lands in those times than the preceding quotation from *c.* 21 of the same year, which lands may at present be worth near twenty times as much.

In the same year we have another statute [*c.* 4.] for repairing and rebuilding decayed houses and waste places in the following towns (exactly in the same style as the acts of 1535, 1541, and 1542), viz. Shrewsbury, Chester, Ludlow, Haverford-west, Pembroke, Tenby, Caermarthen, Montgomery, Cardiff, Swanesse, (*i. e.* Swansea) Cowbridge, New Radnor, and Prestend (*i. e.* Presteigne) in Radnorshire; Brecknock and Monmouth; Malden in Essex; Abergavenny, Uske, Caerleon and Newport in Monmouthshire; Lancaster, Preston, Lyrepoole, (*i. e.* Liverpool) and Wigan in Lancashire.

A judicious observer will naturally remark that there is such a thing as fashion or example even in the important subject of acts of parliament. Thus one age (from an applauded example or two) runs more into one kind of reformation of abuses, another age into some other kind, for the same reason. This and the before mentioned other three statutes sufficiently exhausted the subject they relate to, having therein actually gone through not only almost all the considerable cities and towns of the kingdom, London excepted, but have even descended to several towns which neither are, nor ever were of consideration enough to have so much regard paid to them; yet it is not to be denied that the design in general is very laudable. After the restoration of King Charles II, the making of rivers navigable, and the repairing and deepening of harbours, had a considerable run; and the last and present generation have run partly into that likewise; but the present age more especially into bridges and public roads.

1545.—According to Herrera's History of Spanish America, the unparalleled silver mines of the mountain Potosi in Peru, which had been discovered a little time before, but till now concealed from the king's officers, were now first registered in the king of Spain's books. It seems an Indian, running up that mountain after a deer, discovered the first mine, by laying hold of and tearing up by the root a shrub which grew out of a vein of ore. The next year other veins were discovered on this seemingly inexhaustible mountain, which being noised abroad, it brought most of the inhabitants of the town of La Plata to settle there; so that in a short time, in the neighbourhood of those mines, there sprung up the largest town in all Peru, where there is a prodigious trade. The mountain lies in 21 degrees and 40 minutes of south latitude, yet, because of its great height, it is cold and dry, and by nature barren, producing neither fruits nor grass. The colour of its earth is a dark red. Such was the riches drawn from those mines, that even in those times the king's fifth amounted to one million and a half of pieces of eight yearly, although in those early days they robbed the king of much of

his due, not one third part of the silver being stamped and registered. He adds, that in the year 1585, they counted 111 millions that had paid the king's fifth from the first discovery of the mines to that year, beside an immense quantity that had never paid the fifth. It seems it was at first found to be very difficult to separate the metal from the earth or dross by dint of fire, the antients being ignorant of the separation of silver by mercury, although they knew that of gold, and thought that mercury would not cleave to any other metal but gold. The Spaniards, however, afterward discovered that it would cling to silver also, though not so soon; but it has no effect upon other metals. And since this discovery, the poorer ore, which cannot be refined by fire, is not lost as formerly; for the quicksilver perfectly clears the silver without fire. There were (it seems) no quicksilver mines in Europe, according to our author, until after the discovery of America, excepting those of Carinthia in Germany, and of Almadin in Spain; but in the year 1566 they discovered one near Guamanga in Peru, whereby the crown gets (it is said) 400,000 dollars of clear profit annually, besides what is gained by cleansing the metal with mercury, amounting to a vast sum. Two-thirds of all the silver which comes from America to Europe (says our author) comes from Peru.

To this account of the most famous silver mines in the universe, and of the great improvement in refining the metal by quicksilver, handed down to us by so authentic an author, we may venture to add, that since Herrera's days, there have been other very rich silver mines discovered in Peru, and particularly, it is said, there was a very rich one discovered near Cusco so lately as the year 1712.

Under this same year Daniel tells us of a French ship of war carrying 100 large brass cannon; yet he nevertheless owns in general, that the largest ships of war in former times were not to be compared for bulk with those of modern times, since in old times large fleets were fitted out from harbours, where now ships of a moderate size have not water enough to float them, of which Havre de Grace (built by King Francis I), and many other places, are instances. Our English naval historians think that ships had not, as at present, gun port-holes till this time, before which they only placed a few cannon on their upper decks, and on their prow and poop, fighting with cannon in ships being but lately come into use. Daniel therefore may be mistaken as to the date of his 100 gun ship.

1546.—Interest, or use for money lent (in those days, and always known by the name of usury) was now first settled in England by a statute [37 *Henry VIII*, c. 9.], intitled, 'How offenders in usury shall be punished.' Before this time (says the judicious Sir Josiah Child), there was no law for limiting the rate of interest; there was then little trade, and as little money in the nation; wherefor every man took such an

interest for what money he could put out as he could get, which in sundry instances (to be found in history here and there) was before this time generally higher than 10 per cent, as partly too appears from the strong expressions in this law, the preamble whereof says, 'That sundry statutes have been made for the avoiding and punishment of usury, being a thing unlawful,' (and yet with the same breath these lawgivers establish it, for this was the church's opinion of those times, though never uniformly put in practice), 'and of other corrupt bargains, shifts, and chevifances; which statutes are so obscure and dark in intents*', and are of so little force, that by reason thereof little or no punishment hath ensued to the offenders of the same; for reformation whereof (says the preamble gravely), be it enacted, that all former statutes concerning usury, shifts, &c. and all forfeitures and penalties concerning the same, be henceforth utterly void.'

Next, this act prohibits the tricks made use of to evade the laws prohibiting usury; as, I) The shift by selling merchandize to a person, and within three months after buying the same of him at a lesser price. II) None shall, by way of any corrupt bargain, lone, exchange, chevifance, shift, interest of any wares, merchandizes, or other thing whatever, or by any corrupt or deceitful way, or by any covin, engine, or deceitful way of conveyance, receive or accept, in lucre or gains, for the forbearing or giving day of payment of one whole year, of and for his or their money, or other thing that shall be due for the same wares, &c. above the sum of ten pound in the hundred, neither for money nor merchandize, nor yet for mortgages of lands and tenements, under the forfeiture of treble the value of the principal money lent, and of the issues and profits of the said lands or tenements, and shall also be imprisoned, and make fine and ransom at the king's will and pleasure. Of this forfeiture one moiety to be the king's, and the other the informer's†.

In a treaty of peace between England and France, Henry VIII agreed to surrender Boulogne and its territory to Francis I in eight years time, on condition of being paid by Francis two millions of gold crowns, &c.; and all new impositions on commerce in either kingdom for the last fifty years were agreed to be abolished. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 93.] Hall's chronicle says, that just before the conclusion of this treaty, the English fleet entered the river Seine with 160 sail of large ships, and came before the town of Havre de Grace, where the French fleet was, consisting of 200 ships and 26 galleys of force, whereof the pope had sent 20; but a storm soon separated the two fleets without any action.

* They were apparently so framed, on purpose to leave room to avoid the penalties, while, to please the clergy, all usury was declared sinful and unlawful.

† The good people in the reign of Edward VI,

determining that interest for the use of money was in no case lawful, repealed this law; but the wiser parliament of the 13th year of Elizabeth restored it, as will be seen in due time.

The great wealth of the Fuggers, merchants of Augsbürg, now living at Antwerp (already mentioned in the year 1535), is further illustrated by an acquittance of Anthony Fugger and nephews to King Henry VIII of England, and to the city of London (bound with him), for L 152,180 Flemish, which the king had borrowed of them. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 101.]*

And in the following year, King Edward VI borrowed of the same persons 129,750 Caroline florins, on the security of the city of London. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 152.] Thus we see that in those times the monarchs were obliged to support their own credit by the security of this great metropolis.

Henry VIII granted a licence to two Florentine merchants therein named, to import, for three years to come, the following rich merchandize, which (he says) were for the pleasure of us and our dearest wife the queen, our nobles, gentlemen, and others; viz. All kinds of goldsmith's work of gold and silver, all kinds of skins and furs, of fables, &c. all sorts of cloths of tissue of gold, silver, tinsel, velvet, and silk, cloths of tapestry and arras mixed with gold and silver, all sorts of fringes and lace wrought with gold and silver, or otherwise, of all which the king was to have the first sight and the refusal. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 105.] The luxury of dress was at least as great in those days as the present, though not so generally diffused.

By a statute [37 *Hen. VIII*, c. 21.] two parish churches, or one church and a chapel, not being above one mile asunder, and one of them not exceeding the yearly value of L 6, might be united into one, with the consent of the bishop, patrons, and incumbent, &c. It seems by the preamble to this act, that there were many parsonages in England, whereof the glebes, tithes, and other yearly profits, were not sufficient to maintain a priest or curate for the benefit of the parishioners; and as within a mile or less of the said poor parsonage, there happens in many places to be another parish church situated as conveniently for the said parishioners as their own church may be; and whereas the expense of supporting the two churches, for reparations, &c. is greater than such poor parishioners can bear; therefor, if one of those church-livings happen not to exceed the yearly value of L 6 in the king's books, it may be united to the other parish church; yet the union may be afterwards made void, provided the parishioners of such poor parish shall, in one year after such union, properly secure to the incumbent of the said parish the yearly payment of so much money as, with the sum that the said parishes rated at in the king's court of first fruits and tenths, shall amount to the full sum of L 8 yearly.

* The Fuggers, by licence from the king of Portugal, used to send a factor in each ship that failed to India, and owned a part of every cargo of pepper imported. [*Linschotten*, p. 160.] M.

Henry VIII, by his last will and testament, among other things, 'bequeaths to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, at their marriages, they being married to any outward (foreign) potentate (by the advice of his counsellors), if he bestow them not in his lifetime, ten thousand pounds, in money, plate, jewels, and household stuff, for each of them, or a larger sum, at the discretion of the executors.' [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 116.]

1547.—In this year, the first of King Edward VI, Peter Baude, a Frenchman, was the first who in England cast iron ordnance or cannon, says the author of an 8vo book, intitled, *English worthies in church and state* (London, 1684). As the English made use of cannon 200 years prior to this time, it is somewhat strange they were so late in making iron ones at home*.

Thuanus [*L.* 129.] speaking of the progress of silk from the east to the western parts, relates, that, in the reign of King Francis I of France (who died this year), silk prospered in Touraine, but more especially in Provence, as lying most southerly, and also at Avignon, Lyons, and several other parts of France; but near Paris, the climate was found not to be proper for it, though the greatest care was taken of the silk-worms at Fontainebleau.

The statute against vagabonds [*1 Edw. VI, c. 3.*] carries so many marks of the antient bondage of the lower class of the people of England, that it is no wonder it was repealed in the same reign, and still farther in the 39th of Queen Elizabeth, as improper for a free and commercial people. It enacts, 'That a runagate servant, or any other who liveth idly and loiteringly by the space of three days, being brought before two justices of the peace, they shall cause him to be marked with an hot iron on the breast, with the mark V, and adjudge him to be the slave of him who brought him for two years after, who shall take the said slave, and give him bread, water, or small drink, and refuse meat, and cause him to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labour as he shall put him to, be it never so vile; and if such slave absent himself from his said master within the said term of two years, by the space of fourteen days, then he shall be marked on the forehead, or the ball of the cheek, with an hot iron, with the sign of an S, and farther shall be adjudged to be slave to his said master for ever; and if the said slave shall run away the second time, he shall be adjudged a felon. It shall be lawful to every person, to whom any shall be adjudged a slave, to put a ring of iron about his neck,

* Stow, whom this author of *English worthies* is perhaps following, says, that in the year 1543, Henry VIII employed Peter Bawd a Frenchman, and another foreigner called Peter Van Collen, to make mortars for bombs, which he represents as invented by them; and that Bawd continued in the reign of Edward VI to make ordnance of cast iron, and was the instructor of a succession of artists in that manufacture. [*Annales*, p. 983, ed. 1600.] M.

arm, or leg.—A justice of peace may bind a beggar's man-child apprentice to the age of fourteen years, and a woman-child to the age of twenty years, to any that will require them; and if the said child run away, then his master may retain and use him for the term afore said as his slave*.—All impotent, maimed, and aged persons, who cannot be taken for vagabonds, shall have convenient houses provided for them, and otherwise shall be relieved in the cities or towns where they were born, or were most conversant, by the space of three years, by the willing and charitable disposition of the parishioners, and none other shall be suffered to beg there." This very lame clause contains an express contradiction, the first part of it being an injunction in behalf of the poor, and the latter part leaving it to the willing and charitable disposition of people. Such provisions for the disabled and aged poor are to be found in the statute-book both before and after this time; but as they were merely recommendatory, they always proved ineffectual.

At this time, it seems, the antient city of York was much decayed. A statute of the same year [c. 9.], represents its declension in the following terms, viz. 'In that city and suburbs there are many parish-churches, which heretofore (the same being well inhabited and replenished with people) were good and honest livings for learned incumbents, by reason of the privy tithes of the rich merchants, and of the offerings of a great multitude; which livings being now so much decayed by the ruin and decay of the said city, and of the trade of merchandize there, the revenues and profits of divers of the same benefices are not, at this present time, above the clear yearly value of L 1 : 6 : 8; so that a great sort of them are not a competent and honest living for a good curate; yea, and no person will take the cure, but that of necessity there is some chantry-priest, or else some late religious person (*i. e.* monk), being a stipendiary, taken and appointed to the said cure and benefice, which, for the most part, are unlearned and very ignorant persons: Wherefore the mayor and recorder of that city, and the ordinary or his deputy, and six justices of peace in the said city, are hereby empowered to unite the said parishes into fewer number, viz. so many of the said parishes into one parish, as shall to them be thought convenient to be a living for one honest incumbent, so as the clear yearly value exceed not L 20. The superfluous churches shall be pulled down, toward the reparation and enlargement of the other churches, or of the bridges of the said city, and the relief of the poor.' The rest of this act contains a provision

* The word slave is repeated here seven times, and twice more in a clause, not transcribed, concerning clerks attainted or convicted.

for the then incumbents of united parishes, the king's first fruits and tenths, &c.

Acts of parliament frequently do not set forth the true grounds of the evils they are designed to rectify; and it may be proper to remark on this statute, that the smallness of those livings in York (as in many other places) was probably owing to the reformation from popery, whereby the ignorant and ill-judged zeal of the laity received a great check. Dying persons, and others, in ignorant times, frequently erected and endowed new parishes unnecessarily; and many of those endowments being even at first but small, when at the reformation the privy tithes of the rich, and the offerings of the multitude failed, and money also became gradually less valuable, they became totally inadequate to the support of the incumbent, for which a wrong cause was often assigned. The zealous multiplying of parishes in many cities and towns in old times, renders it impossible to form any certain judgment of the number of inhabitants from that of the parishes. Thus, for instance, Newcastle upon Tyne has but four parishes, though it probably may now contain 40,000 inhabitants; and York has still twenty-eight parishes, with less than half the population. Oxford and Cambridge have each of them above thrice as many parishes as Newcastle, with little more than a quarter of the number of people in each, and the like might be said of many other places.

The herring-fishing of the Hollanders was now so considerable, and was esteemed so precious by them, that their great pensionary De Wit [*Interest of Holland, part ii, c. 1.*] relates, 'That the states of Holland, though then but low, and although it was in a time of peace, fitted out eight ships of war for the defence of the fishery.'

Voltaire, in his introduction to his essay on the age of Louis XIV, speaking of the times of King Francis I, says, 'the French, though possessed of harbours both on the ocean and Mediterranean, were yet without a navy; and though immersed in luxury, had only a few coarse manufactures. The Jews, Genoese, Venetians, Portuguese, Flemings, Dutch, and English, traded successively for us, we being ignorant even of the first principles of commerce.'

The statute [*1 Edw. VI, c. 14.*] which now granted the king all the popish chantries, &c. in England not disposed of by the 37th of Henry VIII, c. 4, directed part of the rents settled on those chantries to be applied toward the maintenance of piers, jetties, walls, or banks, against the rage of the sea, havens, and creeks. It had been well if that application had duly taken place for so national a benefit. And by another act [*2 Edw. VI, c. 5.*], all the fee-farms payable by any city or town-corporate to the crown, are directed, during the three following years, to be bestowed solely upon the reparation of walls and bridges, and set-

ting the poor on work, or other good deeds, in every such city and town. But few or none of these good deeds were ever put in practice.

1548.—A very necessary statute was also made [2, 3 *Edw. VI, c. 15.*] for restraining the sellers of all kinds of provisions from combining together, not to sell but at a fixed price; and also for restraining workmen and labourers from combining not to do their works but at a certain fixed price, or to do but a certain work in a day, or not to work but at certain hours. A clause, wisely intended, was added to this act, licensing all workmen concerned in building houses, &c. to follow their occupations in all cities and towns-corporate, although they did not live therein, nor were free of such corporations. But this wise clause was repealed by a statute [3, 4 *Edw. VI, c. 20.*], apparently by the interposition of the city of London. It sets forth, that the city of London being the king's chamber, and most antient city of this realm, the artificers and craftsmen of the arts, crafts, and mysteries, are at great costs and charges in taxes, tallages, subsidies, scot, lot, and other charges, as well to the king's majesty as to the said city, and at many and sundry triumphs, and other times, for the king's honour; and that if foreigners (non-freemen) should come and work among them, within the liberties of the city, contrary to their antient privileges, the same should be a great decay of cunning, and an impoverishment and driving away of the freemen, being artificers of the crafts, arts, and mysteries aforesaid, within the city of London, to the great hurt and destruction of the said city. Though the reasons for this repeal are expressed as above only in respect to London, yet the repeal being general, took in all other corporation cities and towns; and so it remains to our own times, contrary to the opinion of most wise and judicious men.

There was a kind of Lent enjoined, partly ecclesiastical and partly political, by a statute [2, 3 *Edw. VI, c. 19.*], whereby, although in the preamble it is expressly admitted, ' That all days and all meats be
' of their nature of one equal purity and holiness, none of which can
' defile christian men; yet forasmuch as divers of the king's subjects,
' turning their knowlege therein to satisfy their sensuality, have of late
' more than in times past, broken and contemned such abstinence as
' have been used in this realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, ember-
' ing days, and other days commonly called vigils, and in the time
' commonly called Lent; and considering that due and godly abstin-
' ence is a mean to virtue, and to subdue men's bodies to their soul
' and spirit; and considering also that fishers may thereby the rather
' be set on work, whereby much flesh shall be saved and increased;
' and also for divers other considerations, it was enacted, that all form-
' er laws concerning fasting be repealed;—that none eat flesh on Fri-
' days, Saturdays, and embering days, nor in Lent, nor on any such
' other day as is and has been accounted a fish day (this clause seems

to be purposely expressed very loosely for a loophole), on pain of forfeiting 10*s* for the first offence, and ten days imprisonment, without all that time eating any flesh, and 20*s* and twenty days imprisonment for the second and for every following offence.—This act was ‘not to extend to any who might have the king’s licence, nor to aged, weakly, sick, or maimed persons, nor to women with child or lying-in, nor to prisoners, nor to the king’s lieutenants, or captains of his army or forts; neither was it to extend to St. Lawrence even, St. Mark’s day, nor to any who heretofore had obtained licence from the archbishop of Canterbury.’

An act [2, 3 *Edw. VI*, c. 6.] for the encouragement of the Newfoundland and Iceland fisheries, observes in the preamble, that within a few years past the officers of the admiralty had exacted sums of money, shares of fish, &c. from the fishermen, to the great discouragement of the fisheries, and damage of the whole commonwealth; and therefor enacted, that all such exactions should be abolished.

About this time the Emperor Charles V is said to have begun to execute a design he had long been forming, of reducing the republic of Genoa to a state of absolute dependence on him, thereby to keep a door always open for his armies from Spain to pass into Italy. For the Genoese, notwithstanding the decay of their former vast commerce, were still immensely rich, and being great bankers and dealers in money, he reasonably concluded, that if, by extraordinary allowances for interest, he could draw their moneys into his exchequer, he should, in that case, possess himself of the surest pledges he could have of their fidelity. In this year, therefor, that emperor being in the Netherlands, sent for his eldest son Philip, who sailing from Barcelona to Genoa (in order to go through Germany to his father), the Genoese, for a fortnight together, entertained him with surprising magnificence (says their historian De Mailly). The prince, whilst there, proposed to the republic that the Spaniards should build a citadel in their suburbs, the garrison of which would secure them from the frequent conspiracies and tumults they were so liable to. But that proposal was unanimously rejected by the senate, who were with very good reason suspicious of his great retinue, which occasioned a great squabble between them and the Genoese, and made the prince glad to leave Genoa. Whereupon (says De Mailly) the emperor took other measures to secure to himself the fidelity of the Genoese; for he determined never to pay the sums which he had borrowed of them for his occasions in Italy and the Netherlands (see also *Tbuani historia*, L. lxi.) but only to pay them the interest, to the end that remaining always in their debt, they might live in a constant dread of embroiling themselves with a prince who owed them so much. His son Philip II improved upon his father’s scheme, whereby many millions of money were borrowed of them on the fe-

curity of the duties on the commerce of Spain and America. But Philip being soon after greatly exhausted by his Netherland wars, not only suspended the payment of any part of the principal, but even of the interest, which produced much clamour and distress at Genoa, where so many families lived entirely on the interest of the money gotten in traffic by their ancestors*. King Philip's real or pretended inability to pay even the interest of those vast sums, made him at first begin to cavil with the creditors, on account of pretended misreckonings, and to insist that he had overpaid their interest: He therefor obtained the pope's approbation for deducting out of their principal debt so much as they had received more than what his holiness and King Philip thought fit to call legal interest. On their capital, however, thus reduced, it is said by some (though it seems untruly) that the court of Spain were ever after punctual in paying the interest. By those vast loans the Genoese are said, in a great measure, to have governed the rate of interest in other parts of Europe. Thus at first they had ten per cent from those princes, afterwards it was reduced to seven per cent, and since lower; and probably the fixing of usury at ten per cent by law in England in the year 1546, took its rise from the practice of Genoa†.

1549.—King Edward VI granted a pension of £166:13:4 to Sebastian Cabot, who must then have been an old man‡, it being fifty-three years since his voyage with his father to the American coasts in the reign of

* Many families are said to live in the same manner now at Antwerp, the great commerce of which has long ago declined: So comfortable are the effects even of a departed commerce to the succeeding generations.

† The following paragraph of Mr. Anderson's being foreign to commercial history, is inserted here, that his patriotic zeal may not be suppressed:

And here let us add a melancholy and most interesting remark (for the serious consideration of those to whom it more immediately relates in our own days), which was made many years ago by the ingenious Dr. D'Avenant, in his discourses on the public revenues and trade of England, (in 8vo, anno 1698.) 'That those large anticipations of King Philip II, which were continued from year to year, without any measures thought on for lessening the debt, have more contributed to sink the Spanish monarchy than all their other bad counsels put together. The chief branches of that kingdom's revenue being employed in payment of interest of money borrowed 100 years ago, the nourishment which should support the body politic being diverted another way, it becomes weak and unable to resist accidents: And when a people so involved come

'to be engaged in a foreign war, it is quickly
'evident to their enemies, that they are not much
'to be feared for their power; and to their
'friends, that they are not to be depended
'on for help.' All which, we fear, may soon become eminently the case much nearer home, than it was at the time when that able author thus solidly warned the government to beware of anticipations, the whole national debt scarcely amounting in 1698 to ten millions. And although we have not intended nor presumed to dedicate any part of our work to any minister of state whatever, yet upon a review of this important remark of D'Avenant's, the author, with profound respect, and purely out of his warm zeal for the public welfare, most humbly presumes to dedicate and recommend to our present patriot ministry, and to their successors in power, this single paragraph only, for their most serious consideration, as they would have the glorious epithet of patriot joined to their names to latest posterity, humbly praying that his honest zeal may not be construed as dictating to his superiors, which he is far from presuming to do.

‡ He was alive 26th May 1557, on which day he surrendered his pension. [*Fadera*, V. xv, p. 427.] M.

King Henry VII; and the pension was continued to him during life by Queen Mary. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, pp. 181, 427.] He was governor of the Russia company; and for the rest of his life the great director of our naval expeditions.

That good young prince gave great assistance to persecuted foreign protestants, many thousands of whom settled in sundry parts of England, but principally at London, Southwark, Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Norwich, and Colchester, where they had the free exercise of their religion in separate congregations (some of which remain to the present time) and where manufactures were so greatly cultivated and improved by their means, as not only to enrich those places where they were settled, but to prove very beneficial to the whole kingdom. In the short persecuting reign of Queen Mary those poor people were forced again to fly beyond sea; but at her death they returned to their habitations. They consisted of Walloons, Germans, French, Italians, Polanders, and Switzers; and there was in those times even a congregation of protestant Spaniards in London.

We have already remarked, that the humour of inclosing the lands of England for pasture, instead of arable, had made the common people, at different times, very uneasy, insomuch that they had now begun violently to lay them open by insurrections in many counties, without having patience for their being laid open by a proclamation from the king already issued, because the proprietors were not so quick in obeying it as the mob expected. And of all others that in Norfolk in this year was the most remarkable and furious, headed by Ket a tanner in Windham, and Flowerdew, who, by firing beacons and ringing bells, drew many thousands of the lower people of Norfolk and Suffolk to join them, and committed many grievous and shocking outrages. They did infinite damage and mischief to the city of Norwich, which they almost laid desolate, by either driving the industrious and wealthy inhabitants out of it, or else miserably butchering them, insomuch that it became a receptacle for idle, loose, and extravagant vagrants: ‘ In which condition (says Roger Coke in his reflections on the East-India and African companies, printed anno 1695), it was thought so dangerous to the government, that in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, it was often debated in council whether for this cause it should not be demolished. But a better fate attended that noble city, through the wisdom of that great queen, and the cruelty of the Netherlands persecution about twenty years after this time.’ This insurrection occasioned the slaughter of about 5000 of the rioters, Ket their leader being hanged on the top of Norwich castle.

There had indeed been many inclosures lately made out of waste, marshy, and other kinds of barren and common grounds, whereby great improvements were effected. But as the poorer sort were there-

by deprived of the benefit of such grounds for feeding their cattle and for fuel, it is not much to be wondered at, that great clamours were thereby raised, which at length burst out into open riots, first in Kent, and afterwards in the counties of Essex, Buckingham, Northampton, Somerset, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

Henry II, king of France, caused the houses in Paris to be numbered, which amounted to 10,000, exclusive of churches, chapels, monasteries, colleges, and other public edifices, and of nine market houses; and his son Charles IX found 100,000 persons in this city, besides strangers, servants, and churchmen.

An act of Parliament was passed [3, 4 *Edw. VI*, c. 2.] with many good provisions against frauds in the woollen manufacture; such as for the clothier's seal on his cloth; against overstretching the cloths; for the well-dying of cloths; for the well-dying of all wools to be converted into cloths, or into hats or caps; against putting any deceitful thing upon cloth, such as flocks, chalk, flower, starch, &c.; against the use of iron cards in the rowing of cloths; also for the just measuring of cloths. For all these purposes overseers are directed to be annually appointed, not only in corporation towns, by their chief magistrates, jointly with the wardens, &c. of the clothworkers, but in towns, villages, and hamlets not incorporated, by the justices of the peace jointly with the clothworkers; which overseers should, at least once in every quarter of a year, or as often as they might think needful, visit clothiers, drapers, dyers, and pressers houses, shops, &c. to which overseers one moiety is hereby given of all the forfeitures and penalties of this act, and the other to the king, &c. This evidently shows the care of the legislature for that manufacture, and also that it was at this time universally spread all over the kingdom, and in a flourishing condition*.

1550.—A treaty of perpetual peace, and of mutual intercourse of commerce, was concluded between Edward VI of England and Henry II of France. The substance of what relates to commerce is as follows.

I) A free and undisturbed commerce shall be between both nations.

II) The ships of both nations going out armed, shall, as in former treaties, still give security not to injure the other party in any respect.

III) King Edward agrees, that in six weeks time he will restore to France the city, forts, and territory of Boulogne. In consideration thereof, Henry agrees to pay Edward 400,000 crowns of gold of the sun. For the performance of all which, and also of King Edward's delivering up the castles of Dunglas and Lawder to Queen Mary of

* Another statute was passed in the next session but one for the very same purposes.

Scotland, and for conditionally demolishing the castles of Aymouth and Roxburgh, hostages were delivered on both sides. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 211.]

In an acquittance for delivery of the artillery and ammunition of Boulogne, there is probably the earliest mention of iron bullets ('boul-letz de fer'): notwithstanding which, we shall see that stone bullets remained in use considerably later than this time. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 218.]

The introduction of the inquisition in the Netherlands this year, created great uneasiness, and even influenced commerce exceedingly. The emperor being desirous to have that infernal tribunal introduced into Antwerp, so great was the influence of the English merchants-adventurers at that time (says Sleidan in his Commentaries, L. xxii.), that the city had no other means for effectually influencing the emperor, but to tell him, that the English merchants would certainly leave the city and country if he brought the inquisition thither, which proved effectual. For it seems the emperor, on a strict inquiry, found that the English merchants-adventurers employed at least 20,000 persons in the city of Antwerp alone, besides 30,000 more in other parts of the Netherlands*.

Antwerp having had new and very strong walls built round it about this time (says Guicciardin), including a large piece of ground for additional new streets, 3000 houses on new foundations were erected, and above 1000 old ones rebuilt larger and finer; so that, Paris excepted (says our author), there is hardly a city on this side the Alps that exceeds it in power and riches; and as, in general, it may be reckoned among the principal cities of Europe, so particularly, with respect to its vast commerce, it may be deemed almost the first in the world†.

Yet Heils [*History of the empire*, V. ii, p. 108.] observes, that the emperor having this year issued his vigorous and famous edict against the Netherland protestants, establishing sundry tribunals of inquisition for their severe punishment, the edict paved the way for all the great changes which happened afterward in those provinces; but its immediate effect (as it regarded commerce), was spreading terror and despair amongst the manufacturers and merchants, which more especially began even now to affect the tranquillity of Antwerp.

At this time Captain Bodenham made a trading voyage to the islands of Candia and Chio in the Levant, where he took in wines, &c. At Chio he found English, as well as French and Genoese merchants. While Candia remained subject to Venice, and Chio to Genoa, christian ships constantly traded thither; but when the Turks afterwards con-

* It is proper to observe, that this account is from a book written in vindication of the exclusive claims of the company of English merchant-adventurers, by J. Wheeler, their secretary, in 1601;

and therefor some allowance must be made on that score in the computation.

† I apprehend this must be the same enlargement already noted in the year 1543. M.

quered those islands, the christian ships frequented them no more, till their respective sovereigns concluded commercial treaties with the Ottoman Porte. And this trade to those eastern territories of Venice gradually brought on a direct trade to Turkey, as will be seen in its proper place *.

We have seen that the Portuguese were acquainted with Japan ever since the year 1542; they had got very great footing there about the year 1550, or perhaps a little later: but, in the end, the intemperate zeal of their priests and missionaries for the propagation of their religion, alarmed the Japanese to such a degree, that after they had found means to gain the emperor's favour, and had (as their historians allege) converted about a third part of the people of that empire, they were all put to the most cruel deaths, and together with them all the poor Japanese converts. Had the Portuguese contented themselves with enjoying a toleration of their own religion for themselves, they might probably have remained there to this day.

The Portuguese and others have accused the Hollanders of having been instrumental in this massacre, because they were the only christians excepted out of it. What is certain is, that they alone, of all christians, are permitted to trade thither to this day, although indeed they are so very strictly watched, that it is said their guns, tackle, rudders, &c. are brought on shore as soon as they arrive, ever since the year 1640, that they landed some cannon and ammunition in a private manner, and had, it seems, actually begun to erect a fort, under the colour of its being only a large warehouse; which design, however, the Japanese discovered in good time. Since then, the Dutch commerce to Japan is said not to be near so gainful as before, being only what they call in In-

* The following passage from the Journal of King Edward VI is well worthy of attention.—

‘ 1550, September 22. A proclamation was set forth, by the which it was commanded, 1. That no kind of victual, no wax, tallow, candles, nor no such thing should be carried over, except to Calais, putting in sureties to go thither. 2. That no man should buy or sell the same things again, except brokers, who should not have more than 10 quarters of grain at once. 3. That all parties should divide themselves into hundreds, rapes, and wapentakes, to look in their quarters what superfluous corn were in every barn, and appoint it to be sold at a reasonable price. Also, that one of them must be in every market to see the corn bought. Furthermore, whoever shipped over any thing aforesaid to the parts beyond sea, or Scotland, after eight days following the publication of the proclamation, should forfeit his ship and the ware therein, half to the lord of the franchise, and half to the finder thereof; who so bought to sell again after the day aforesaid, should

‘ forfeit all his goods, farms, and leases to the use, one half of the finder, the other half of the king; who so brought not in corn to the market as he was appointed, should forfeit L10, except the purveyors took it up, or it were sold to his neighbours.’

It further appears from the same Journal, that on the 15th of October 1550, prices were set by authority of government on corn, butter, poultry, &c.; and that letters were sent on the 20th of November to the gentlemen of every shire, desiring them to enforce obedience to the proclamation for bringing provisions to markets. But the answers to those letters represented that it would be impossible to compel the people to sell their goods for the base money then in circulation, (see the table of money in the appendix, No. II) and the proclamation was annulled by a subsequent one of the 29th of November. Such must ever be the fate of any attempt to force the people to sell their goods without a satisfactory price; for people are never willing to be robbed. M.

dia a country trade, without having any house or factory there, i. e. a trade by voyaging from Batavia thither, and back again to Batavia, or to some other port in India; and it is said, that during their short stay in Japan, they are always shut up till their departure in a small island near the port of Nangasaki. The productions of that great and opulent empire, are corn and rice, in great abundance; the finest of tea, porcelain and lacquered ware, far exceeding those of China; silk, cotton, drugs, coral, ivory, diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones; also much gold and silver, fine copper, iron, lead, and tin. And the Dutch, in exchange, carry thither woollen and linen cloths, looking-glasses and other glass-ware from Europe, and also the various merchandize of India, Persia, and Arabia.

1551.—Provisions appear to have been very dear at this time in Scotland; for an act was passed [*Mar. parl.* v, c. 25.] ‘anent the ordouring of every mannis house;’ which limited archbishops, bishops, and earls, to eight dishes of meat; abbats, priors, and deans, to six; barons and freeholders to four; and burgeses and substantial men, whether spiritual or temporal, to three; and decreed that only one kind of meat should be in each dish. Marriage feasts, and entertainments made for foreigners by the lords spiritual and temporal and the magistrates of burghs, are exempted from the *rigour* of this sumptuary law.

Sixty vessels sailed this year from Southampton loaded with wool for the Netherlands. So great was the demand for the woollen manufactures of that country even now when England had made a considerable progress in the same manufacture.

1552.—The statute [37 *Hen. VIII*, c. 9.] for fixing the interest of money at ten per cent was now repealed, and an act passed [5, 6 *Edw. VI*, c. 20.] prohibiting all persons from lending or forbearing any sum of money for *usury* or *increase above the sum lent* to be received or hoped for, upon pain of forfeiting the sum lent and the increase, with imprisonment and fine at the king’s pleasure.

We have seen under the year 1515 a statute for ascertaining the length, breadth, and weight of English woollen cloths; as also another more ample statute in the year 1549, for more fully regulating the different kinds of them. In this year we have another still more extensive law for the like purpose [5, 6 *Edw. VI*, c. 6.], wherein the woollen manufactures of all the different counties of England and Wales are ascertained, with respect to lengths, breadths, weight, &c. whereby all former statutes concerning this subject are repealed. Yet, as perfect as this statute might then be thought, there were many more subsequent ones made on the same subject, not only for ascertaining the true dimensions and weight of cloths, but for discovering and restraining frauds and irregularities in the manufacture; the full recital of which would be both tiresome and unprofitable to the generality of readers.

Another monopolizing act was now passed relating to the manufacture of felt-hats and thrummed hats, coverlets, and dornecks (diaper linen), though somewhat more moderate than that in favour of the city of York in the year 1544; for this law only confines the making of those goods to the city of Norwich, and to all other corporate or market-towns of that county. [5, 6 *Edw. VI, c. 24.*]

The time was now at length come that the eyes of the English were to be opened to discover the immense damage sustained by suffering the German merchants of the house or college in London, called the Steelyard, so long to enjoy advantages in the duty or custom of exported English cloths, far beyond what the native English enjoyed; which superior advantage enjoyed by those foreigners began about this time to be more evidently seen and felt, as the foreign commerce of England became more diffused.

The cities of Antwerp and Hamburg possessed at this time the principal commerce of the northern and middle parts of Europe; and their factors at the Steelyard usually set what prices they pleased both on their imports and exports; and having the command of all the markets in England, with joint or united stocks, they broke all other merchants. Upon these considerations, the English company of merchants-adventurers made pressing remonstrances to the privy council. These Hanseatics were, moreover, accused (and particularly the Dantzickers) of defrauding the customs, by colouring (*i. e.* taking under their own names, as they paid little or no custom) great quantities of the merchandize of other foreigners not entitled to their immunities. They were also accused of having frequently exceeded the bounds of even the great privileges granted to them; yet, by the force of great presents, they had purchased new grants. They traded in a body, and thereby underfold and ruined others*. And having for the last forty-five years had the sole command of our commerce, they had reduced the price of English wool to 1/6 per stone. In the preceding year they had exported no fewer than 44,000 woollen cloths of all sorts, whilst all the English merchants together had in the same year exported but 1100 cloths. The Steelyard merchants were also exempted from aliens' duties, and yet all their exports and imports were made in foreign bottoms; a very considerable loss to the nation.

Upon mature consideration of these and such like reasons and arguments, as well as of the answer thereto by the Steelyard or Hanseatic merchants, and of records, charters, treaties, depositions of witnesses, and other proofs, it was made apparent to the king's privy council, 1) That all the liberties and privileges claimed by, or pretended to be granted to the merchants of the Hanse, are void by the laws of this

* This, though in some cases improbable, may in other respects be practicable.

realm, forasmuch as they have no sufficient corporation to receive the same.

II) That such grants and privileges claimed by them do not extend to any persons or towns certain, and therefore it is uncertain what persons or which towns should or ought to enjoy the said privileges*; by reason of which uncertainty, they admit to their freedom and immunities as many as they list, to the great prejudice of the king's customs, and to the common hurt of the realm.

III) That supposing the pretended grants were good in law, as indeed they are not, yet the same were made on condition that they should not colour any other foreigner's merchandize, as by sufficient proofs it appears they have done.

IV) That above 100 years after the pretended privileges granted to them, they used to transport no merchandize out of this realm but only into their own countries: Neither did they import any merchandize but from their own countries: Whereas, at present they not only convey English merchandize into the Netherlands, and there sell them, to the great damage of the king's own subjects, but they also import merchandize of all foreign countries, contrary to the true intent and meaning of their privileges.

V) That in the time of King Edward IV they had forfeited their pretended privileges by means of war between the realm and them; (i. e. the Hanse towns) whereupon a treaty was made, stipulating, that our English subjects should enjoy the like privileges in Prussia and other Hanseatic parts, and that no new exactions should be laid on their persons or goods: Which treaty has been much broken in several parts, and especially at Dantzick, where no redress could ever be obtained, either by the requests of the king's father or himself, for the said wrongs. In consideration of all which, the council decreed, that the privileges, liberties, and franchises, claimed by the said merchants of the Steelyard, shall from henceforth be and remain seized and resumed into the king's grace's hands, until the said merchants of the Steelyard shall declare and prove better and more sufficient matter for their claim in the premises: Saving, however, to the said merchants all such liberty of coming into this realm and trafficking, in as ample manner as any other merchants-strangers have within the same.

Rapin adds, that the parliament had laid a heavy duty upon the merchandize exported and imported by the Steelyard society; and the Hanseatic historian Wardenhagen [*V. ii, part 5.*] seems to think that the high duty of 20 per cent (instead of 1 per cent, their antient duty ever since the reign of Henry III), was not laid on them till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, 'at a time too (adds he) when almost all the

* This was no quibble, but a solid and material objection.

‘commerce of the Hanse towns was reduced to the port of London alone; their other comptoirs, viz. Novogrod, Bergen, and Bruges, being almost deserted and very little frequented by them.’

This is the substance of the whole business during the reign of Edward VI, of reversing the privileges of the Steelyard merchants, taken from our histories, but more particularly from J. Wheeler’s treatise of commerce, in 4to, anno 1601; and as he was then secretary to the merchant-adventurers company, it is probably in the main a true account, and is surely an useful part of commercial history. Wheeler adds, that by reversing their privileges, our own merchants-adventurers this same year shipped off 40,000 cloths for Flanders. Rapin, in his history of England, observes, that the regent of Flanders, as well as the city of Hamburgh, earnestly solicited to have the Steelyard merchants re-instated, but to no purpose.

A project was laid before the ministry for opening Hull and Southampton as free ports or mart towns; but it was not put in execution. Indeed these two ports seem extremely well situated for such a scheme, if at all practicable.

By a statute for promoting tillage, and preventing the increase of inclosures for pasture [5, 6 *Edw. VI. c. 5.*] among fundry kinds of lands excepted out of the prohibitory act, are those set with saffron and with hops.

Three ships from Bristol sailed to Asafi and Santa Cruz in South Barbary, with linen and woollen cloth, coral, amber, and jett; and their returns were sugar, dates, almonds, and melasses. Hakluyt observes, that till the preceding year 1551, England had no mercantile correspondence with Barbary. [*Voyages, V. ii, pp. 7, 8, 9.*]

By an act passed this year [*c. 5.*] none but such as can spend 100 merks of yearly rent, or else are worth 1000 merks, or be the sons of dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, or barons, of the realm, shall have or keep in their houses any vessel of wine exceeding ten gallons, on forfeiture of L10.

II) None shall keep a tavern for retailing wines, unless licenced; and that only in cities, towns-corporate, burghs, port-towns, or market towns; or in the towns of Gravesend, Sittingborn, Tuxford, and Bagshot, on forfeiture of L10. And there shall be only two taverns for retailing wine in every city or town, except in London, which may have forty taverns; York, eight taverns; Norwich, four; Westminster, three; Bristol, six; Lincoln, three; Hull, four; Shrewsbury, three; Exeter, four; Salisbury, three; Gloucester, four; West Chester, four; Hereford, three; Worcester, three; Southampton, three; Canterbury, four; Ipswich, three; Winchester, three; Oxford, three; Cambridge, four; Colchester, three; Newcastle upon Tyne, four. By this limitation, it may be thought that a pretty near guess may be made at the magnitude

of cities and towns, allowances being made for towns situated on very public roads ; yet this matter is nevertheless still very uncertain.

III) None of the said taverns shall retail wines to be spent or drank within their respective houses.

IV) Merchants may use in their own houses (but not to sell) such wines as they shall import ; also high-sheriffs, magistrates of cities and towns, and inhabitants of fortified towns, may keep vessels of wines for their own consumption only.

‘ Hitherto (says Sir John Davies) it is manifest, that since the last transfretation of King Richard II into Ireland, the crown of England never sent over either numbers of men, or quantities of treasure, sufficient to defend the small territory of the Pale, much less to reduce that which was lost, or to finish the conquest of the whole island.’ He then shows, that in this reign the border was extended beyond the limits of the English pale, after breaking the O’Moors and O’Connors, and building the forts of Leix and Offaly, rooting out those two rebellious septs, and planting English colonies in their room, in the reign of Queen Mary.

That incomparable young prince, King Edward VI, died in July 1553, having just before his death endowed three of the great London hospitals, viz. Christ’s, St. Thomas’s, and Bridewell.

The annual expense of his household was, according to Strype [*V. ii.* p. 454.]

1st year, L49,187.

2d year, 46,902.

3d year, 46,100.

4th year, 100,578.

{ Why this year so far exceeds the rest we know not, nor why other years differ so much ; unless it be from the great debasing of his silver coins in every year of his reign but the last.

5th year, 62,863.

6th year, 65,923.

1553.—In this year (says Sir John Boroughs, keeper of the records in the tower of London, in his treatise of the sovereignty of the British seas, written in 1633, and published in 1651, p. 80.) ‘ Philip II king of Spain obtained licence for his subjects to fish upon the north coast of Ireland for the term of twenty-one years, paying yearly for the same L1000 ; which was accordingly brought into the exchequer of Ireland, and received by Sir Henry Fitton, being then treasurer there, as his son Sir Edward Fitton hath often testified.’

Under the preceding year, we have related the grounds upon which King Edward’s council abrogated the great privileges and immunities which the Hanseatic Steelyard society in London had enjoyed ever since the reign of King Henry III. ‘ Whereupon,’ according to Rapin, ‘ the

‘parliament of that time had laid a heavy duty (20 per cent) upon their exports and imports,’ instead of their antient duty of one per cent). He farther adds, ‘that this act was renewed in Queen Mary’s first parliament: But in the beginning of the year 1554, the queen, to gratify the Hanse towns, suspended the execution of those acts for three years, and discharged them from the payment of that heavy duty, all acts to the contrary notwithstanding. And this (he observes) was the first effect of this queen’s alliance with the emperor;’ she having just been married to his eldest son Philip*.

Two of the other three comptoirs of the Hanse league were now also become of little consequence to them (says Wardenhagen); ‘for first Novogrod, by reason of the czar’s arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings (who, without any just grounds, assumed a power to imprison the German merchants, and to seize on their effects), was now quite abandoned; the merchants having removed first to Revel, and afterward to Narva.

‘Bergen in Norway was also deserted by the Hanseatics, by reason of the like arbitrary proceedings of the king of Denmark: For whereas the antient toll for passing the sound had been only a golden rose-noble on every sail, which was always understood to be meant on every ship, the court of Denmark had for some time past put a new and arbitrary construction on the word sail, by obliging all ships to pay a rose-noble for every sail in or belonging to each ship. Moreover, not content with this imposition, they proceeded to lay a duty on the corn and other merchandize per last or ton, distinct from that on the sails; which burdens obliged the Vandalic Hanse towns’ (i. e. those towns on the German shore situated within the Sound) ‘to relinquish the Norway trade: And as they had vast dealings in transporting the corn of Poland and Livonia to other parts of Europe, those high tolls so discouraged them, that they also gradually left off that commerce, to which the Hollanders succeeded, and have continued therein ever since, greatly to their advantage. Their third comptoir, which was at Bruges, had, by the decay of that once most opulent city, been removed first to Dort, and afterward to Antwerp;’ where indeed it continued to prosper for some time after.

Thuanus [L. 51] assigns another good reason for the decline of the trade of the Hanse towns to Bergen, where, he says, the marks of their

* Though Rapin expressly asserts that there were two acts of parliament, viz. one of the last year of King Edward VI, and another of the first of Queen Mary, for laying on that high duty on the imports and exports of the Steelyard merchants, yet in the printed statute-book there is not so much as the title of either of those supposed statutes; which may make it doubtful whether

both those transactions were any other than orders or determinations of the council-boards of those times, which in those days, when the bounds of the prerogative were more extensive, frequently assumed so great a latitude; at least, if they were really statutes, we might have had their titles in the printed statute-book.

ancient commerce are more plainly to be traced than any where else. In the reign of Frederick II, the Danish gentry, allured by the prospect of gain, began to carry on merchandize and factorage themselves, and also established manufactures, which the Hanse towns in vain urged the king to abolish.

This year (according to Hakluyt, *V. ii*) Antony Jenkinson being at Aleppo, obtained privileges from the Turkish sultan, Selim II, (then at that place with an army going against the Persians) whereby he was to pay no higher custom than the French or Venetians; and he had liberty (without being disturbed by their consuls) to trade with his ship or ships to the Turkish ports.

This year was distinguished by a great geographical and mercantile discovery. Some merchants of London, together with several noblemen, emulous of the fame, and desirous of sharing in the profits acquired by the Portuguese and Spanish discoverers of unknown lands, established a company, with a capital of £6000 in 240 shares of £25, for prosecuting discoveries. The celebrated Sebastian Cabot, who was a principal adviser of the undertaking, was chosen their governor. Three vessels* were fitted out under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and they carried letters from King Edward addressed to all kings and princes, requesting their friendship. Sir Hugh Willoughby, being tossed about for a long time by tempestuous weather, as far as 72 degrees of north latitude, was compelled, by the sudden approach of winter, to run into an obscure harbour in Russian Lapland, called Arcina Keca, where he and the crews of two of his ships (70 in number) were frozen to death; and where some Russian fishermen, in the summer following, found him sitting in his cabin, with his diary and other papers before him; it being the custom of those Laplanders to frequent the sea-coasts in summer for the benefit of the fishery; but when winter approaches, to withdraw into the calmer inland parts, which occasions those stormy shores to be desolate in winter. Richard Chancellor, however, in the third ship, accidentally fell into the bay of St. Nicholas, or the White Sea, on the Russian coast, where no ship had ever been seen before, and landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, then only a castle, determining to wait on the czar, John Basilowitz, at that time engaged in the Livonian war; which war having greatly interrupted the Eastland trade, that prince was the more inclinable, by Chancellor's interposition, to grant the English considerable privileges at Archangel, &c. The Russians, before those times, having no sea-ports nor shipping on the Baltic shores, their rich furs, hemp, &c. were carried to other parts of Europe from the ports of Livonia, lately possessed

* One of the vessels was sheathed with thin plates of lead; which is mentioned as a very ingenious invention in the account of the voyage (*Anglorum navigatio ad Moscovitas*) written by Clement Adam, who received his materials from Chancellor. *M.*

by the Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem. Thus, though disappointed in their hopes of arriving at China by this supposed north-east passage, they made an useful and profitable discovery of a trade by sea to Russia; and this discovery, moreover, pointed out to the English the way to the whale-fishery at Spitzbergen.

Chancellor, from Archangel, by the governor's leave and assistance, travelled on sledges to the czar at Moscow, of whom he obtained privileges for the English merchants, and letters to King Edward.

We must here remark, that although Othier had almost 700 years before justly delineated the coast of Norway to the great King Alfred, yet through the negligence and ignorance of after times, the knowledge of it was utterly lost, that the famous Sebastian Munster's *Geographia vetus et nova*, printed in folio at Basil 1540, in a map of the most northern parts of Europe, joins the country of Groneland, commonly called Old Greenland, (now known to be a part of the great continent of North America) to the north part of Norwegian Lapland, thereby making the Northern Ocean merely a great bay, entirely shut in by those two countries.

We find three ships from Portsmouth trading for gold along the coast of Guinea; though but one of those ships returned home safe from this adventure. In some subsequent years, we find by Hakluyt, &c. that the English made voyages to Guinea, and imported considerable quantities of gold and elephants teeth: Yet till the Negro trade was believed to be necessary for the West India colonies, (however unjustifiable it may be deemed by many in a moral sense) it is scarcely probable that any considerable trade to Guinea could have been long carried on to advantage, in a country producing so few articles for commerce, as being able to take off so little of the produce of other nations.

By a statute [1, 2 *Phil. et Mar. c. 5*] it was enacted, that when the common price of wheat should not exceed 6/8 per quarter, and rye 4/ per quarter, barley 3/, then they might be exported any where but to the king and queen's enemies. This shows that these prices were then esteemed low, or at least moderate.

1554.—The ambassadors of the free cities of the Hanseatic league having applied to Queen Mary, (who, as we have seen, had, on her marriage with the emperor's son, suspended the abrogation of their privileges for three years) in behalf of the German merchants residing in the Steelyard at London, complaining, that by an act of the first year of her reign, touching the payment of certain customs or subsidies called tonnage and poundage, the merchants of the Steelyard were otherwise burdened than heretofore, contrary to the effect of such charters and privileges as by sundry of her predecessors kings of England had heretofore been granted to them: And the queen being informed that the said declaration or complaint contains truth; and she being also desirous to

observe and continue in equitable and reasonable sort the antient amity and intercourse which had been betwixt her dominions and the free cities of the Hanse league, commanded her treasurers and barons of the exchequer, her customers, comptrollers, searchers, &c. in London and other ports, freely to permit the said merchants of the Steelyard to import and export all merchandize not prohibited, without requiring any greater subsidy or custom than in the time of her father or brother. She also granted them a licence to export woollen cloths made in England of the value of L6 Sterling or under, unrowed, unbarbed, and unshorn, without any penalty or forfeiture on account of certain statutes of the 27th and 33d years of King Henry VIII, prohibiting the said exportation; the merchants of the Steelyard representing to the queen that the price of cloths was now so enhanced that they could send over none at all, without incurring the penalties of those acts. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 364.]

Notwithstanding all which, Wheeler [*Treatise of commerce*, p. 100] affirms, that Queen Mary afterward revoked the said privileges again, for that the Hanses had broken promises with her, in continuing an unlawful trade in the Low Countries, whereby she lost in eleven months in her customs more than L9360, besides great damage to her subjects in their trade. And by Queen Elizabeth's answers to the Hanseatics, it seems probable that Wheeler's is a true account.

The famous Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Gresham, the most eminent merchant of those times, had been much employed by King Edward VI, as well as by Queen Mary, in transacting their bills of exchange at Antwerp, and in purchasing ammunition, artillery, &c. for their use; for which services his daily allowance was twenty shillings Sterling. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 371.] Sir Thomas's prudent conduct in discharging the debts due by Edward VI to the people of Antwerp, and his wise management of the exchange between London and Antwerp, whereby he saved that prince a considerable sum of money, was greatly praised.

A statute [1, 2 *Phil. et Mar. c. 7*] was made, prohibiting linen-drappers, woollen-drappers, haberdashers, grocers, and mercers, not free of any city, burgh, or corporation town, and living in the open country out of the said cities and towns, from vending their wares by retail in cities and towns, excepting in open fairs, and by wholesale. The plausible pretence for this restriction in the preamble of the statute is much the same as in other monopolizing ones, viz. for enabling those cities and towns-corporate to employ their people, to pay their fee-farms and taxes, and to prevent their utter decay, &c.

The following sumptuary law was made for restraining the extravagance and vanity of the lower classes of people and servants in England, and also for encouraging our own manufactures, viz. 'Whoever

‘ shall wear silk in or upon his hat, bonnet, girdle, scabbard, hose, shoes, or spur-leather, shall be imprisoned for three months, and forfeit L10, excepting magistrates of corporations, and persons of higher rank. And if any person knowing his servant to offend against this law, do not put him forth of his service within 14 days, or shall retain him again, he shall forfeit L100*.’ [1, 2 *Phil. et Mar. c. 2.*]

By the encouragement of King Edward VI and others, the first voyage for discoveries northward was made (as we have seen) in the last year of that prince’s life, and a beginning made for a trade to Russia; but Edward dying before he had executed a very ample charter to those adventurers, it was on the said first and second year of Philip and Mary, (6th of February) that the first charter of incorporation was granted to the Russia company (as it has since been usually called), but then by the name of the merchants-adventurers, for the discovery of lands, countries, isles, &c. not before known or frequented by any English. The preamble to this charter, and the substance of the whole it sets forth is, that the marquis of Winchester, then lord high treasurer; the earl of Arundel, lord steward of the queen’s household; the earl of Bedford, lord privy seal; the earl of Pembroke; the lord Howard of Effingham, lord high admiral, &c. had already fitted out ships for discoveries of countries northward, north-eastward, and north-westward, not as yet frequented by other christian monarchs in friendship with us. To have one governor (the first to be Sebastian Cabot, during his life) and twenty-eight of the most sad (sedate), discreet, and honest of the said fellowships, four of whom to be called consuls, and the other twenty-four to be called assistants: The governor and two consuls (or three consuls in the governor’s absence) and twelve assistants, to be the quorum of a court. This corporation might purchase lands to the yearly value of L66:13:4, to have perpetual succession; a common seal; may plead and be impleaded; may impose mulcts, forfeitures, &c. on offenders against the company’s privileges, and may admit persons from time to time to be free of the company—May make conquests of lands of infidels so to be discovered by them. And whereas one of the said ships (Chancellor’s) set forth last year (1553), arrived safe and wintered in the dominions of our cousin and brother Lord John Basilowitz, emperor of all Russia, who entertained them honourably, &c. and granted them letters to us, with licence freely to traffic in his country, with other privileges under his signet.—Wherefore we grant this corporation liberty to resort, not only to all parts of that emperor’s dominions, but to all other parts not known to our subjects, none of whom but such as shall be free of, or licenced by this company, shall frequent

* This statute, as destructive of the freedom of trade, was repealed in the first year of King James I.

the parts aforesaid, under forfeiture of ships and merchandize ; one half to the crown, one half to the company.

It seems the Bristol merchants had entered into the Russia trade soon after its discovery, being encouraged therein by Sir Sebastian Cabot.

The czar of Russia made a very considerable acquisition of territory by the conquest of Nagaian Tartary, especially the city and kingdom of Astracan, whereby he became master of all the country on both sides the vast river Volga down to the Caspian sea ; and a communication was opened from Russia into that sea, and thence crosses it into Persia, whither they have since carried on a considerable commerce.

1555.—Twenty-two Dutch merchant ships, homeward bound from Spain, with Indian spices, &c. were attacked by nineteen French ships of war and six smaller ones well armed, who stopped the Dutch ships with hooks and chains, so that the ships being closely compacted together, the fight resembled one on dry land. After six hours combat the French lost 1000 men, and the Dutch but 300. But a fire happening among the ships, which consumed six on each side, the rest on both sides retired in confusion. This is the Dutch account ; [*Meterani Historia Belgica*, L. i, p. 14] but Thuanus [L. 26] varies the story somewhat in favour of his countrymen the French, who, he says, lost but 400 men, and the Dutch 1000: and that in the confusion occasioned by the fire, which made the men of both nations run from ship to ship, it happened in five Dutch ships that the majority were French, who having mastered the Dutch, carried the ships into Dieppe, from whence they (the French fleet) had come ; which port, adds this great author, had ever been a principal one for naval exploits. Thuanus, in effect, will have the victory to be on the side of the French, yet he owns it was a lamentable victory, and greatly to their loss. Both those authors admit the French to have been superior in number of ships, men, and artillery, this fleet having been then a considerable part of the whole naval force of France ; but the Dutch ships were larger and stronger than the French.

Much the like complaints, in relation to the English woollen manufacturers, as have been made in the present time, were, we find, made above 200 years ago, as appears by a statute [2, 3 *Phil. et Mar. c. 11*] intitled, *Who shall use the trade of weaving*, viz. that whereas the rich clothiers do oppress the weavers, some by setting up and keeping in their houses divers looms, and maintaining them by journeymen and persons unskilful ; some by ingrossing looms into their hands, and letting them out at such unreasonable rents, as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themselves by, and much less their wives and families ; some again, by giving much less wages for the workmanship of cloths than in times past, whereby they are forced utterly to forsake their occupations, &c. Wherefore it is hereby enacted, 1) That no clothier,

living out of a city, borough, or market-town, shall keep above one loom in his house, nor let out any loom for hire. II) That no woollen-weaver, living out of a city, burgh, or market town, shall keep more than two looms, nor more than two apprentices. III) No weaver shall have a tucking-mill, nor be a tucker, fuller, or dyer. IV) No tucker nor fuller shall keep any loom in his house. V) No person, who has not heretofore been a clothmaker, shall hereafter make or weave any kind of broad white woollen cloths, but only in a city, burgh, town-corporate, or market town, or else in such places where such cloths have been used to be commonly made for ten years preceding this act *. VI) No person shall set up as a weaver, unless he has previously served an apprenticeship of seven years to that business. Lastly, Nothing in this act is to extend or be prejudicial to the inhabitants of the counties of York, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland; but they may keep looms in their houses, and do every other matter relating to spinning, weaving, and cloth-making in the said counties as before the making of this statute.

Commerce beginning to increase considerably in the reign of Queen Mary, and the old roads being much frequented by heavy carriages, an act [2, 3 *Phil. et Mar. c. 8*] which is still in force, directed, that every parish should annually elect two surveyors of the highways, to see that the parishioners, according to their lands, abilities, farms, &c. should send their carts, horses, men, tools, &c. four days in every year, for mending the roads. So that this is properly the first general statute made for mending the roads, extending to all England and Wales, by the labour and expense of each respective parish alone; and on that bottom alone, we find in all six statutes relating to this subject in Queen Mary's reign, and about nineteen in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and one in King James I's reign; after which there were none of this sort till the restoration of Charles II. The parochial means for keeping the roads in repair were found in most cases tolerably effectual, until after the restoration, when the vast increase of commerce and manufactures, and of the capital city of London, with the concomitant increase of luxury, brought in such numbers of heavy wheel-carriages, as rendered it by degrees impracticable, in most cases, for parishes entirely to keep their own part of the roads in a tolerable condition, more especially in the counties lying nearer London, and in manufacturing counties. This has introduced the more equitable and effectual method of tolls, payable at toll-gates (called turnpikes), by those who use and wear the roads: and many subsequent local statutes have been made for those ends, and also several general ones for limiting the weight of waggon loads, the breadth of wheel-rims, called fellies, the number of horses, &c.

* This clause appears to have been well intended, that the searchers might be the better enabled to attend to the good of the manufacture.

And this much we thought sufficient to serve for a summary history of the laws relating to the roads of England, so as not to have much occasion to mention them any more in this work.

What we have here said concerning keeping the roads of England in repair, may also be partly applied to the subject of deepening rivers and harbours. With respect to the former, we have seen that the first instance thereof in the statute-book is found in the acts for deepening the river Lea from Ware to London [3 *Hen. VI, c. 5.* and 9 *Hen. VI, c. 9.*] After that we find none till the reign of King Henry VIII, who repaired and fortified several harbours: for that of the fourth of King Henry VII, for preserving the river Thames, relates merely to the fishing therein; and that of the eleventh of the same king, for removing wears and engines from Southampton harbour, was for the like end. But we find no more statutes of either kind till Queen Elizabeth's reign; some of which, as also some subsequent ones, we may perhaps think it necessary to take a more particular notice of in their respective places; as also for bridges over rivers.

It must needs be a most affecting consideration, to read what the bishop of Chiapa in Mexico relates concerning the destruction of the native Indians of America by the Spaniards. In that humane prelate's account of their first voyages to, and discoveries in, the new world, (which country, he asserts, was granted to Spain by the papal see, upon the express condition alone of their instructing the Indians in the christian religion; whereas, instead of converting their minds to the faith, they, by unparalleled cruelty, first tortured and then butchered their bodies, merely for obliging them to discover their treasures) it is related, that in the early times of the Emperor Charles V they had butchered upwards of forty millions of those poor Indians!

The goldsmiths of Scotland having debased their silver plate to six or seven penny fine, an act of the Scottish parliament fixed the standard of silver plate at eleven penny fine, and gold plate at twenty-two carrats fine, both upon pain of death. By eleven penny fine here must be understood eleven ounces fine to a pound troy, and not eleven penny weight to an ounce; since the other supposition must not only leave their silver plate very base, but it would also be greatly disproportioned to the fineness of their gold plate.

John Bodin of Angers, the famous civilian and historian, estimates the number of souls in Venice at this time to be 180,440, which is about 10,000 more than they are reckoned in our time. If his account be true, the decrease is not improbably owing to the great decay of their commerce, since the Portuguese, by their discovery of a way by sea to India, have deprived them of the vast advantage of supplying most part of Europe with the merchandize of the East.

Huet observes (in his *Memoirs of the Dutch commerce*) that the religi-

ous persecutions of Charles V in Germany, Francis II in France, and Mary in England, drove vast numbers of people to settle in Antwerp, which about this time was in the zenith of its prosperity, the common resort of the traders of all nations, and the general storehouse of the world, as Amsterdam is now *. He adds, that it was a common thing to see 2500 ships at once lying in the Scheld.

The Russia company sent out their second adventure with their agents and factors, who had letters from King Philip and Queen Mary to the czar John Bazilowitz. They, in two ships, sailed up the river Dwina to Vologda, and thence Mr. Chancellor and his attendants travelled in sledges to Moscow, where they were entertained at the czar's expense, who now granted them and their successors for ever the following privileges, viz.

I) Freedom to resort at all times, with their ships, merchandize, servants, &c. into any part of his dominions, without any safe conduct or licence being required of them.

II) Neither their persons nor goods shall be arrested, but only for their proper and personal debts, &c.

III) Power is given them to chuse their own brokers, skippers, packers, weighers, measurers, waggoners, &c. to administer an oath to them, and to punish them for misdemeanors.

IV) The chief factor recommended by the company to the czar, to have full power to govern all the English in his dominions, and to administer justice between them in all causes, quarrels, &c. and to make such acts and ordinances, with his assistants, as he shall think meet for the good government of the merchants and all other English there, and to fine and imprison them.

V) The czar's officers and ministers shall aid and assist the said factors against the rebellious English, and lend them prisons and instruments of punishment, &c.

VI) Justice shall be duly administered in any complaints of the English against Russians, and the English shall be first heard, and may, in case of absence, appoint an attorney.

VII) In case any Englishman be wounded or killed, due punishment shall be inflicted; and in case the English shall wound or kill any, neither their, nor the company's goods, shall be forfeited on that account.

VIII) The English arrested for debt shall not be imprisoned if they can give bail.

IX) If English ships shall be robbed or damaged in or near Russia by pirates, &c. the czar will do his utmost to procure satisfaction.

X) The czar promises, for him and his successors, to perform, main-

* Whatever Amsterdam might be in Huet's, or even in Anderson's, time, it will not now be disputed in any part of Europe, that London is the general storehouse of the world. M.

tain, and observe all the aforesaid privileges, &c. and for that purpose has put his signet thereto.

Another ineffectual law was made [2, 3 *Phil. et Mar. c. 5.*] for confirming former ineffectual ones of Henry VIII and Edward VI, for gathering weekly relief for the aged and impotent poor of every parish, by the charitable devotion of the inhabitants, &c. and ordering that a poor man licenced to beg should wear a badge on his breast and back openly*.

1556.—At this time the merchants of London had factors settled in the Canaries, as we learn from an account of a voyage by Thomson an Englishman, who in his passage from Cadiz to New Spain, found them there. He relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1556, there were not above 1500 families of Spaniards in that great city; but that in the suburbs there were computed to be at least 300,000 Indian inhabitants.

Captain Stephen Burrough, in the Russia company's service, failed northward towards Nova Zembla, in order to discover the great river Oby, in the Tartarian sea; but he was unable to pass the straits of Weygats, because of the huge quantities of ice, and therefor returned unsuccessful.

The Russia company sent out two ships, which returned the same year with the two ships which had been frozen up in Lapland in 1553, (in one of which was Sir Hugh Willoughby's body.) They also brought over an ambassador from Russia to Queen Mary; but he being shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland, lost almost all the fine presents he had brought for the king and queen: yet being on his return, he received sundry rich presents for the czar, and also for himself.

1557.—The next year the company sent four vessels to Russia. They carried home the czar's ambassador, and with him Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, who the next year made very useful discoveries towards Persia, for the benefit of the company's commerce.

It was in this year (according to the *Present State of England, anno 1683, part III, p. 94.*) that glasses were first begun to be made in England. The finer sort was made in the place called Crutched-Friars in London. The fine flint glass (says our author), little inferior to that of Venice, was first made in the Savoy-house in the Strand, London; but the first glass plates for looking-glasses and coach-windows were made about ten years ago (1673) at Lambeth, by the encouragement of the duke of Buckingham. England now excels all the world in every branch of that beautiful manufacture.

* It was not till about this time, if Bishop Lesley [*Hist. Scot. p. 24.*] was rightly informed, that the herrings began to frequent Loch-Broom, which has, I believe, ever since been the principal station of their innumerable millions on the west coast of Scotland. *M.*

1558.—After England had held the town and port of Calais (with its dependent garrisons of Guisnes and Hamme) for 211 years (the only part of the continent of France till now held by England), during which time it was not only a door always open for the invasion of France, but, which is more to our purpose, was extremely well situated for a staple port, to disperse, in more early times, the wool, lead, and tin, and in later times the woollen manufactures of England into the inland countries of the Netherlands, France, and Germany, the loss of this most important place was undoubtedly a considerable prejudice to the commerce, and not a little to the honour and influence of England. These considerations so affected Queen Mary, that she said, if, when after her death, she should be opened, Calais would be found at her heart. Hereupon the staple for wool, &c. was removed to Bruges, to the great benefit of that city, now declining from its antient opulence and grandeur.

The Russians, having in this year conquered Narva in Livonia, and thereby gained an opening into the Baltic sea, established it as an emporium or staple port for the trade of Russia with the rest of Europe. The Hanseatic merchants hereupon removed their comptoir from Revel, where it had been fixed since the Muscovites had barbarously driven them from Novogrod. Thuanus [*L. li.*] only observes, that the Russians removed the staple to Narva, which, as far as related to their own trade, it was in a great measure in their own power to do; yet the great master of the Teutonic knights of Livonia, and also the archbishop of Riga, made grievous complaints to the Emperor Ferdinand of the great injury done to the empire, by drawing the trade from Revel to Narva; for at the same time the English, Dutch, and French merchants removed also from Revel to Narva. Werdenhagen assigns two other reasons for the removal of the Hanseatics from Revel to Narva, viz. I) The selfishness of the Revalians, who fain would have monopolized the entire commerce. II) Their other motive for removing to Narva, was chiefly with a view to be nearer to Novogrod, their antiently beloved residence, where they much longed to settle again, (and whither, it seems, they sent envoys in the year 1603, for that end, and where, in 1620, the czar Demetrius gave them leave to erect a house for their commerce, though, by reason of the great declension of the general commerce of the Hanseatics, little good came of it.) The removal of the staple to Narva was the handle which Eric XIV of Sweden soon after made use of to seize the ships of Lubeck returning from Narva (says our Hanseatic historian), and to carry them to Revel and Stockholm, which produced a war of eight years between the Hanse towns and Sweden, to which a period was put by a treaty at Stetin in 1571: Yet the Hanse league was still considerable enough for the Emperor Ferdinand

to recommend to them, in this very year, the quieting of Livonia, then greatly agitated.

We have already observed that the comptoir of the Hanse towns at Bergen in Norway began to be deserted about the year 1553, chiefly owing (say the Hanseatic writers) to the arbitrary and extravagant increase of the toll in the sound by Christiern III of Denmark, which produced much altercation, insomuch that in this year 1558, when that king died, that comptoir was almost sunk to nothing, after having greatly flourished for about 300 years; yet others impute the true cause of that decline to the Danes themselves about this time, who began to traffic on their own bottoms, whereby that court (like England) saw the expediency of abridging those Hanseatics of their antient excessive privileges and prerogatives at Bergen, which, they alleged, had been granted to them by former Danish kings.

That most diligent agent for the Russia company, Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, now first set on foot a new channel of trade, through Russia into Persia, for raw silk, &c. He sailed down the great river Volga to Nisi-Novogrod, Casan, and Astracan, and thence across the Caspian sea to Persia. At Boghar, a goodly city, he found merchants from India, Persia, Russia, and Cathay (*i. e.* China), from which it was a nine months journey to Boghar. Jenkinson returned the same way to Colmogro, in the bay of St. Nicholas, in the year 1560, and so home the same year to England. On his return, he published the first map of Russia that had ever been made. This voyage, it seems, he performed seven different times: Yet so promising a prospect for that company was dropped some few years after, and remained as if it had never been, till the year 1741, when it was revived by an act of parliament, enabling the Russia company to trade thence into Persia, upon which considerable quantities of raw silk were brought home by the very same way that Jenkinson took from Persia to Russia, and thence to England: Yet the continual troubles and ravages in Persia have since suspended the good effects of that law.

In this last year of Queen Mary, a prest (*i. e.* loan) 'was granted to the queen by the citizens of London, of twenty thousand pounds, which was levied of the companies; for the which sum, to be repaid again, the queen bound certain lands, and also allowed for interest of the money L12 of every hundred for a year.' [*Stow's Annales*, p. 1070, *ed.* 1600.]

In the first year of Queen Elizabeth, the parliament passed an act [*c.* 13.] repealing the former laws which prohibited the importation and exportation of merchandize in any but English ships. This repeal (clogged as it is with restrictions) would not perhaps be approved of in our days; yet there might probably be good grounds for it then; at least the legislature thought the following a sufficient reason for it, viz.

‘ That since the making of the said statutes, other sovereign princes, finding themselves aggrieved with the said acts, as thinking that the same were made to the hurt and prejudice of their country and navy, have made like penal laws against such as should ship out of their countries, in any other vessels than of their several countries and dominions; by reason whereof there hath not only grown great displeasure betwixt the foreign princes and the kings of this realm, but also the merchants have been sore grieved and endamaged. Yet whereas sundry of the queen’s subjects do frequently enter the merchandize of aliens (liable to double duties) in their own names, whereby the queen is defrauded in her revenue; wherefore it was now enacted, that whoever shall, in time of peace, and when there is no restraint made of English ships, either embark or unlade any merchandize (masts, raffe, pitch, tar, and corn only excepted) out of or into any foreign bottom or ship, and whereof the master and the major part of the sailors are not English subjects, shall answer and pay for the said merchandize the like custom and subsidy as aliens do.’

This judicious clause in a great measure answers the end proposed by the navigation acts, now to be repealed. Another clause was inserted in favour of the two societies of merchants-adventurers, and of the merchants of the staple, at their several fleets or shippings of cloth and wool from the river Thames alone, made at most twice in every year:

‘ That those two societies may lade the said merchandize on foreigners ships, provided there be not English ships sufficient in number for such embarkations, without being, for that cause, subject to aliens duties.’

‘ Lastly, the merchants of Bristol having of late sustained great losses at sea from enemies, who have taken all their best ships and much substance, so as they are unable to provide sufficient ships of their own within the time limited for the duration of this act (viz. five years), if there be no English shipping sufficient within forty miles of Bristol, they may lade their merchandize on foreign ships, without being liable to aliens duties.’

Several other judicious regulations and laws were made in this first year of her reign; as, statute 14, for regulating the manufacture of cloth and kersey in certain towns in Essex; c. 15, for preventing the destruction of timber in making iron; c. 17, against taking the spawn of salmon, trouts, &c. at improper seasons; which five statutes, like many more of her reign, were so judiciously framed, that they remain in force at this day, though with some few improvements and alterations.

1559.—Mezeray acquaints us, ‘ that King Henry II of France was the first who now wore silk stockings, at the marriage of his sister to the duke of Savoy: Yet,’ adds he, ‘ till the troubles under Charles IX and Henry III, the courtiers did not use much silk; but after that

‘ the very citizens began to wear it frequently ; for it is an infallible
 ‘ obfervation, that pride and luxury are moft predominant during pub-
 ‘ lic calamities.’

1560.—The manufacture of fine woollen cloth in the Spanifh Netherlands muft have been prodigiously great before the Englifh got fo much into it. Louis Guicciardin, their hiftorian, affirms, that in thofe former times, upwards of 40,000 packs of Spanifh wool had been annually imported thither ; but (adds he) as the Spaniards have, of late years, made more cloth at home than formerly, they do not now (in this year 1560 that I am writing this work) import into the Netherlands above 25,000 packs of Spanifh wool yearly. The decrease of the woollen manufacture of the Netherlands was, doubtlefs, the true caufe of their importing a fmall quantity of Spanifh wool than formerly, though Guicciardin did not choofe to affign it.

The poet Milton, in his brief hiftory of Mufcovia, fays, ‘ the Englifh began this year to trade to Narva in Livonia, the Lubeckers and Dantzickers having till then concealed that trade from other nations.’ Although Milton does not mention the true reafon of this circumftance, we conceive it to proceed from the Ruffians having conquered Narva, as we have feen two years before this time.

Queen Elizabeth, finding the popifh princes very jealous of the fupport given by her to the proteftants abroad as well as at home, wifely provided for her own fecurity, by filling her magazines with ammunition, military and naval ftores. She foon after made gunpowder (a new manufacture in England), and caufed brafs and iron ordnance to be caft : She alfo built a confiderable number of fhips for war, whereby fhe formed the moft respectable fleet that England had ever feen ; and for the fafeguard thereof, fhe erected Upnore caftle on the river Medway : She moreover confiderably increafed the pay of her naval officers and feamen ; whereupon (fays Camden) foreigners ftiled her the reftorer of naval glory and queen of the northern feas.

In imitation of the queen, the opulent fubjects alfo built fhips of force. The national navy, including the queen’s and the private fhips of war, was able to carry 20,000 fighting men againft an enemy ; and England no longer depended on Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzick, Genoa, and Venice, for a fleet in time of war.

Elizabeth, about this time, reftored the filver coin nearer to its fterling purity than it had been for 200 years before ; her father, more efpecially, having, towards the clofe of his reign, fhamefully debafed it by mixing it with copper for his own profit, though greatly to the detriment of the public.

Guicciardin (in his *Description of the Netherlands*) fays that the Dutch, even before their revolt from Spain, carried on fo great a trade, that about this time they brought annually from Denmark, Eaftland, Livo-

nia, and Poland, 60,000 lafts of grain, chiefly rye, then worth 1,680,000 crowns of gold, or L560,000 Flemish. Holland possessed above 800 good ships, from 200 to 700 tons burden, and above 600 buffes for fishing, from 100 to 200 tons. Fleets of 300 ships together, from Dantzick and Livonia, arrived twice a-year at Amsterdam. 500 great ships were often seen lying together before that city, most of them belonging to it; so that for the greatness of its commerce Amsterdam was even then next to Antwerp, of all the towns in the Netherlands. This authentic testimony of the flourishing state of Amsterdam at this time is sufficient to confute what too many have ignorantly written to the contrary.

Speaking of the commerce between the Netherlands and England, he says, they then imported upwards of 1200 sacks of English wool to Bruges, worth 250,000 crowns; but, adds he, it is marvellous to think of the vast quantity of drapery imported by the English into the Netherlands, being undoubtedly, one year with another, above 200,000 pieces of all kinds, which, at the most moderate rate of twenty-five crowns per pièce, is five millions of crowns, or ten millions of Dutch guilders (about one million of pounds Sterling); so that, says he, these and other merchandize brought to us by the English, and carried from us to them, may make the annual amount to be more than twelve millions of crowns, or twenty-four millions of guilders (about L2,400,000 Sterling), to the great benefit of both countries, neither of which could possibly (or not without the greatest damage) dispense with this their vast mutual commerce; of which the merchants on both sides are so sensible, that they have fallen into a way of insuring their merchandize from losses at sea by a joint contribution. This is the first instance we have met with of insurances from losses at sea, though probably in use before this time, and first practised in Lombard-street in the city of London, as will be seen under the year 1601.

As Antwerp was in its zenith of prosperity, we imagine that a general view of its commerce at this time, with all foreign nations (as given by Guicciardin), may not be unacceptable to many curious readers, as therein the state of manufactures, product, &c. of different countries may be seen, and sundry useful inferences may thence be drawn.

‘ I) Beside the natives and the French, who are here very numerous, there are six principal foreign nations who reside at Antwerp, both in war and peace, making above 1000 merchants, including factors and servants, viz. 1) Germans, 2) Danes and Easterlings, people from the ports on the south shores of the Baltic, from Denmark to Livonia, 3) Italians, 4) Spaniards, 5) English, and 6) Portuguese. Of those six nations the Spaniards are the most numerous. One of those foreign merchants (the famous Fugger of Augsberg, whom he styles the prince of merchants) died worth above six millions of

' crowns. There are many natives there worth from 200,000 to 400,000 crowns.

' II) They meet twice a-day, in the mornings and evenings, one hour each time, at the English Bourfe, where, by their interpreters and brokers, they buy and fell all kinds of merchandize. Thence they go to the new Bourfe or principal Exchange, where, for another hour each time, they tranfact all matters relating to bills of exchange with the above fix nations, and with France; and alfo for deposit (the loan of money) at interest, which (he fays) is ufually 12 per cent per annum; for fuch was the interest paid by Charles V and his fon Philip II to the merchants here; which high interest (fays Guicciardin) brought the nobility to lend their money fecretly (the laws of nobility forbidding that practice) and made many lazy merchants likewise deal in that way, though fuch high interest was a great grievance to the poor, as well as a great obftruction to commerce.

' III) With regard to their commerce with Italy, he fays,

' They fend to Rome a great variety of woollen-drapery, linen, tapeftry, and many other things, the returns being only money or bills of exchange.

' To Ancona they fend great quantities of English and Netherland cloths and ftuffs, linen, tapeftry, cochineal, &c. and bring back fuch fpices and drugs as the merchants of Ancona import from the Levant; alfo filk, cotton, carpets, Turkey leather, &c.

' To Bolonia they fend ferges and other ftuffs, tapeftries, linens, merceries, &c. and bring in return wrought filks, cloth of gold and silver, crapes, caps, &c.

' To Venice they fend jewels and pearls, cloth and wool of England in great quantities, draperies of the Netherlands, tapeftry, linen, cochineal, and many kinds of mercery, fometimes alfo fugar and pepper; and formerly, before the Portuguefe found the way to the fpice iflands, they brought back all forts of India fpices and drugs; and even fo late as the year 1518, there arrived five Venetian galleffes at Antwerp, laden with fpices and drugs for the fair there; but they ftill bring from Venice the fineft and richeft wrought filks, camblets, grograms, carpets, cottons, and great variety of merceries; alfo colours both for dyers and painters.

' To Naples they fend Netherland and English cloths and ftuffs in abundance, tapeftry, linens in vafit quantities, and feveral forts of merceries, as well of metals as of other materials*. The returns are wrought filks, raw filk, thrown filk, fome fine furs or fkins, faffron of Aquila, and excellent manna.

* By *merceries* Guicciardin appears to under- fold by retail, or by the little balance or fmall ftand toys, fmall haberdathery wares, and all things fcales.

‘ To Sicily they send cloths and ferges in great quantities, linens, tapestries, and innumerable sorts of mercery, as well of metals as of many other kinds; and they bring back galls in great quantities, cummin, oranges, cotton, silk, and sometimes wines of various sorts.

‘ To Milan, Antwerp sends pepper, sugar, jewels, musk, and other perfumes, great quantities of English and Netherland cloths and ferges, tapestries, vast quantities of linens, English and Spanish wool, and cochineal. The returns are great quantities of gold and silver thread; various wrought silks, gold stuffs, fustians, and dimities of many fine sorts; scarlets, tammies, and other fine and curious draperies; great quantities of rice; muskets, and other armoury; various sorts of high-priced mercery; and a considerable quantity of Parmesan cheese.

‘ To Florence they send many sorts of woollen stuffs, English wool, linens, fans, frises, even although by sea the Florentines and Venetians are better provided with English wool on the spot itself. From Florence they bring back many sorts of very fine wrought silks, gold and silver stuffs, and thread, fine shalloons, then called rasses, and fine furs.

‘ To Genoa they send English and Netherland cloths and ferges, tapestry, linens, mercery, utensils, and household furniture; and they bring back vast quantities of velvets of various prices (the best in the world), sattins and other wrought silks, the best of coral, mithridate, and treacle. By Genoa also, Antwerp sends to Mantua, Verona, Brescia, Vicenza, Modena, Lucca, &c. the same sorts of merchandize, and brings back the like returns as from Genoa.

‘ From Italy they also bring by sea to the Netherlands the alum of Civita Vecchia, the oils of Apulia, Genoa, and Pisa, various gums, sena in the leaf, sulphur, orpiment, &c.; and by sea also Italy receives from the Netherlands tin, lead, madder, Brasil wood, wax, leather, flax, tallow, salt fish, timber, and sometimes corn and pulse.’ Our author adds, ‘ that Antwerp’s imports from Italy of silks, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, and other stuffs (exclusive of other wares), amounted to three millions of crowns yearly,’ (each crown being equal to two Dutch guilders) or about L600,000 Sterling.

‘ Antwerp sends to Germany pretious stones and pearls, spices, drugs, saffron, sugars, English cloths, as a rare and curious thing, and of high price; also a good deal of Netherland cloths* and ferges, tapestry, an infinite quantity of linen, and mercery of all sorts; and Antwerp receives from Germany, by land-carriage, silver in bullion, quicksilver, immense quantities of copper, fine wool of Hesse, glass, fustians of an high price (to the value of above 600,000 crowns year-

* Hence it appears that the cloths of England were esteemed superior to those of the Netherlands.

ly), woad, madder, and other dyers wares; saltpetre; vast quantities of mercery, and household goods, very fine and good; all kinds of metals to an inestimable value, and also of arms; rhenish wine, of great importance in commerce, of exquisite taste, profitable for health, and proper for digestion, and so safe, that one may drink twice as much of it as of any other wine, without affecting either head or stomach; of which (he says) they brought annually above 40,000 tons, which, at 36 crowns per ton, amounted to 1,444,000 crowns.* This was indeed an almost incredible quantity of rhenish wine for one year's importation*.

Antwerp sends by sea to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Eastland, Livonia, and Poland, vast quantities of spices, drugs, saffron, sugar, salt, English and Netherland cloths and stuffs, fustians, linens, wrought silks, gold stuffs, grograms, camblets, tapestries, pretious stones, Spanish and other wines, alum, Brasil wood, mercery, and household goods in abundance. And Antwerp receives from Eastland and Poland wheat and rye to a vast amount; iron, copper, brass, saltpetre, woad, madder, vitriol, flax, honey, wax, pitch and tar, sulphur, potashes, fine skins and furs of various kinds, leather, timber (both for shipwrights and house-carpenters) in vast abundance; great quantities of beer, of high price and esteem; salted flesh; salted, dried, and smoked fish; yellow amber in great quantities, and numberless other particulars†.

Antwerp sends to France pretious stones, quicksilver, silver in bullion, copper and brass wrought and unwrought, lead, tin, vermilion, azure blue and crimson, sulphur, saltpetre, vitriol, camblets, and grograms of Turkey, English and Netherland cloths and ferges, great

* Wheeler (who wrote in the year 1601) says, that a little before the troubles in the Low Countries, the Antwerpians were become the greatest dealers to Italy in English and other foreign merchandize, and also to Alexandria, Cyprus, and Tripoli in Syria, beating the Italians, English, and Germans almost entirely out of that trade, as they also soon did the Germans in the fairs and marts of their own country. That those of Amsterdam, and other new upstart towns of Holland, with their great hulks and other ships, began to diminish the trade of the Easterlings at Antwerp; and the Antwerp merchants having great wealth, were the best able to supply Spain for the Indies at long credit, whereby they set their own prices on their merchandize. Antwerp also now supplied Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Eastland with the wares which France was wont to supply them. It is not past eighty years ago (*i. e.* about 1520), since there were not in London above twelve or sixteen Low Country merchants,

who imported only stone pots, brushes, toys for children, and other pedlars wares; but in less than forty years after, there were in London at least an hundred Netherland merchants, who brought thither all the commodities which the merchants of Italy, Germany, Spain, France, and Eastland (of all which nations there were before that time divers famous and notable rich merchants and companies) used to bring into England out of their own country directly, to the great damage of the said strangers, and of the natural born English merchants.

† We may here observe, that the merchants of those northern countries, where the ports are generally frozen up all the winter, not being able in those times to finish a voyage to the southern parts of Europe or up the Mediterranean, in due time to get home before the winter, and seeing that they could be supplied with the produce and manufactures of the whole world at Antwerp, found it most convenient to make that city the grand staple of their whole commerce.

quantities of fine linen, tapestry, leather, peltry, wax, madder, tallow, dried flesh, and much salt fish, &c. And France sends back to Antwerp by sea, salt of Brouage to the value of 180,000 crowns; 40,000 bales of fine woad of Tholouse, which at $7\frac{1}{2}$ crowns per bale, amounts to 300,000 crowns; canvas, and other strong linen of Bretagne and Normandy, in immense quantities; about 40,000 tons of excellent red and white wines, at about 25 crowns per ton; saffron, syrups of sugar, turpentine, pitch, paper of all kinds to a great value, prunes, Brasil wood*. By land also, France sends many fine and curious things in gilding (d'orures), some very fine cloths of Paris, Rouen, Tours, and Champagne, threads of Lyons, &c. which are highly prized, excellent verdigrease of Montpelier; and, lastly, many sorts of merceries to a great value†.

To England, Antwerp sends jewels and pretious stones, silver bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin, galls, linens fine and coarse, serges, demy-ostades‡, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantities, glass, salt fish, metallic and other merceries of all sorts to a great value; arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. From England, Antwerp receives vast quantities of fine and coarse draperies, fringes, and other things of that kind, to a great value; the FINEST WOOL, excellent saffron in small quantities; a great quantity of lead and tin; sheep and rabbit skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry and leather; beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions in great quantities; also Malmsey wines, which the English import from Candia.

To Scotland, Antwerp sends but little, as that country is chiefly supplied from England and France. Antwerp, however, sends thither some spicery, sugars, madder, wrought silks, camblets, serges, linen and mercery: And Scotland sends to Antwerp vast quantities of peltry of many kinds, leather, wool, indifferent cloth, fine large pearls, though not of quite so good a water as the oriental ones.

To Ireland, Antwerp sends much the same commodities and quantities as to Scotland. And Antwerp takes from Ireland, skins and leather of divers sorts, some low-priced cloths, and other gross things of little value.

To Spain, Antwerp sends copper, brass, and latten, wrought and unwrought; tin, lead, much woollen cloth of various kinds made in the Netherlands, as also some made in England; serges of all prices; ostades and demy-ostades, tapestry, fine and coarse linens to a great va-

* The French at this time had a settlement in Brasil.

† The silk manufacture of France, now in its infancy, afforded as yet nothing for exportation.

‡ Quere, if worsteds?

‘ lue, camblets, flax thread, wax, pitch, madder, tallow, sulphur, and
 ‘ frequently wheat and rye, salted flesh and fish, butter and cheese, all
 ‘ sorts of mercery, of metals, silk, thread, &c. to a large amount; silver
 ‘ in bullion, and worked up into silversmith’s work; arms of all sorts,
 ‘ and ammunition; household furniture, and tools of all kinds; and
 ‘ every thing else produced by human industry and labour, to which
 ‘ (says our author) the meaner people of Spain have an utter aversion.
 ‘ Of Spain, Antwerp takes jewels and pearls, gold and silver in great
 ‘ quantities, cochineal, sarsaparilla, guaiacum, saffron, silk raw and
 ‘ thrown, and worked up into various stuffs, velvets, taffeties, salt, alum,
 ‘ orchil, fine wool, iron, cordovan leather, wines of various kinds, oils,
 ‘ vinegar, honey, melasses, Arabian gums, soap, fruits both moist and
 ‘ dried, in vast quantities; wines and sugars from the Canaries*.

‘ To Portugal, Antwerp sends silver bullion, quicksilver, vermilion,
 ‘ copper, brass, and latten, lead, tin, arms, artillery and ammunition,
 ‘ gold and silver thread, and such other wares before named as they
 ‘ send to Spain. From Portugal, Antwerp brings pearls and precious
 ‘ stones, gold, spices to the value of above a million of crowns annual-
 ‘ ly, drugs, amber, musk, civet, ivory in great quantities, aloes, rhu-
 ‘ barb, anil, cotton, China root, and many other precious things from
 ‘ India, with which the greatest part of Europe is supplied from Ant-
 ‘ werp; also sugars from the island of St. Thome, under the equinoc-
 ‘ tial line, and from other islands on the African coasts; Brasil wood
 ‘ for dyers; Malaguetta, or Guinea grains, and other drugs from the
 ‘ west coast of Africa; sugar also, and good wines from Madeira. And
 ‘ from Portugal itself, Antwerp brings their salt, wines, and oils, woads,
 ‘ seeds, orchil, many sorts of fruits both moist and dried, preserved and
 ‘ candied, to a great value.

‘ Lastly, to Barbary, Antwerp sends woollen cloth, ferges, linen, mer-
 ‘ ceries innumerable, metals, &c. And Antwerp brings from Barbary,
 ‘ sugars, azure or anil (as the Portuguese call it), gums, coloquintida,
 ‘ leather, peltry, and fine feathers.’

Thus we have a summary view of the exports and imports of Ant-
 werp, the most eminent city for commerce then in Europe. The port
 of Armuyden, on the island of Walcheren, was, in Guicciardin’s days,
 the place of rendezvous for the shipping of Antwerp, where, says he,
 there have been often seen 500 large ships together, bound to or re-
 turning from distant parts of the world. He adds, that it was usual for
 500 ships to come and go in one day, and 400 to come up the Scheldt in
 one tide; that 10,000 carts were constantly employed in carrying mer-
 chandize to and from the neighbouring countries, beside many hun-
 dreds of waggons daily coming and going with passengers; and 500

* Spain had not at this time received any sugars from the West Indies.

coaches used by people of distinction: that in Antwerp there are 169 bakers, 78 butchers*, 92 fishmongers, 110 barbers and surgeons, 594 tailors, 124 goldsmiths, (beside a great number of lapidaries and jewelers), 300 master painters, gravers, and carvers, mercers (i. e. retailers and pedlars), &c. without number: That the city contains 13,500 houses: That lodgings are so extravagantly dear as (except Lisbon) to surpass any city of Europe; insomuch, that a set of lodgings of five or six chambers, with a hall and garrets, do not let for less than 200 crowns yearly; and the greater lodgings and smaller houses usually at 500 crowns and upwards. Lastly, That by the great concourse of strangers at Antwerp, advice of all that passes in every other part of the world is brought thither.

Having sufficiently enlarged on the noble city of Antwerp, Guicciardin gives us a sketch of the herring fishery of the maritime provinces of Friseland (Groningen was then part of Friseland), Holland, Zealand, and Flanders. He says, the number of fishermen and vessels, especially of those four provinces, and of the French (with some few English), fishing first on the coast of Scotland, and next on that of England, is almost infinite. But, confining himself only to the Netherlands, concerning which he had made a very strict inquiry, he says, that in peaceable times they employed 700 busses and boats, which make each three voyages in the season; each vessel on an average being computed to take seventy lasts of herrings in the season, each last containing twelve barrels of 900 or 1000 herrings each barrel; and as a last commonly yields L10 Flemish, or about L6 Sterling, the total amount of one year's herring fishery in those four provinces is L490,000 Flemish, or L294,000 Sterling†.

That, notwithstanding the great ground which England has gained on the Netherlands in this preceding century, their woollen manufacture is still very great, although their own wool be very coarse, compared to that of England and of Spain; as at Bois-le-duc, Delft, Haarlem, Leyden, and Amsterdam, they make above 12,000 pieces of cloth and ferges, &c. at each place; also at Ypres, where the antient hall for woollen cloth is; at St. Winnoxberg, Courtray, Menin, Tiel, and Lisle, (which he esteems the next in commerce to Antwerp and Amsterdam) Tournay, Mons, Valenciennes (where, beside woollen cloths, they make great quantities of taffeties, &c.). Maubeuge, Enghein, &c. make fine tapestries.

Twenty thousand pieces of linen, worth on an average ten crowns

*Is not the number of bakers and butchers too small for a city which receives 400 ships in a tide? *M.*

†About sixty years after this time Sir Walter Raleigh computes the value of the cod and ling

fishery of those four provinces at a million of guilders, equal to L100,000 Sterling, and their salmon fishing in Holland and Zealand at 400,000 guilders.

a piece, are annually made at Bois-le-duc, as also great quantities of knives, fine pins, mercery, &c. At Nivelles (five leagues from Brussels) they make great quantities of very fine cambric, as also at Cambray, from which that fine manufacture has its name. At Courtray they make fine table-linen; at Tiel, linen cloth and buckrams; at Ghent, the cloth called from it ghenting, in prodigious quantities, and various sorts of fine linen, woollens, tapestries, fustians, buckrams, &c.

At the same time, speaking of the commerce of Amsterdam, he says, that ships are constantly seen in great numbers coming in and going out, not only to and from other parts of the Netherlands, but also France, England, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Livonia, Norway, Sweden, &c. He observes, that Veer (named also Campveer, or Terveer) in Zealand, owes its principal commerce to its having been for many years the staple port for all the Scottish shipping. In conclusion, he pays the people of Holland the following fine compliment: They have no wine growing in their country, yet they have great plenty of that liquor; nor flax of their own growth*, yet make the finest linen in the universe. They have no wool, either in good quality or quantity, yet make infinite quantities of good cloth. They raise no timber, yet they use more for ships, dikes, &c. than perhaps all the rest of Europe together. And here let us add what Sir William Temple says farther by way of encomium on Holland above an hundred years later, viz. 'Never any country traded so much, and consumed so little. They buy infinitely, but it is to sell again; they are the great masters of the Indian spices and Persian silks, yet wear plain woollen, and feed upon their own fish and roots; they sell the finest of their own cloth to France, and buy coarse cloth out of England for their own wear; they send abroad the best of their own butter, and buy the cheapest out of Ireland, or the north of England, for their own use. In short, they furnish infinite luxury, which they never practise, and traffic in pleasures which they never taste.'

'Thus, says their own great De Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, are diligence, vigilance, valour, and frugality, not only natural to the Hollanders themselves, but, by the nature of their country, are communicated to all foreigners who inhabit among them.'

This year (according to the judicious Misselden, in his *Circle of commerce*, p. 55), Queen Elizabeth, by her charter confirmed all former charters of privileges to the company of the merchants-adventurers of England. This author affirms, that he took special pains in the perusal of all charters and grants to this company. Moreover, Wheeler (often already quoted) confirms this, and adds, that the queen granted them two other ample charters, viz. one in the sixth, and another in the twen-

* Great quantities of flax are raised now in Holland.

ty-eighth, year of her reign, in the former of which they first had the designation of merchants-adventurers given them.

The same year, the queen granted by charter to the merchants of Exeter, by the title of the governor, consuls, and society of merchants-adventurers of Exeter, an exclusive trade to France *.

Sigismund, king of Poland, being at war with Russia, wrote to Queen Elizabeth, requesting her not to permit her subjects to trade to Russia by the way of Narva, as furnishing his enemies with arts, arms, and other necessaries; and he threatened such ships as should so trade with his utmost resentment. But his threatenings on this and another famous occasion, hereafter to be noticed, were very little regarded.

Eric XIV, king of Sweden, taking advantage of the depression of the German knights of the cross by the Russians, accepted of the request of the town of Revel and of the country adjacent, to take them under his protection, whereby Sweden got a footing in Livonia; and by the acquisition of that fine country, which Sweden held till the former part of the eighteenth century, its commerce, wealth, and power were considerably increased.

1561.—In the next year, the Poles, Danes, Swedes, and Muscovites, having in their turns gradually depressed the power, and greatly lessened the dominions of the Teutonic order in Livonia, the great master of that order, Gottard Ketler, resigned that part of Livonia which now remained to them into the hands of the Poles, after that order had held it 357 years, according to Thuanus [*L. xxviii.*] Ketler thereupon received from Sigismund king of Poland the sovereignty of Courland and Semigallia, under the title of duke, to be held by him and his heirs of the crown of Poland.

The Hamburgers still maintaining their claim to an exclusive sovereignty on the river Elbe, for the support of which they had seized a Danish ship, Frederick II of Denmark, therefor now seized all the Hamburg ships in the Danish ports, and after much dispute obliged that city to pay him 40,000 guilders for satisfaction.

Howell relates, [*History of the World, V. ii, p. 222*] that Queen Elizabeth, in this third year of her reign, was presented with a pair of black knit silk stockings by her silkwoman Mrs. Montague, and thenceforth she never wore cloth ones any more. He adds, that Henry VIII, that magnificent and expensive prince, wore ordinarily cloth hose, except when there came from Spain, by great chance, a pair of silk stockings; for Spain very early abounded in silk. His son, Edward VI, was presented with a pair of long Spanish silk stockings by his merchant Sir Thomas Gresham, and the present was then much taken notice of. Thus it appears that the invention of knit silk stockings came from Spain.

* Their privilege was confirmed and restricted to their own city by an act of parliament 4 Jac. I, c. 9.

Others relate, that one William Rider, an apprentice on London bridge, seeing, at the house of an Italian merchant, a pair of knit worsted stockings from Mantua, very ingeniously made a pair exactly like them, which he presented to William Earl of Pembroke, being the first of that kind worn in England, in the year 1564.

A rich mine of copper was discovered at Newlands, in Cumberland, which had been neglected many ages, says Camden [*Brit. p. 631.*] And at the same time there was found in great abundance the stone called lapis calaminaris, or calamy stone, so necessary for turning copper into brass.

The country people, upon licence being granted for the exportation of grain, began to ply their husbandry more diligently than formerly, by breaking up grounds which had remained untill beyond all memory of man.

According to Malynes's *Centre of the circle of commerce* *, p. 93, 4to, 1623, Queen Elizabeth granted a new charter [*3tio regni*] of confirmation to the corporation of the mayor and constables of the staple of England, of all such privileges and liberties as they did, might, or ought to have enjoyed, one year before the loss of Calais, by grant, charter, law, prescription, or custom, notwithstanding any non-user, abuser, &c.

The French seem to have traded very early to the coast of Guinea and its neighbourhood; for the writer of an English voyage to Guinea, in the year 1591, says, that about thirty years before that time the French traded from the ports of Normandy to the river Gambia with four or five ships yearly †. [*Hakluyt, V. ii, p. 189, part ii.*]

1562.—Some Frenchmen also, assisted by the Admiral Coligny, made an attempt to settle in Florida; but not being supported from home, they were forced to abandon that enterprise, being almost famished for want of provisions, in the year 1564, after remaining in Florida two summers and one winter.

The same year Coligny also projected a settlement on the south-east coast of Africa (says Mezeray), near Mozambique or Melinda, to serve as a retreat for the French in carrying on the trade of Africa and East India, as was practised by the Portuguese; and three ships, with 1200 soldiers, were sent out, but they were shipwrecked on the isle of Madeira; and after a scuffle with the Portuguese there, they returned to France without farther pursuing their original design.

Mr. John Hawkins, assisted by the subscriptions of sundry gentlemen, now fitted out three ships (the largest being of 120 tons, and the small-

* A treatise written against *Myselden's Circle of commerce*. These disputes have been long dormant.

† The French commerce with the west coast of Africa claims an antiquity of two centuries prior to this time, as I have shown in its proper place. *M.*

est but 40), and having learned that negroes were a very good commodity in Hispaniola, he sailed to the coast of Guinea, and took in negroes, and sailed with them for Hispaniola, where he sold his negroes and English commodities, and loaded home his three vessels with hides, sugar, and ginger, and also many pearls, returning home in the year 1563, and making a prosperous voyage. This seems to have been the very first attempt from England for any negro trade.

1563.—The Russia company did not lose sight of their trade into Persia by the way of Russia; for in this year they sent three of their agents to the Persian court at Casbin on the business of their traffic.

By an ordinance of this year, when the price of wheat does not exceed 10s, rye, pease and beans 8s, and malt 6/8 per quarter, they may be exported in English shipping. This shows that those prices were then esteemed so moderate, that for the benefit of farmers they might be exported. Thus we see that the rates of provisions, and consequently of living, are considerably advanced since the coins were reduced to the modern weight, &c.

The first statute was now enacted for the relief of the poor, [see the year 1597]; for whereas hitherto all the acts of parliament only recommended voluntary contributions for the poor; it was now found necessary to go a step farther. It is certain that the suppression of the convents had not a little increased this disorder; those houses having been a great relief to the poor on their own lands, and in their neighbourhood, to whom not only their kitchens but their granaries were ever open, more especially in times of dearth. When therefor the church lands were sold by King Henry VIII at such easy purchases, it was then declared to be for enabling the buyers to keep up that wonted hospitality, which however they greatly neglected to do: And there was no compulsory law till the present act, which, after directing poor and impotent persons of every parish to be relieved by what every person will of his charity give weekly, to be gathered by collectors, and distributed to the poor, so as none of them shall openly go or sit begging; and if any parishioner shall obstinately refuse to pay reasonably towards the relief of the poor, or shall discourage others, then the justices of the peace, at their quarter-sessions, may tax him to a reasonable weekly sum, which, if he refuses to pay, they may commit him to prison: Yet, where the parishes have more poor than they can relieve, the justices may licence so many of their poor as they shall think good, to beg in one or more hundreds of the respective county. Lastly, beggars, in any other place than where legally licenced, are to be punished according to the laws against vagabonds. [5 Eliz. c. 3.]

The next statute of this session [c. 4], intitled, a repeal of so much of former statutes as concern the hiring, keeping, departing, working, or order of servants, labourers, &c. and a declaration, who shall be com-

pellable to serve in handicrafts, and who in husbandry, and their several duties, &c. gives the substance of many former laws, with their imperfections and contrariety; and remarks, that the wages, ascertained in many of those acts of parliament, were now become insufficient, by reason of the advanced prices of all necessaries since those times. Yet, as large and comprehensive as this act is (which is partly still in force), there are sundry subsequent statutes, both in this and succeeding reigns, for regulating disputes between masters and their servants, apprentices, and labourers, concerning their wages, time of labour, &c.

The next law [*c.* 5], intitled, constitutions for the maintenance of the navy, &c. contains many good clauses for encouraging our own shipping and mariners: As, I) By permitting herrings, and other fish caught on our coasts, to be exported duty free. II) That no foreign ships shall carry any goods coastwise from one English port to another. III) Wines and woad shall be imported from France in English shipping only, with some inconsiderable exceptions. IV) That, for the maintenance of shipping, the increase of fishermen and mariners, the repairing of port towns, and the increase of the flesh victual of the realm, it shall not be lawful for any to eat flesh on Wednesdays and Saturdays, under the forfeiture of L3 for each offence, excepting cases of sickness, and also those by special licences to be obtained; for which licences, peers were to pay L1:6:8 to the poor's box of the parish, knights and their wives 13/4, and others 6/8 each. But no licence was to extend to the eating of beef on those days at any time of the year, nor to the eating of veal in any year from Michaelmas to the 1st day of May*.

The ingenious author of the Present state of England (8vo, 1683, *p.* 77), acquaints us, that the manufacture of knives in England was begun in this year by Thomas Matthews on Fleet-bridge, in London. How strangely are things altered since those times? for now London excels all the earth in this respect, and supplies many other nations therewith in great quantities.

1564.—Many good laws had been lately made in England for the employment of the people for improving the woollen manufacture, against the importation of foreign manufactures interfering with home ones; and for setting up new manufactures, and improving old ones, more especially since the accession of Queen Elizabeth: Particularly an act of parliament [*5 Eliz. c.* 7] strictly prohibiting the importation of girdles, rapiers, knives, sheaths, hilts, pummels, lockets, chapes, scabbards, horse-furniture of all kinds, gloves, points, stirrups, bits, leather, laces, and pins. These regulations greatly alarmed the Netherlanders; and the citizens of Antwerp more especially became quite enraged to

* Wednesday was afterwards exempted from still victuallers were forbidden to utter flesh in lent, this political fasting, or abstinence from flesh; but and on Fridays and Saturdays. [*27 Eliz.c.* 2.]

see the English taking such large strides towards an universally-extensive commerce. Moreover, the raising the custom on cloth exported to the Netherlands, and of merchandize imported from thence into England, had given great offence to the Netherlanders. All these considerations now induced the duchess of Parma, governess of the Netherlands, to issue her proclamation prohibiting the exportation of any materials for the above manufactures to England. Moreover, by way of retaliation, but under the pretext of the plague, which at this time raged in England, she prohibited the importation of English woollen goods into the Netherlands. In this year, therefore, the English company of merchants-adventurers were obliged to carry their woollen cloths to Embden in East Friseland, where for a while they kept their staple, entirely deserting the Netherlands. Whereupon Philip II of Spain absolutely prohibited all his subjects from trading with the English at Embden: Yet, in the end, the steadiness of Elizabeth got the better of all opposition; for Philip, knowing that the true interest of his Netherland subjects required peace and commerce with England, found himself obliged to revoke all his prohibitions, and to admit the English to trade with the Netherlands as formerly, on the bottom of the *intercurfus magnus*. Camden, in his history of Queen Elizabeth, relates, that our general trade with the Netherlands at this time amounted to twelve millions of ducats, five millions of which was for English cloth alone.

Queen Elizabeth concluded a general treaty of peace and commerce with King Charles IX of France, the commercial part of which was exactly the same with that of the year 1559. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 640.]

Puffendorf, in his history of Sweden, relates, that about this time (for he is too regardless of chronology), in a sea-fight between the fleet of Eric XIV, king of Sweden, and that of Frederic II of Denmark, the Swedish fleet consisted of 40 ships, their admiral ship mounting 200 brass cannon; which huge ship being separated from the rest of that fleet by a storm, sustained alone the attack of the whole Danish fleet; joined by that of Lubeck, and sunk the admiral of the latter by her side. But being at length surrounded and overpowered by the enemy's fleet, she was set on fire, and totally destroyed. This is probably the first, and it is as probable will be the last vessel of so enormous a size*. The Hollanders, in the zenith of their naval power and glory, seldom or never went beyond 90 cannon for their first-rate ships of war; and it seems more for the sake of sound than for solid advantage, that the English and French have run into an higher number of cannon. We

* Unless we knew the size of the brass cannon, the number of them cannot warrant a belief that she was larger than some antient, or many modern, ships. That the guns carried by ships at this time were not very heavy, may be inferred from the Henry Grace de Dieu, built by King Henry VIII, carrying 122 guns, though only of 1000 tons burden. *M.*

may in this place remark, that in proportion as the northern crowns increased their correspondence with the southern parts of Europe, they improved in their naval strength and commerce; and in nearly the same proportion did the Hanseatic towns decline in both those respects, especially those within the Baltic sea. Mr. Burchet, in his Naval history, observes, that as Denmark possesses many islands, and a large extent of country along the ocean, the Danes have for many ages had a considerable naval force. Whereupon he instances the above named (which he calls signal) victory over the Swedish fleet, and their admiral ship of 200 cannon, which he says was called the *Nonestuch*. He adds, that a little before, King Christian III, at the instances of the French king Henry II, aided the Scots against England with a fleet of 100 sail, manned with 10,000 men; which transaction is however very slightly touched by most English historians.

Sir William Monson (who wrote his Naval tracts in the year 1635) has the following historical remark on this subject, viz. till of late, which perhaps (says he) few will believe, most of our ships of burden were bought from the East-country men (on the south side of the Baltic sea), who likewise enjoyed the greatest trade of our merchants in their own vessels. And, to bid adieu to that trade and those ships, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a vessel of great burden and strength in those days, was the last ship bought by the queen, which in the year 1564 was cast away in the port of St. John de Ulloa, in New Spain, under Sir John Hawkins.

A charter, dated 8th July 1564, granted to the company of merchant-adventurers of England, constituted them a body politic or corporation in England. The queen thereby grants them a common seal, perpetual succession, liberty to purchase lands, and to exercise government in any part of England. ‘But if any freeman of this company shall marry a wife born beyond sea, in a foreign country, or shall hold lands, tenements, or hereditaments in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, Germany, or other places near adjoining, he shall be disfranchised from the said fellowship of merchants-adventurers, and be utterly excluded from the privileges thereof.’ Wheeler (as already noted under the year 1560) observes, that this charter gave them first the name of merchants-adventurers of England, i. e. as an English corporation of that name; for in a charter or grant of privileges from King Henry VII in 1505, we have seen them called by that name, though they never were till now properly a corporation in England.

This year a patent was granted to the *Hamburgh company* for ever, with liberty to export 30,000 cloths, though not wrought or dressed; whereof 25,000 to be above the value of £3, and under the value of £6 per cloth; and the other 5000 to be above the value of £4 per cloth*.

* This appears from an act [6 Ann, c. 9] for the exportation of white woollen cloths.

1565.—Admiral Coligny persuaded Charles IX, king of France, again to attempt the settlement of a colony in Florida; for which purpose Laudonier was sent thither in three ships, with people and necessaries; and he erected fort Caroline at the mouth of the river May. The next year Ribault was sent thither; but six large ships, purposely fitted out from Spain for the destruction of the French settlement, coming upon the coast, the French ships got to sea, and escaping the Spaniards, returned back to their settlement, and prepared to attack the Spanish ships: But a sudden storm destroying or dispersing all the French ships, encouraged the Spaniards to attack, and finally to destroy the fort, where Laudonier was left with a few men, most of whom the Spaniards slew. Laudonier, with a few more, escaped to France by the way of England.

It appears that the maritime strength of the Turks was at this time very considerable; for although they failed in their attempt against Malta (being forced this same year to raise the siege of it), they had in that expedition 160 galleys, 20 great ships, such as we commonly call men of war, and a great number of smaller vessels. [*Meterani Historia Belgica*, L. i.]

The first new project in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, is her exclusive grant to Armigill Wade, Esq. and William Herle, Gent. for the sole making of brimstone for thirty years; and also for the sole making or extracting from certain herbs, roots, and seeds, an oil proper to be used for wool, and for dressing woollen cloth; they having, with great labour and application, and not a little expense, found out the said secrets. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 650.] These are the first new and exclusive projects found in the *Fœdera*; yet if none had been in the practice of either of them before in England, we cannot so properly term them monopolies, the proper definition of which is an exclusion of all others from what they had been in the possession and practice of till that exclusion took place.

Sir John Hawkins, in his voyage to the Spanish West-Indies, forced a traffic with the people of those parts, and did much mischief to the Spaniards.

In the same year, Queen Elizabeth, after reciting that she had heretofore granted licences to certain Dutch or Germans to dig for alum and copperas, as well as for gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver, in several counties, granted two exclusive patents to Humphreys and Shute (who had brought into England upwards of twenty foreign workmen) to dig and search for those metals, and also for tin and lead, and to refine the same in England, and within the English pale in Ireland; and this is known to this day by the name of the charter for the mines-royal. She also in the same year granted them the sole use of the calamy stone, or lapis calaminaris, for composition of a mixed metal called latten, and all

sorts of battery works, cast-work, and wire. And in the year 1568 the incorporated Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper of the great seal, Thomas duke of Norfolk, and others, jointly with the said Humphreys and Shute, by the name and designation of the governors, assistants, and society of the mineral and battery works*.

Before this undertaking, it seems that all English iron wire was made and drawn by man's strength alone, in the forest of Dean and elsewhere, until those foreigners introduced the method of drawing by a mill: wherefor, till then, they neither could make any great quantity of wire, nor so good in quality. The greatest part therefor of the iron wire used in England, and also of ready-made wool cards, and such things, were till now imported from foreign parts.

1566.—We have seen that King Henry VIII erected a marine corporation, which has been of singular utility to the navigation of England, intituled, the master, wardens, and assistants of the trinity-house at Deptford-strond. They were now impowered, at their own costs, from time to time, to erect beacons, marks, and signs for the sea, in such places of the sea-shores and uplands near the sea-coasts for sea marks, as to them should seem requisite, and to continue and renew them at their costs. [8 *Eliz. c. 13.*]

It appears that the gold ducat or florin of Florence was now equal to five shillings Sterling. [*Fœdera, V. xv, p. 654.*]

The English Russia company having in the preceding year sent several of their factors with English cloth, &c. from Russia into Persia, they found that the Venetians from Aleppo usually bartered their woollen cloths and kerfies for raw silks, spices, drugs, &c. and that much Venetian cloth was worn in Persia. In this year they obtained from the sopheri an immunity from tolls or customs on their merchandize, and full protection for their persons and goods. The company was moreover this year dignified by the sanction of an act of parliament †; the reasons assigned for which were, I) 'That sundry subjects of the realm, perceiving that divers Russian wares and merchandize are now imported by the said fellowship (after all their great charge and travel), some of which be within this realm of good estimation, minding, for their peculiar gain, utterly to decay the trade of the said fellowship ‡, have, contrary to the tenor of the said letters-patents, in great disorder, traded into the dominions of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this commonwealth.

' II) And for that the name by which the said fellowship is incorporated by the letters-patents of Queen Mary is long, and consisteth of

* This charter of incorporation was made a pretence for a copper bubble in the famous year 1720. book, is given at large by Hakluyt. [*Voyages, V. i, p. 369, ed 1598.*]

† Here the marginal note says, 'this is meant by Alderman Bond the elder.'

‡ The act, though not printed in the statute

‘ very many words, therefor be it enacted, that the said fellowship,
‘ company, society, and corporation, shall henceforth be called only by
‘ the name of the fellowship of English merchants for discovery of new
‘ trades ; by that name alone to continue a corporation for ever, with
‘ all the powers and privileges of their said charter, or of any other
‘ corporation ; particularly, they may purchase lands not exceeding 100
‘ merks yearly, &c. And that no part of the continent, isles, ports, or
‘ arms of the sea of any emperor, king, prince, ruler, or governor, be-
‘ fore the said first enterprize, not known or frequented by the subjects
‘ of this realm, and lying from the city of London northwards, north-
‘ westwards, or north-eastwards, nor any parts now subject to the czar,
‘ John Bazilowitz, or to his successors, sovereigns of Russia, nor the
‘ countries of Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian sea,
‘ nor any part of them, shall be sailed or trafficked into, nor frequent-
‘ ed by any subject of England, either by themselves or their factors,
‘ &c. directly nor indirectly, other than by the order, agreement, con-
‘ sent, or ratification of the governor, consuls, and assistants of the said
‘ fellowship, or the more part of them and their successors, upon pain,
‘ for every offence, to forfeit all such ships, with their appurtenances,
‘ goods, and merchandizes, one moiety to the queen, the other to the
‘ company.

‘ 1) Provided, however, that it shall be lawful for any subject of this
‘ realm to sail to the port, town, territory, or castle of Wardhouse, or
‘ to any of the coasts of Norway, for trade of fishing, or any other
‘ trade there used by English subjects.

‘ 2) Provided that, for the better maintenance of the navy and ma-
‘ riners of this realm, it shall not be lawful to the said company to tran-
‘ sport any commodity of this realm to their new trade, but only in
‘ English ships, and with a majority of English mariners ; and the like
‘ in bringing into this realm, and into Flanders, any merchandize from
‘ their new trade ; on pain, for every offence, of forfeiting L200, one
‘ moiety to the queen, and the other shall go to any English port town
‘ (having a decayed harbour) that will sue for it.

‘ 3) Provided, that no woollen cloths nor kerfies, unless they be all
‘ dressed, and for the most part dyed within this realm, shall be export-
‘ ed to Russia, &c. by the said company, under forfeiture of L5 for
‘ every such cloth ; moiety to the queen, moiety to the clothworkers
‘ company of London.

‘ 4) Provided, that if in time of peace the said society shall discon-
‘ tinue wholly for the space of three years the discharging their mer-
‘ chandize at the road of St. Nicholas bay in Russia, or at some other
‘ port lying on that north coast of Russia, &c. then, during the time of
‘ any such discontinuance, it shall be lawful for all the subjects of this
‘ realm to trade to the Narve, only in English bottoms.

' 5) Provided also, that every of the queen's subjects inhabiting the city of York, and the towns of Newcastle upon Tyne, Hull, and Boston, who have for the space of ten years continually traded the course of merchandize, and who before the 25th of December 1567 shall contribute, join, and put in stock with the said company, such sum and sums of money as any of the said company who hath thoroughly continued and contributed to the said new trade from the year 1552 hath done, and before the said 25th of December 1567 shall do, for the furniture of one ordinary, full, and entire portion or share, and in all things behave himself as others of the society are bound to do, shall from the said 25th of December 1567 be accounted free, and as one of the said society and company in all respects.'

This last clause, in favour of those northern ports, was occasioned by their having been early contributors to the first attempt for a north-east passage.

We need only farther to remark on this statute, that it was the first which established an exclusive mercantile corporation.

By a statute for regulating the drapers company in the town of Shrewsbury, we learn that the trade in Welsh woollen cloth and lining, commonly called Welsh cottons, frises, and plains, had for a long time been considerable in that town; the drapers company there employing above 600 persons as sheermen or frisers. [8 *Eliz. c. 7.*]

1567.—The commotions were now beginning in the Netherlands; and the court of Spain rashly determining to proceed to extremities with a people who highly prized their liberty, great and terrible were the consequences: for (as Sir William Temple observes), upon the first report of the duke of Alva coming into the Netherlands with 10,000 veteran soldiers, the trading people of the towns and country withdrew from the provinces in such vast numbers, that the dukes of Parma, the governess, wrote to Philip II, that in a few days above 100,000 men had left the country, with their money and goods, and that more were following every day; so great an antipathy (says that author) there ever appears between merchants and soldiers. The governess, foreseeing the ills that were coming, desired leave to resign, and was succeeded by the duke of Alva, whose severe and cruel proceedings, on account of the late insurrections, and in support of the inquisition, produced the convulsions, which cost Europe so much blood, and Spain a great part of the Low Country provinces. For after the seizure of the Counts Egmont and Horne, such numbers of Netherlanders were persecuted by Alva, that Germany, the East Country, Cleves, Embden, France, and England, were filled with those industrious people, although the prisons in the Netherlands were likewise crowded with such as the cruel governor could detain, many of whom however escaped out of prison. Hence, says Meteranus, after Alva had hanged, beheaded, and burnt so many,

yet so many more had fled to find shelter and bread for their families in foreign parts, carrying thither arts and manufactures, before only known in the Netherlands, that in England the decayed cities and towns of Canterbury, Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Southampton, and many others, were filled with manufacturers of woollen, linen, and silk, weavers, dyers, cloth-dressers, silk-throwsters, &c. whose posterity have at this day a considerable share of the landed interest in Kent, Essex, &c. Just so, above 200 years before (about the year 1360) the Belgians and Flemings, by frequent inundations driven from home, first taught the English the art of making woollen cloth, of which they were before ignorant; being till then only skilled in husbandry, sheep-keeping, and war; for the Belgians and Flemings then supplied the whole world with cloth*. It was now that the fugitive Netherlanders taught the English to make bayes, sayes, and other slight stuffs, as also linen, and made their country very populous. So likewise the Hollanders, Zealanders, Brabanters, &c. taught not only England, but Germany and other countries, the art of fishing, and many other manual arts, whereby those countries greatly increased in riches and people. [*Meteorani Hist. Belg. L. iii.*]

Hereby (say also our own authors) the *city of Norwich, which Ket's rebellion in the year 1549 had almost desolated, learned the manufacture of those fine and light stuffs, which have ever since gone by its name, and have rendered that city not only opulent, but famous all over Europe.* The bay-makers settled chiefly at Colchester, and its neighbourhood, in Essex, ever since famous for that useful and profitable manufacture, so much in request in the warmer climates of Europe and America. The bayes, sayes, and other slight woollen goods, are what are usually called the new drapery, as being so much later introduced into England than the old drapery of broad-cloth, kerfies, &c.

It may here be noted, that the Flemings in the neighbourhood of Norwich introduced gilliflowers, carnations, Provence-roses, and other flowers hitherto unknown in England.

Martin Frobisher now made his first voyage for finding a north-west passage to the East-Indies, wherein he was assisted by Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick. He set out with two barks of twenty-five tons each, and one pinnace of ten tons, and entered the strait going into the great bay, since called Hudson's, which he named Frobisher's strait. He also gave names to Queen Elizabeth's foreland, Cape Labrador, Gabriel's island, Prior's sound, &c. which are still retained in charts and maps. He brought home one of the natives, and also a kind of bright stone, which being tried by the London goldsmiths, contained a great proportion of gold, and are said to have promised great matters, if any quan-

* He ought to have said, on this side of the Mediterranean sea.

tity thereof could be had; which flattering hopes produced a second voyage ten years after, although no north-west passage was found.

Sir Thomas Gresham, an eminent merchant of London, who in the stile of those times was called the queen's merchant, because he had the management of all her remittances, and her other money concerns with foreign states, and with her armies beyond sea, erected a building in London (then esteemed a fine one) for the daily public resort of merchants. The queen would not have that place called, as in other countries, the Bourse, but gave it the name of the Royal exchange. Its figure is to be seen in sundry books, consisting, like the present one, of a square piazza, with a building over it, much like that at Gresham college, which was Sir Thomas's own dwelling-house. When it was finished, the queen came in person, and proclaimed its name with the heralds at arms, trumpets sounding, &c. It was burnt down in the great conflagration of the year 1666, and soon rebuilt in its present much greater splendour. There was before this time a place in Lombard-street for the meeting of merchants, but it was now by the increase of commerce found to be too small.

We have seen, under the year 1564 to 1566, the ill success of the French in their attempts to settle in Florida. Another attempt was now made by Captain Gourgues, who arriving with three ships in Florida, took the Spanish forts, and put all the Spaniards to the sword; but not having stores sufficient for remaining there, he re-embarked, promising the Indians to return the following year, and arrived in France in 1568. It was conjectured that the admiral Coligny intended Florida as a last refuge for those of his own persuasion, the protestants of France, foreseeing that they would probably be overpowered by the catholics; yet no farther attempts were made by the French: And the same country was afterwards colonized by the English, and divided into the provinces of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

We must here observe, that in all those voyages to Florida, there were many plausible accounts given of gold and silver mines, pearls and precious stones, which later discoveries have proved to be entirely fabulous. And this remark may be applied to almost all our own first English attempts for settlements in the islands and continent of America.

1568.—Some ships of Biscay being chased by the French into Plymouth, Falmouth, and Southampton, Queen Elizabeth detained the sum of 200,000 pistoles, found onboard them, upon a presumption of its belonging to Spaniards; but some Genoese merchants, who intended to form a bank in the Netherlands, proving it to be their property, she restored it to them: nevertheless, the duke of Alva thereupon seized the effects of the English merchants-adventurers at Antwerp, to the value of about £100,000 Sterling; and Elizabeth, by way of reprisal, seized the Netherland and Spanish ships and effects in England,

to the value of about £200,000 Sterling; for in those times the Netherlanders and Spaniards had more ships and effects in England than the English had in those countries, however different the case may be in modern times. This obliged the English merchants-adventurers to remove from Antwerp to Hamburg, whence, by the influence of the emperor, they were obliged to remove to Staden, where they remained till the year 1597, though much disturbed by the Hanseatic league, because Queen Elizabeth had put the merchants of the Steelyard on an equal footing with her own subjects, in respect to the custom on cloth, &c. exported. When the English merchants-adventurers first settled at Staden, it was so unmercantile a town, that there were no other merchants found there; but during the time that company remained there, Staden wonderfully increased in wealth and buildings.

Charles IX of France continuing to distress and persecute his protestant subjects, notwithstanding the manifest prejudice of such conduct to the true interest of himself and his kingdom, by driving great numbers of his most industrious subjects into foreign countries; concerning which hardship of his people of her own persuasion, Queen Elizabeth, by her ambassador Norris, frequently and earnestly remonstrated; and particularly in this year, Camden (in her history) acquaints us, 'that she exhorted him not to incense his good people (the protestants) by trying arbitrary and dangerous experiments; but rather to beware of those bad ministers, who, by driving out his best subjects, did but weaken the power of France to such a degree, as to leave it an easy prey to such as desired to disturb it.' But not being listened to, she thereupon found herself obliged to assist those distressed people, by generously sending them 100,000 angels (says Camden), with warlike ammunition, as they now religiously protested that they took up arms against their king solely for their own defence. Queen Elizabeth about this time received and courteously entertained all such French protestants as fled to England from persecution at home, whereby she increased the riches and populousness of her own kingdom.

The English Russia company's fresh adventure through Russia into Persia began in this year, and lasted to 1573, according to Hakluyt, and would have proved exceeding profitable, had they not, in their return across the Caspian sea, with Persian raw silk, wrought silks of many kinds, galls, carpets, Indian spices, turquois stones, &c. been robbed by Cossack pirates, to the value of about £40,000 Sterling, some small part of which, however, they recovered by vessels sent out from Astracan.

The tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards to the Moors, who still remained in great numbers in the countries of Granada and Murcia, produced a terrible insurrection of those people, which lasted almost two years. For though Ferdinand and Isabella had conquered Granada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, and driven out vast numbers of Moors,

yet there still remained a great number in Granada and Murcia, who outwardly made profession of christianity to preserve their property. The bigoted Romish clergy had before this time frequently set on foot persecutions against those miserable people, as particularly against those of the Albaizin, a quarter in the city of Granada, where great numbers of very rich Moorish merchants inhabited, as did also some of their nobility, and of the blood of their antient Moorish kings, reckoned to amount to 10,000 men fit for war. In other towns also of Granada, particularly in the mountainous parts, there were above 100,000 families of Moors, most of whom were shepherds and farmers. All these were the descendants of those Moors, to whom Ferdinand and Isabella, on their conquest of Granada, had promised that they and their posterity should remain there with all safety and liberty, to enjoy their religion, so long as they observed the laws, and paid taxes as other subjects. But that had been long before broke through, after a stout resistance by the Moors of Alpuxarra, who were at last compelled to become Christians or leave the country. Such as remained in Spain, and conformed outwardly to the established religion, were termed new Christians by the Spaniards; and they were compelled to send their children to schools, wherein they were to be taught the Castilian tongue only. They were, moreover, forbid to keep any Arabic books in their houses, the doors whereof were to be kept open on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, that any might enter and see what they did. They were now also to leave their Moorish dress, and to wear a Spanish one; to leave off the use of baths; to assist at mass on all Sundays, festivals, &c. under severe penalties; wherefor they lived in continual vexation. It can therefor be little wondered at, that the Moors, whose religion, language, garb, and manners, were now no longer to be tolerated, should rebel. In their first fury, they murdered all the Spaniards they could find in the country of Alpuxarra, especially the clergy. They elected a king, and at first had a considerable force along the coast as far as Gibraltar, and fortified some posts among the mountains near the shore, in hopes of succours from their brethren of Barbary and Constantinople. They were at length disarmed, when King Philip II promised that they should not be molested, provided they would behave peaceably, and remove from their inaccessible castles and precipices in the mountains of Andalusia and Murcia, and settle in level countries. In short, this war is said to have cost Spain 30,000 lives, and five millions of crowns, besides the perpetual and rancorous hostility of the posterity of those Moors, who preferring their conscience to their interest, had exiled themselves from their native country, and settled on the opposite coast of Barbary.

On the side of the Moors so great a multitude of all ages and of both sexes was destroyed as is almost incredible! How much wiser and happier

had it been for Spain, to have gradually gained them over by gentleness and kindness to their religion and interests, than by blood and violence, which not only increase their obstinacy and abhorrence of their oppressors, but impoverish and depopulate their country!

1569.—The first English book on the Italian art of keeping merchants' accounts, or book-keeping by double entry, was published by James Peele (London, 1569, folio). Though his stile be now obsolete *, he evidently understood the principles of book-keeping as well as some who have written much later. In his preface, he takes notice that 'many merchants themselves were fond of learning of him, and of getting their apprentices to be taught by him; and although *the art be in a sort new in England*, yet it had long been used by merchants in foreign parts †.'

It appears from *A discourse upon usury*, by Dr. Thomas Wilson, that the fund of the orphans of the city of London now paid a regular annual interest for their use.

Some difference having arisen between the czar of Muscovy and the English Russia merchants, or their factors, the queen dispatched thither Sir Thomas Randolph, who concluded a new treaty for them with the czar, who again granted them an exemption from all customs, and (as formerly) leave to transport their merchandize to Persia, &c. though other foreign merchants were not allowed (says Camden) to trade beyond the city of Moscow ‡. The practice of the English in those times was to transport their goods in canoes up the Dwina to Vologda, thence over land in seven days to Jeroslaw; and thence down the great river Volga in thirty days to Astracan, near its mouth; whence they crossed the Caspian sea; and thence through the vast deserts to Teverin and Casbin (cities of Persia), hoping at length to discover Cathay (China). But by reason of the war between the Turks and Persians, and the robberies of the barbarians, the Londoners were discouraged from pursuing this laudable enterprize, says Camden.

As England produced no military stores, Queen Elizabeth was obliged to buy all her gunpowder and naval stores from the German Steelyard merchants at their own prices, there being as yet but few English merchants dealing in that way; and this was one of her greatest inducements to encourage commercial companies, whereby her own merchants of Russia, and of the two elder companies of the Staple, and the merchants-adventurers, were considerably increasing in trade; the

* Instead of writing *Dr.* and *Cr.* on the opposite pages of his ledger, he has *A oweth*, and *A is due to have*.

† If I am right in my opinion (which seems supported by good authority), that book-keeping by double entry was known to the Romans, it may be presumed that some knowledge of it was kept

up through all the darkness of the middle ages in Italy; and thence it has got the name of *Italian book-keeping*. *M.*

‡ Camden also says that the czar gave them houses for making ropes in, and a track of land five miles in compass, with the woods upon it, for making iron. *M.*

former in the exportation of wool (not as yet legally prohibited), and the latter of cloth, both to the great advantage of the revenue. This made the Hanseatics labour to render those companies obnoxious to other nations by various calumnies; yet, in spite of their malice, an universal spirit of adventuring in foreign parts for discovery and traffic, as well as for improving manufactures at home, daily increased in England, whereby they soon became an overmatch in naval strength, commerce, and riches, for the declining Hanseatics; whose threatenings therefor the queen disregarded; and Werdenhagen, their historian, a few years after this acknowledges, that the English in all those respects, as also in the bravery of their commanders and sailors, excelled the Hanse towns; and Hamburgh, though a potent Hanse town, which had formerly rejected the English merchants, now began to court their residence; in consequence of which they removed from Emden to Hamburgh, whence they soon extended their commerce into Saxony, Prussia, and Russia, which gave great umbrage to the Danes.

1570.—The island of Scio, or Chio, being taken by the Turks from the Genoese, the English trade to that island was interrupted for some time. This year the Turks also conquered the island of Cyprus, which the Venetians had possessed almost a century, which was a further interruption of the commerce of all the Christian states with the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean.

The prince of Orange having withdrawn into Germany to raise an army against the duke of Alva, some ships commissioned by him, after preying on all Spanish ships near the Netherlands, landed on the isle of Voorn, assaulted and carried the town of Briel, pulled down the popish images in the churches, and making open profession of the protestant religion, protested against the taxes and the tyranny of the Spanish government. Whereupon they were forthwith seconded by the revolt of most of the inhabitants of Holland, Zealand, and West-Friseland, who expelled the Spanish garrisons, and renouncing their fidelity to King Philip II, swore allegiance to William prince of Orange as their stadtholder. It is needless to trouble the reader with a detail of what may be found in all the histories of Europe, viz. the return of the prince of Orange with a fresh army from Germany, whereby he effectually supported the revolvers, and became the main instrument of establishing the republic of the seven united provinces.

Sir Robert Cotton, in a tract on the manner and means how the kings of England have from time to time supported and repaired their estates (printed in a book, intitled *Cottoni Posthuma*, 1651, 8vo), relates, 'that in this 12th year of Queen Elizabeth, the yearly profit of the kingdom *

* The *profit of the kingdom* comprehended the queen's annual income from her manors and lands, her customs, escheats, &c. for she raised no taxes

on the people in times of peace: and this annual profit was pretty nearly the same one year with another.

(beside the wards and duchy of Lancaster), was L188,197:4, and the yearly payments and assignments amounted to L110,612:13, of which the household was L40,000, the privy purse L2000, the admiralty L30,000, which by an estimate in May 1604, was L40,000, and is now (1609) swoln to near L50,000 yearly, by the error and abuse of officers! What a prodigious increase two centuries have produced in the national revenue and expenditure!

The first of those fowls, called by the English turkeys, and by the French poules d'Indes, were said to have been brought from Mexico, and were this year served up as a great rarity at the nuptial feast of King Charles IX of France. Possibly our first traders to Turkey seeing those fowls at Aleppo, &c. might occasion our calling them turkey fowls.

1571.—An act of parliament for the increase of tillage, and the maintenance and increase of the navy and mariners of the realm, directs that corn of all kinds may be exported, when the prices at home are so low as that no proclamation to the contrary shall be issued; yet, even in this case the queen reserves the customs due thereon. [13 *Eliz. c. 13.*] This is the third law made purposely for the benefit of the farmers by exportation of corn.

The acts passed in the reign of Henry VI for the improvement of the river Lea had hitherto been of little effect: wherefor an act was passed [13 *Eliz. c. 18*], directing a new cut or trench to be made within ten years, at the charge of the lord mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, whereby that river was to be made to convey all victuals, corn, and other necessaries between Ware in Hertfordshire and London; whereby a very considerable expence of land-carriage has been saved, and Ware has become a considerable town.

The cappers, or knit-cap-makers of England, observing the great increase of hats made of felt, had before this time obtained an act of parliament for preventing foreign materials from being worked up into hats; but that not answering fully, they now obtained a second law [13 *Eliz. c. 19*] purporting, that every person above seven years of age should wear on Sundays and holidays a cap of wool, knit, made, thicked, and dressed in England, and dressed only and finished by some of the trade of cappers, on the forfeiture of $\frac{3}{4}$ for every day so neglected to be worn: Excepting, however (out of this act), maids, ladies, and gentlewomen, and every lord, knight, and gentleman of twenty marks land, and their heirs; and also such as have born office of worship in any city, town, or shire, and also the wardens of the London companies. Nevertheless, the fashion of felt hats prevailed so much, as the very act seemed to portend it would, for their superior strength, lightness, and beauty; and being a better defence from sun and rain, the knit caps are long ago driven out, and are now only to be seen in some of the poorest and remotest parts of the kingdom.

This year the streets to Whitechapel-bars and its neighbourhood, in the eastern suburbs of London, were by law directed to be paved : and also all the streets of the town of Ipswich. [13 *Eliz. cc.* 23, 24.]

We have seen the blind zeal of the parliament in the reign of Edward VI against usury, or interest for money. By the vast quantities of bullion now constantly brought from America, and the increase of shipping, commerce, and manufactures, while very little (if any) of our silver was as yet carried to India, there were now considerable sums of money ready to be lent out by such as were not immediately engaged in commerce, nor had laid out their money upon lands. Moreover, money began now to be considered to be as much a commodity as other things, and that it was reasonable its possessors should improve it as much as those did who possessed lands, houses, or merchandize. An act of parliament was therefor passed (reviving that of the 37th of Henry VIII, *c.* 9) for establishing the rate of interest at 10 per cent per annum. The preamble sets forth, ‘ that the prohibiting act of King Edward VI had not done so much good as was hoped for ; but that rather the vice of usury, and specially by sale of wares and shifts of interest, hath much more exceedingly abounded, to the utter undoing of many gentlemen, merchants, occupiers, and others, and to the importable hurt of the commonwealth ; as well, for that in the said late act there is no provision against such corrupt shifts and sales of wares, as also for that there is no difference of punishment upon the greater or lesser exactions and oppressions by reason of loans upon usury. It was therefore now enacted, that the law of the 37th of King Henry VIII be revived ; and that all bonds, contracts, and assurances, collateral or other, to be made for payment of any principal money to be lent, or covenant to be performed, upon or for any usury, in lending or doing of any thing against the said act now revived, upon or by which loan or doing there shall be reserved or taken above the rate of L10 for the hundred for one year, shall be utterly void.’ [13 *Eliz. c.* 8.]

Nevertheless, when after reading this clause, so plainly licencing usury (that is to say interest of money, for the word had still no other import than interest has in modern times), at 10 per cent, we come to read the next paragraph, it does not convey the most advantageous idea of those protestant (and one would think more enlightened) lawgivers, thus to juggle with mankind ; viz.

‘ And forasmuch as all usury (being forbidden by the law of God) is
‘ fin, and detestable ; be it enacted, that all usury, loan, and forbearing
‘ of money, or giving days for forbearing of money, by way of loan,
‘ chevifance, shifts, sale of wares, contract, or other doings whatsoever
‘ for gain ; whereupon is reserved or taken, or covenanted to be reserv-
‘ ed, paid, or given to the lender, contractor, shifter, forbearer, or de-
‘ liverer, above the sum of L10 for the loan or forbearing of L100 for

* one year, so much as shall be reserved by way of usury above the principal, for any money so to be lent or forborn, shall be forfeited,' &c.

Thus, although the legislature knew that every one, who had occasion, gave interest for money, yet the old prepossessions against the lawfulness of usury or interest were then still so strong and universal, that somewhat was thought necessary to be said against the very thing they now found themselves necessitated to re-establish for the welfare of the nation.

N. B. By an act of the 39th of Elizabeth [c. 18] this act was made perpetual.

Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, who had before made three voyages to Russia, was now appointed ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the grand-duke John Basilowitz; but at his arrival he found, that prince had suspended the company's privileges, through the bad conduct of some of their servants, the envy of some irregular English traders, and the misrepresentations of the Russian ambassador, returned from England, who could not bring Queen Elizabeth into all his master's views. The company had also suffered many losses by shipwrecks, by the Polish pirates at sea, and by bad debts, &c. and were now in other respects in a bad situation: Yet Jenkinson had so much address as to obtain a restoration of their privileges from the czar, and satisfaction for some part of their losses, which amounted to above 100,000 rubles; although the greatest part was never made good to them, notwithstanding the czar's promise.

1572.—Ever since the year 1553, the English had at various times traded to the coast of Guinea, notwithstanding the claim of the Portuguese to an exclusive right to that coast, as the first discoverers, who had frequently disturbed the English and other nations in their trade for gold dust, Guinea grains, and ivory. But now, the Portuguese finding, they could not hold all that coast solely to themselves, made a treaty of peace with England, whereby all former disputes were adjusted, and freedom of trade thither was stipulated.

The Hanseatic society, relying on the many privileges and immunities they enjoyed or claimed, fell into a fresh quarrel with the neighbouring princes, on the following occasion. In the preceding year, the city of Lubeck had concluded a peace at Stettin with John king of Sweden, after a war of eight years: one of the articles thereof was, that the Lubeckers might freely trade with Livonian Narva, then in the hands of Russia; yet now, the Swedish monarch finding himself more powerful, on pretext of his war with Russia, prohibited the Lubeckers, &c. from resorting to Narva, and even seized their ships trading thither. Hereupon the Hanse towns held this year a grand assembly of their deputies for deliberating on this and other points. Thuanus says [L. li] 'that some of the points they agreed on related to their internal government; but that other resolutions related to foreign states and princes, most part of which last proved ineffectual:' which shows that the Hanseatics were at this time greatly declining in power and influence.

According to Meteranus [*L. iii*], Queen Elizabeth, in order to quiet the uneasiness of her subjects for the seizure of their effects in the Netherlands in the year 1568, concluded a treaty of commerce with King Charles IX of France at Blois, wherein the English obtained ample privileges for the vent of their merchandize. But this author adds, that the horrid massacre of the French protestants at Paris, &c. perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's day this year, rendered the treaty ineffectual, by the terror it struck into the English merchants. The admiral Coligny, and the rest of the protestants, were decoyed to Paris, on pretence of the nuptials of the king of Navarre, and were most inhumanly butchered. The French papists gloried so greatly therein that medals were struck in its commemoration.

By that treaty [*article xxiv*] the English were to be allowed a magazine or storehouse in France, for depositing their cloth, wool, &c. as they were wont to have at Antwerp, Bergen-op-zoom, and Bruges; and also [*article xxv*] a place for assembling themselves, in order to chuse their governors and other officers, &c. [*Collection of treaties, V. ii, ed. 1732.*]

The queen being at this time on bad terms both with Spain and the emperor (the later partly on account of the Hanse towns), those two articles seem to have been intended to induce them to be more favourable to the English commerce; for in the 16th article the French king stipulates, that in case any prince shall hereafter molest the English in their trade and merchandize in the Netherlands, or in Germany, or Prussia, he shall interpose for their relief; and by the 17th article, he shall, in case of refusal and delay, arrest the persons and goods of the merchants of such prince being in his territories, till the English and Irish so arrested be restored. And in article 20, the queen obliges herself to perform the like services for the subjects of the French king in similar cases. Yet some think that neither of those monarchs were sincere in this treaty, Charles's aim being to hoodwink Elizabeth, whilst he was perpetrating that horrid massacre; and Elizabeth's, by this treaty, to bring Spain and the emperor to tractability.

From Hakluyt's second volume we learn, that in this year there resided at Constantinople consuls from the French, Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines, but none from England; the trade in the Levant having, it seems, been quite discontinued from the year 1553 to the year 1575.

The same indefatigable author has published an Englishman's letter to him from New Spain, signifying, that seven years before this time the Spaniards first found out the passage from Acapulco to the Philippine isles; that the city of Mexico contained 50,000 families, 6000 of which were Spaniards; that the city of Tlascalla contained 16,000 families, near which place all the cochineal grows; that the best silver mines were north of the city of Mexico; and that the refining of silver with quicksilver was then but a late discovery, it having before been done with lead.

An act of parliament [14 *Eliz. c. 5*] intituled, How vagabonds shall be punished, and the poor relieved, directed, that assessments should be made of the parishioners of every parish, for the relief of the poor of the same parish. And this was the first legal and effectual parochial assessment for the poor in England.

1573.—There seems to have been much injury done by the Portuguese, as well on land as on the seas, to the English about this time: For Queen Elizabeth issued a commission to her high-admiral, sundry lords and gentlemen, and two merchants, to inquire into the same; wherein she observes, that the ships, merchandize, and money of her merchants were seized, and the debts due to them detained, in the dominions of the king of Portugal, and on the seas by his fleets, under his authority, contrary to the strict friendship that had so long subsisted between the two crowns. Therefor, the queen impowers her commissioners to inquire into the complaints of her subjects, and to take an account of all the Portuguese property in her dominions, that compensation may be made to the sufferers. [*Fædera, V. xv, p. 721.*]

Sir James Ware, in his *Annals of Ireland*, observes, under this year, that ‘the money which the queen had sent to Ireland, from her accession to the crown to this time, amounted to £490,779 : 7 : 6½;’ whereas the whole produce of the revenue of Ireland during all that time, viz. for fifteen years, amounted but to £120,000. How happy is the change in these respects since those times in Ireland!

As Burchet’s *Complete history of the most remarkable transactions at sea, from the earliest accounts of time down to the conclusion of Queen Anne’s war*, is a work which may in general be depended on, he having been secretary to the board of admiralty for a long series of years, we shall here, from his preface, exhibit the entire navy of Queen Elizabeth, as it stood in the year 1573, viz.

1 ship	of	100 guns.
9	from	88 to 60.
49	from	58 to 40.

—
Total, 59 ships of the line of battle, as they might be reckoned in those days.

58	from	38 to 20.
29	from	18 to 6.

—
Total, 146 ships.

Nevertheless, he says [*p. 20*], that the merchant ships of England were then esteemed the principal part of our maritime power; of which, in the 24th year of Queen Elizabeth (1582) there were reckoned 135,

many of them of 500 tons each ; and in the beginning of the reign of King James, it was computed there were 400, but these not of so great burden. The ships of war belonging to the crown in the time of Queen Elizabeth were only 13, to which 11 were added by King James I. And all, or most of the 146 ships, called Queen Elizabeth's naval power, consisted of merchant ships, occasionally hired by her, excepting her own 13: And it is highly probable, that the ten largest ships in the above list were part of the said 13.

In an essay written by Sir Robert Cotton in 1609, [*Posthuma*, p. 196] he observes, ' that in the year 1573, there was brought in an unmeasurable use of luxurious commodities in England, as wines, spices, silk, and fine linen ; for of the later sort, of above ten groats the ell, there is above L360,000 yearly spent, which is half the value of our woollen cloths exported, and maketh the state to buy more than they do sell ; whereas a good father of a family ought to be a seller, not a buyer.' Camden, in his history of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1574, says, the people (he must mean only the rich) wore silks glittering with gold and silver, either embroidered or laced, which the queen in vain endeavoured, by her proclamation, to restrain, and to oblige people to conform to a prescribed rule. Feasting was much in fashion at this time ; great improvements were also made in buildings ; and noblemen's and gentlemen's country seats were re-edified, in greater beauty and largeness than had ever before been known ; and certainly (says he) to the great ornament of the kingdom, though to the decay of hospitality. All which, however, when rightly considered, was no other than the natural effects of increasing riches and commerce.

The protestants in France (says Burchet in his Naval history) were become so powerful in shipping, that in the year 1573, they committed spoil, without distinction, on all they met, and plundered several English ships ; whereupon Queen Elizabeth sent out Holstock, comptroller of her navy, with a squadron, who retook several English ships, seized on some of those cruisers, and dispersed the rest.

1574.—Bondage was not as yet quite worn out in England, as we find by Queen Elizabeth's commission to her lord treasurer Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay chancellor of her exchequer, for inquiring into the lands, tenements, and other goods, of all her bondmen and bondwomen in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, viz. such as were by birth in a slavish condition, by being born in any of her manors ; and to compound with such bondmen or bondwomen in those counties for their manumission, and enjoying their lands, tenements, and goods, as freemen. By this commission, probably, considerable sums of money were raised for the queen's use, the commonalty continually growing richer by the gradual increase of the nation's commerce. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 731.]

1575.—We have before observed, under the year 1548, that the Emperor Charles V, for political ends, had allowed a large rate of interest on the great sums he had borrowed of the republic of Genoa, which was also for some time continued by his son King Philip II, and those loans farther increased on the security of the revenues of Spain and Spanish America; and although upon the reduction of the interest on those debts, Philip had given assurances to the Genoese that the reduced interest should afterward be punctually paid, yet we find that at several times after, and particularly in the year 1575, he again stopped the payment of their interest, at a time when divisions ran high at Genoa between the old and the new nobility. He also ordered a revival of his accounts with the Genoese for fifteen years backward, which greatly alarmed them, as (according to their historian De Mailly), [L. xii.] they had taken such advantage of that prince's necessities, as to make eleven, twelve, and sometimes eighteen per cent interest on their loans, whereby the antient nobles alone had drawn annually from Spain a revenue of fifteen millions of gold. And this review of the court of Spain is said to have produced a farther reduction of interest on those debts due to Genoa.

In the first volume of Hakluyt's voyages (London, 1598, p. 413), we have this year the 'request of an honest merchant, by letter to a friend of his, to be advised and directed in the course of killing the whale.' The answer in substance was, that there should be a ship of 200 tons burthen, with proper utensils and instruments. But what is most to be noted is, that all the necessary officers were then to be had from Biscay; which shews (what is also elsewhere to be observed) that the Biscayners were the earliest whale-fishers of any nation of Europe, excepting however the people of Norway, who were employed in that trade at least as early as the time of King Alfred.

1576.—Many new devices having been found out for impairing, diminishing, scaling, and otherwise lightening the coins of England, or the coins of other realms allowed by proclamation to be current in England, all such arts were declared to be high treason. [18 *Eliz.* c. i.]

The streets of the city of Chichester were first directed to be paved with stone. [18 *Eliz.* c. 19.]

An accord being at length patched up between the old and the new nobility of Genoa, after their quarrels had brought the very existence of the republic into great danger, it was now stipulated, that the old and new nobility should for ever after be deemed but one body, utterly abolishing the former distinction of old and new nobles. And as idleness is ever pernicious to the public, noblemen were now permitted to exercise certain arts or trades, and also to practise a wholesale trade or merchandise, without any disparagement of their nobility; provid-

ed, however, that they should not keep an open or retail shop. [*De Mailly, L. xii.*]

Hakluyt acquaints us, that, although the Russia company had an exclusive charter, which, as we have seen, was confirmed by act of parliament, yet Alderman Bond (formerly mentioned) had disputes with that company, because of his trading without their leave to Narva in Livonia, and also to Kola, Keger, &c. in Russian Lapland; but Narva was then under the Swedes.

At this time, and some years before, the Russia company had been at considerable expense in sending out ships for discovering a supposed passage through Waygatz strait north-eastward to China and the East-Indies. But they were absolutely obstructed by the ice as well as by the intense cold.

1577.—The English genius was not to be discouraged by former unsuccessful attempts for finding a passage to China and East-India without interfering with the Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope, nor with Spain by the straits of Magellan; and as they had already attempted in vain a north-east passage, there seemed now only the north-west passage to be explored, which we have seen had been already attempted by Frobisher. The Portuguese and Spanish chart-makers and cosmographers were, it seems, expressly enjoined by their sovereigns, not to give any kind of light to other nations in this respect; because they were justly apprehensive that if there were any such passage, it would prove a much shorter course to India and China than theirs, either by the south-east or south-west passage. To encourage the English to this attempt, sundry treatises were published by Sir Humphry Gilbert, Richard Willes, &c. mostly founded upon romantic reports, without any solid probability. Yet upon such grounds, and the encouragement of friends, Captain Frobisher now made his second attempt with one of the queen's own ships, two barks, and 140 persons, some of whom were gentlemen. He again entered the straits he had named after himself in his former attempt, where he found store of the glittering stones and sand he had seen in his last voyage, with which he now loaded his vessels. And, as it is needless to relate his adventures with the savages, so often already printed, he returned home the same year with his imaginary treasure, which afterwards, upon a more solid trial, proved good for nothing.

Queen Elizabeth issued a commission for the restitution of ships and merchandize taken from the Portuguese; which restitution was thereby declared to be in consequence of a treaty with the king of Portugal. The same commissioners were empowered to treat with those of France concerning depredations at sea, and other injuries on both sides. [*Fædera, V. xv, pp. 769, 770.*]

Commissioners were also appointed to inquire into the complaints of some Scottish merchants, whose shipping had been plundered by some English vessels, and to make satisfaction at the expense of the offenders. [*Fædera*, V. xv, p. 779.]

Queen Elizabeth sent Mr. Edmund Hogan as her envoy to Muley Abdelmelek emperor of Morocco, in which country there were already some English merchants resident, for whom certain commercial privileges were now obtained. There he found also Spanish, Portuguese, and French merchants. Sir William Monson, in his Naval tracts, observes, that by degrees the English have beaten the Portuguese out of that trade, though at first they laboured to do the like by us.

The ingenious author of the present State of England (in 8vo, 1683), observes, that about this time pocket watches were first brought into England from Germany. Nuremberg is usually assigned for the place where watches were first invented, though the time be very uncertain.

1578.—The supposed gold ore which Frobisher brought home in former voyages from Meta-incognita (as Queen Elizabeth had named the countries about Frobisher's straits), together with the hopes of a north-west passage to Cathai (*i. e.* China), encouraged the queen to appoint commissioners for those ends, who at first making a supposed proof of that ore, and also assigning certain grounds for the probability of a passage, Frobisher was thereupon, in the year 1578, sent out a third time, with fifteen ships, and with miners for the ore, which they were to bring home, and to leave 120 persons to inhabit Meta-incognita, with three ships to attend them. They arrived at the entrance of Frobisher's straits, lost one of their ships, spent their provisions, and returned home, without leaving any persons (as they had intended) to settle in the country, or making any useful discovery, or even so much as going into the straits. They however loaded their ships with 300 tons of the supposed treasure, and after much hazard by ice and storms returned home one by one. Their supposed gold ore, brought home in this and former voyages, was at length found to be of no value, being only a glittering sand.

Hakluyt gives us an account of the Newfoundland fishers from Europe in the preceding year (1577), viz. 100 ships from Spain, 50 from Portugal, 150 from France, and 15 from England: That the English had the best ships, and therefor gave the law to the rest, being in the bays the protectors of others; for which it was then, and had been of old, a custom to make them some sort of acknowledgment as admirals; such as a boat-load of salt, for guarding them from pirates, and other violent intruders, who often drive them from a good harbour, &c. He says, the fishery of the English at Iceland was the reason we had not then such numbers of ships at Newfoundland; that the Spaniards had

then next to the English the best ships there ; that there were there also 20 or 30 ships from Biscay, to kill whales for train oil *. His friend, in a letter from Newfoundland, is earnest for the English to settle at the isle of Cape Breton, for the benefit of the fishery, and in another isle at the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence. Hakluyt was in those times a most indefatigable inquirer after new trades and discoveries, and was undoubtedly of great use to our adventurers, by giving them much light into the nature and means of discoveries, and seems to have been a public blessing to England in those days.

Queen Elizabeth's first public treaty with the states-general of the United Netherlands, after their revolt from Spain, was dated at Brussels, 7th January 1578. It is intitled, an offensive and defensive treaty of peace with the Belgic states, therein styled the ' prelates, nobles, deputies of cities, members of Brabant, Guelderland, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Valenciennes, Lisle, Dowai, Orchies, Holland, Zeeland, Namur, Tournay, Utrecht, Mechlin, Friesland, Overysel, and Groningen.'

As this treaty was chiefly for the mutual support of each other against the exorbitant power of Spain, it is needless to be very particular in all its articles.

The first article confirms all the treaties made between England and the house of Burgundy, unless otherwise to be stipulated.

No transaction of importance, relating to peace or war in the Netherlands, shall be concluded without the queen's participation, whose ministers shall be present at all such deliberations.

Mutual general assistance to each other with equal military forces.

All controversies among the states shall be referred to her arbitration.

If the queen shall find herself obliged to fit out a fleet for guard of the seas, the states, at her instance, shall join it with forty ships of theirs, with sailors, soldiers, and ammunition, to be under the queen's command, and at her expense ; none of which ships to be of less burden than forty tons.

Rebels or fugitives from England to get no protection from the states.

The states to make no treaty nor alliance with any prince or state whatever without her consent.

The present and future governors in the Netherlands shall ratify and confirm all the articles of this treaty, in the name and by the authority of the catholic king.

Whenever a treaty of peace shall be concluded between the said

* There is no mention of whale fins (or whale bone) now in so much request for women's stays; whence it appears not to have been applied to that use in those days.

states and the catholic king, the states shall oblige the said king of Spain to confirm and make perpetual all such of the said articles as the queen shall then judge expedient and convenient.

Signed by FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

THOMAS WYLSON.

CORNELIUS WELLEMAUS.

Sealed with the queen's seal, and with the seal of the duchy of Brabant, in the name of all the states-general. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 784.]

Queen Elizabeth had for a long time kept the Hanseatics, or Steelyard merchants, in suspense with relation to the renewal of their immunities, till her own subjects had gradually increased in foreign trade and shipping. The Hanseatics at length, finding they could not shake her firmness, applied to the Emperor Rodolph II, as their sovereign, urging the necessity of compelling her to reinstate them in their immunities, and particularly that of paying only the antient custom of one per cent. The queen replied to that emperor's remonstrances, that she had done the Hanseatics no kind of wrong, having treated them on the same footing in which she had found them at her accession to the crown, as it was her sister who had abolished the old duty, and laid on that now subsisting.

This answer was far from satisfactory; and the Hanseatics growing louder in their complaints all over Germany, they at length issued a prohibition of the English merchants to reside any longer at Hamburgh; whereupon the queen published a declaration, annulling all their antient immunities, and only allowing them the same commercial privileges that other foreigners enjoyed. Soon after, she prohibited all foreigners, and particularly the Hanse or Steelyard merchants by name, from exporting English wool. This prohibition was said to be owing to the industrious protestant Netherlanders, lately driven out by the Spanish governors, and settled in England, who advised the queen to forbid the exportation of wool unmanufactured*. This was a fresh blow to the Hanseatics; and thereupon, in the following year, 1579, their general assembly at Lunenburgh laid a duty of $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on all goods imported into their territories by Englishmen, or exported by them; whereupon Queen Elizabeth laid a like duty of $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on all merchandize imported or exported by the German Steelyard merchants. Thus matters became more and more embroiled between

* The royal author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg* observes, that the manufacturers of that country had made no good cloth, till the French refugees came among them in the year 1685, without a mixture of English wool; and that, as

soon as that wool was withheld, the manufacture declined. He adds, that Augustus and Christian, electors of Saxony, in imitation of Elizabeth, by inviting Flemish artists into their territories, put their manufactures in a flourishing condition.

England and the German Hanse towns, the magnanimous queen being firmly determined never to yield to their unreasonable demands.

According to Hakluyt, the English Russia company this year complained of the Hollanders for trading to Kola, a port in Russian Lapland, where it seems there was so great a trade for fish-oil and salmon, that the company's ships sometimes brought home 10,000 of those fish.

1579.—Though, as we have seen under the year 1561, the citizens of Hamburgh had smarted for their pretension to a sovereignty on the river Elbe; yet they still kept up the same romantic claim. This provoked Frederic II king of Denmark to forbid them all his ports, as he had formerly done; which prohibition was found to be so prejudicial to their interests, that in order to be relieved from it they were obliged to pay that prince 400,000 livres in five years time.

The prince of Orange, considering the emulation among the great men, and the difference of religion in the several provinces, which could hardly ever be reconciled, and being desirous to secure himself, and to establish, as far as possible, the protestant religion, procured the states of Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Friseland, and Utrecht, to meet at Utrecht in this year; when they mutually and solemnly stipulated to defend one another, as one joint body, and with united consent to advise of peace, war, taxes, &c. and also to support liberty of conscience. Overijssel and Groningen were soon after admitted into the confederacy, and completed the number of the SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES, which composed the most potent republic the world had seen since that of old Rome, and of the greatest commerce and maritime power that (as a republic) ever was on earth: For that so small a state should, betwixt this year 1579 and the year 1609, not only preserve its independence against the mightiest potentate in Europe, but likewise get footing in Flanders, by mastering the strong and important port and town of Sluyce, with Hulst, &c. ruin the trade of the most famous city of Antwerp, conquer the strong forts of Bergen-op-zoom, Breda, and sundry other places on the Meuse and Rhine, &c. also attack and annoy so great a monarch in his own ports at home, and maugre all the vast expense of such great exploits, grow rich and opulent, as well as potent, will perhaps scarcely obtain credit in another century: but with us it serves only to shew the immense effects of an universally extended commerce, and indefatigable industry, joined to unparalleled parsimony and economy! Soon after this famous period, the industrious and parsimonious traders of those united provinces pushed into a considerable share of that commerce to several parts of Europe which till then England had solely enjoyed. Yet the great and happy accession of the fugitive Walloons to England about the same time, whereby the old English drapery was so much improved, and sundry new and profitable manufactures introduced, did more than counterbalance the loss of some part of the Eng-

lish commerce to the Dutch. Nevertheless, the immenseness of the fishery of those Netherland provinces, with which they about this time supplied the most part of the world, is almost incredible, and could only be described by so great a genius as Sir Walter Raleigh. Their East-India trade soon after this time commenced, and, like all new trades, brought profit in the beginning, frequently even twenty times the original outset. In brief, the Hollanders soon thrust themselves into every corner of the universe for new means of commerce, and for vending their vastly improved manufactures; whereby Amsterdam soon became, what it still is, the magazine or staple for almost all the commodities of the universe.

The popish persecutions at the commencement of the reformation in religion, had driven vast numbers of people from Germany, France, and England, to seek shelter in the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, where the antient liberties of the country, and the privileges of the cities, which had remained inviolate under a long succession of princes, gave protection to those oppressed strangers, who filled their cities with people and trade. But now when the seven provinces were united, and began to defend themselves with success, under the conduct of the prince of Orange and the countenance of England and France, and when the persecution became much hotter in the Spanish Netherlands, all the professors of the reformed religion, and haters of the Spanish dominion, retired into the strong cities of this new commonwealth, and gave the same date to the growth of trade there, and the decay of it at Antwerp.

It would be too tedious to instance all the other causes of the vast increase of the wealth and power of the United Netherlands, in those times and afterwards, such as, the long civil wars, first in France, next in Germany, and lastly in England, which drove thither all that were persecuted at home for their religion; moderation and toleration to all sorts of quiet and peaceable people, naturally produce wealth, confidence, and strength to such a country; the natural strength of their country, improved by their many sluices for overflowing it, and rendering it inaccessible to land armies; the free constitution of their government; the security and convenience for all mens property in the bank of Amsterdam.

As we apprehend a proper provision for the poor in every well-regulated country to be of considerable importance to the peace and welfare of society, we shall take notice of an act of the 6th of King James VI in Scotland for the punishment of vagabonds and sturdy beggars, and for confining all other beggars to their own proper parishes; also for taxing all the inhabitants of parishes to a weekly contribution for sustaining all their own beggars, and to give passes to the poor of other parishes: and in poorer parishes, the poor to have authentic licences to beg their meat from house to house.

in their own parish, so as to be sustained within the same, without being chargeable to others, or to strangers. A very good law this, had it been duly executed. But though it was afterward ratified in the same and following reigns, and in the reign of Charles II, work-houses, called houses of correction, were appointed for employing the poor in all burghs, and overseers appointed in every parish for collecting contributions for that end; and though all former laws were ratified by laws of the late King William, yet this point is not to this day effectually provided for.

The laws made this year in Scotland against the exportation of salted flesh and coals seem to us, at this distance of time, not so well calculated for the benefit of that country; which, breeding an infinite number of black cattle, and producing coals in vast quantities, it should seem to have been more prudently devised, and more for the benefit of that nation, to encourage the exportation of both.

By another Scottish act of parliament of this year, every one residing in the Netherlands for commerce was to pay £10 Flemish, (or about £6 Sterling) as entrance-money, for leave to trade there. Another law of this same year confiscates all the goods and merchandize of non-free-men trading thither; of which confiscation, two-thirds were to go to the crown, and one-third to the Scottish conservator in the Netherlands. This last law was confirmed in the year 1597.

From these laws it appears that the Scots trod in the very same steps with the English, in relation to exclusive or restrictive laws in commercial matters, and also persisted therein long after England saw the inconveniencies of them.

We have seen, in various periods of time, that the merchants of England had charters from the crown for regulating their commerce into the East country, a name of old, and still given by mercantile people to the ports of the Baltic sea, but more especially in Prussia and Livonia. Queen Elizabeth now, agreeable to the genius of the age, granted them a charter, exclusive of all who should not take up their freedom in their company, by the name of the Fellowship of East-land merchants. Their privileges were, 'to enjoy the sole trade through the Sound, 'into Norway, Sweden, Poland, Lithuania, (excepting Narva, which 'was within the Russia company's charter) Prussia, and also Pomerania, 'from the river Oder eastward, Dantzic, Elbing, and Koningsberg; 'also to Copenhagen and Elfinore, and to Finland, (here called an isle) 'Gothland, Bornholm, and Oeland; to have a governor, deputy, or 'deputies, and twenty-four assistants, who may make bye-laws, and impose fines, imprisonment, &c. on all non-freemen trading to those 'parts.' It was principally designed by the queen for the encouragement of her own merchants, in opposition to the Hanseatics.

This was what is called in England a regulated company, i. e. a company trading, not on a joint stock, but every one on his separate bottom, under certain regulations. We shall see this charter farther confirmed by one from King Charles I, in 1629. Nevertheless, they have been frequently complained of by the English merchants as a monopoly, and were therefore curtailed by legal authority (as we shall see) in the year 1672. And finally, being, with all other monopolizing companies, (not confirmed by parliament) deemed illegal in times of true liberty, after the revolution, in consequence of the act called the declaration of rights, &c. they do not now exist commercially, or otherwise, but in name only, which it seems they still keep up, by continuing to elect their annual officers; and having (like the merchants of the Staple, another company in similar circumstances) a little stock in our public funds, the interest thereof defrays the expenses of their yearly meetings, which are for no end but to commemorate their former existence in a restrictive capacity, and to elect their principal annual officers, now merely nominal, which they still continue to do.

We cannot too much commend the indefatigable industry of the famous patriot, (for so he justly deserves to be stiled) Mr. Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle Temple, London, in so earnestly promoting new discoveries and improvements for the benefit of England. In his second volume of Voyages and discoveries he directs Morgan Hubblethorne, a dyer, who was sent into Persia this year to learn the arts of dying there, and of making carpets, &c. There are (says he) persons there who stain linen cloth; it hath been an old trade in England, whereof some excellent cloths yet remain, although the art be now lost in this realm*.

In the same year, William Harburn, an English merchant, sent into Turkey by Queen Elizabeth, obtained of the sultan Amurath III, that the English merchants might in all respects as freely resort and trade to Turkey, as the French, Venetians, Germans and Poles, did at this time; by which concession a foundation was laid for the English Turkey company, which was soon after established.

1580.—Sir Francis Drake accomplished the second circumnavigation of the terraqueous globe. He began it in the year 1577, going through the Magellanic strait, with five ships, and 164 men. He pillaged St. Jago of Chili, and other places on the west coast of America, which was in fact the principal end of his voyage. In some of the harbours on this coast he found ships which had no person in them; so secure were the Spaniards, as not so much as to dream of any enemy in those seas. He at length took the immensely rich prize named the Cacofogo, with twenty-six ton of silver, and eighty pound weight of gold, besides

* Mr. Anderson here confounds Hakluyt of Oxford, the collector of voyages, with his cousin of the Middle Temple, who drew up the instructions for Hubblethorne, who, as we learn by the city of London. *M.*

jewels, &c.—Having now but one ship left, in which all his treasure was embarked, and it being probable that the Spaniards would intercept him should he return through the Magellanic strait, he determined to sail to the Moluccos, and return home (as the Portuguese were accustomed to do) by the Cape of Good Hope. Being obliged to sail as far north as 48 degrees, in order to get a good wind, he discovered California, which he named New Albion, setting up a pillar and plate, on which Queen Elizabeth's name, title, &c. were engraved; the Spaniards having never as yet had footing here. At the Moluccos, and at Java, Drake was well treated, and arrived in England (by the Cape of Good Hope) in November 1580.

On the complaint of the Spanish ambassador, the queen sequestered the treasure taken by Drake, or at least a great part of it, for the king of Spain's use; but at the same time asserted the absolute freedom of her subjects to navigate the Indian seas as well as those of the king of Spain.

The managers of the Russia company of England are undoubtedly highly to be commended for their various attempts to discover a north-east passage by sea to China and India, how unsuccessful soever they proved, and how much soever their ultimate views might center in their own private interest. In this year 1580, they sent out Pett and Jackman with two barks, to try a passage that way through the straits of Waygatz. After many perils and difficulties from the ice and intense cold, one of them returned home unsuccessful, but the other was never heard of more*.

In this same year, King Philip II found means to unite the kingdom of Portugal to that of Spain; a very important accession to the Spanish monarchy, had it been managed to the best advantage. It remained, however, in this united state till John duke of Braganza took the title of king of Portugal, in the year 1640.

The city (or rather the suburbs) of London, being about this time considerably increased, the queen published a proclamation, forbidding any buildings to be erected on new foundations within three miles of the city gates, and that only one family should inhabit each house. Here Mr. Rapin, in his History of England, subjoins, 'it were to be wished for England that this prohibition had been punctually executed even to this day, since the city is so enlarged that it grows a monstrous head to a body of a moderate size, to which it bears no proportion.' Notwithstanding this observation, there are many persons in modern times who do not view this increase in that bad light, and rather think it advantageous, and solely owing to the increase of our wealth and commerce; and that even this great increase of the metropolis is at-

* Plescow, a city of Russia near the head of the lake Czudskoe, is said to have been a famous emporium at this time, and frequented by merchants from Persia, Tartary, Sarmatia, Livonia, Germany, Britain, and other countries. [*Oderbornii Vita Joannis Basilidis, Witteberg, 1585, f. R. 3.*] M.

tended with many visible advantages to the nation, especially in point of the annual supplies, and of the public credit, as well as a greater consumption of the produce of the kingdom, (so much for the benefit of the landed interest) and of our manufactures of all kinds.

The use of coaches is said to have been now introduced in England by Fitz-Allen, earl of Arundel.

1581.—This year the Scottish parliament made a sumptuary law, which laid heavy fines on all under the degrees of dukes, earls, lords of parliament, knights, and landed gentlemen not possessed of at least £2000 yearly rent (£250 Sterling), who should wear in their clothing or lining any cloth of gold or silver, velvet, satin, damask, taffeties, fringes, passiments (lace), or embroidery of gold, silver, or silk; or any lawn, cambric, or woollen cloth made in foreign parts, (with exception of certain officers and magistrates); and to the end that all others, thus debarred from foreign fineries, might be supplied with cloth and stuffs of home manufacture, whereby also the poor might be employed, no wool was thenceforth to be exported, under forfeiture, &c. By another sumptuary law of the same year, all under the above mentioned ranks were forbid the use of confections, foreign drugs, and costly spices, which, it seems, were then lavishly used at weddings, christenings, and other banquets, by persons of low estate.

This year Queen Elizabeth granted to the city of Bristol, which had long been a place of very considerable magnitude as well as traffic, a new and ample charter, with many immunities, wherein she calls it her city of Bristol, and terms it a large and populous city.

This year there was published a most judicious pamphlet, intitled, a Compendious examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers of our countrymen in these our days. (By W. S.) Therein, public spirit, or zeal for the community,—inclosures for pasture, then so much clamoured against,—the dearth of provisions,—the decay of towns,—the multitude of sheep,—the coin's being worn out,—the true standard and intrinsic value of money, compared with that of foreign nations,—wool, against its exportation,—our extravagant love of foreign wares,—and sundry other national points of great importance, are all handled so masterly, and in so pure a diction for the time he wrote, as to give room for conjecturing it might have been penned by direction of the queen's ministers, since scarcely any ordinary person, in those early days, could be furnished with so copious a fund of excellent matter.

That author, speaking of the arts to be cherished in cities and towns, finely observes, 'that often even one minute manufacture, made peculiar to any one town, has enriched it. I have (says he) heard say, 'that the chief trade of Coventry was heretofore in making blue thread; 'and then that town was rich, even upon that trade, in a manner, only; 'and now our thread comes all from beyond sea; wherefor that trade

‘ of Coventry is decayed, and thereby the town likewise. So Bristow
 ‘ (Bristol) had a great trade by making of points, and that was the
 ‘ chief mystery (manufacture) that was exercised in the town.’

This author is most just in his opinion of keeping up the purity, parity, and quantity or weight, of the silver coin; also in pleading for the easy admission of foreign artificers into our cities and towns, &c.

Several good laws were made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for the preservation of the timber of England, and more especially of the woods growing within a certain distance from London, or the river Thames, both for the use of shipping and of buildings at land. As iron-mills, or works near London, were the great destroyers of timber and woods, it was now enacted that no new iron-work should be erected within twenty-two miles of London, nor within fourteen miles of the river Thames, nor in several parts of Suffex, near the sea, therein named; neither should any wood, within the limits described, be converted to coal or other fuel for making of iron. [23 *Eliz. c. 5.*]

A subsequent act [27 *Eliz. c. 19.*] prohibited the erection of any new iron-works in Surry, Kent, and Suffex; and ordered that no timber of one foot square from the stub should be used as fuel for any iron-work.

We find in *Camden's Annals*, that Mr. Thomas Randolph was at this time in the office of chief postmaster of England; but how it was managed does not so clearly appear; though from King Charles I's establishment of the posts, in the year 1635, it should seem there were but very few regular post-carriages till then in England*.

By an act of parliament [23 *Eliz. c. 9.*] for abolishing certain deceitful stuff used in dying of cloth, &c. ‘ logwood, or blockwood, of late
 ‘ years brought into this realm, is expressly prohibited to be used by
 ‘ dyers, the colours thereof being false and deceitful to the queen's subjects at home, and discreditable beyond sea to our merchants and
 ‘ dyers.’ In the sequel we shall see the reputation of logwood fully established.

The queen having settled preliminaries at Constantinople two years before for the trade to Turkey, she now incorporated a number of eminent merchants for that end, viz. Sir Edward Osburn, an alderman of London; Thomas Smith, Esq. Richard Staper, and William Garrett, merchants. In their charter of incorporation she sets forth, ‘ that Sir
 ‘ Edward Osburn and Richard Staper had, at their own great costs and
 ‘ charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey not heretofore in
 ‘ the memory of any man now living, known to be commonly used
 ‘ and frequented by way of merchandize, by any the merchants, or any
 ‘ subjects of us or our progenitors: Whereby many good offices may

* Camden says nothing further of Randolph's office, than merely calling him ‘ equorum dispositorem præfectus.’ *M.*

' be done for the peace of Christendom, relief of christian slaves, and
 ' good vent for the commodities of the realm, to the advancement of
 ' her honour and dignity, the increase of her revenue, and of the gene-
 ' ral wealth of the realm. She therefor grants unto those four mer-
 ' chants, their executors and administrators, and to such other English-
 ' men (not exceeding twelve in number) as the said Sir Edward Osborn
 ' and Richard Staper shall appoint to be joined to them and the other
 ' two before-named persons, and their factors, servants, or deputies, for
 ' the space of seven years, to trade to Turkey, in such manner as the
 ' said company shall agree between themselves: during which time
 ' they may make by-laws for their good government (not repugnant
 ' to the laws of the kingdom). Nothing to be transacted without the
 ' consent of the governor for the time being, (Sir Edward Osborne
 ' being hereby appointed the first governor). The trade to Turkey
 ' to be solely to them, their factors and servants, during the said term;
 ' and any other subjects trading thither, either by sea or land, without
 ' their licence, to forfeit ships and goods, moiety to the crown, moiety
 ' to the company. For the last six of the said seven years this com-
 ' pany shall export so much goods to Turkey as shall annually pay at
 ' least L500 custom to the crown, (except in case of shipwreck, &c.)
 ' proviso, that in case this exclusive grant shall hereafter appear to be
 ' inconvenient, the queen may revoke the same upon one year's previ-
 ' ous notice; and the queen, during the said term, may nominate two
 ' persons to be added to the said number of patentees, with the same
 ' privileges, &c. as the rest herein named. Lastly, if at the end of
 ' the said seven years these grantees desire it, the queen will grant other
 ' seven years to them, provided (as aforesaid) the said exclusive trade
 ' shall not appear to be unprofitable to the kingdom.'

Nothing can be more cautiously penned than this charter; and par-
 ticularly we may observe, that by the first proviso the queen in effect
 kept it in her own power to dissolve them at any time, on giving one
 year's notice.

Sir William Monson in his Naval tracts, (written in 1635) assigns
 the following reasons that England did not sooner enter directly on the
 Turkey trade for Persian and Indian merchandize, but till now suffered
 the Venetians to engross that trade entirely, viz.

- ' I) Former times did not afford shipping sufficient for it.
- ' II) We could not; because of the great danger of falling into the
 ' hands of the Turks,' (he means the Barbary Moors), ' who in those
 ' days were so ignorant of our nation, as to think England to be a town
 ' in the kingdom of London.

' That the Venetians in those times sent their argosies, or argosers,
 (the corrupt name for a certain kind of great ship, constructed after the
 make of those of Ragusa) ' yearly to Southampton with Turkey, Per-

‘fian, and Indian merchandize. The last argoſer that came thus from Venice was unfortunately loſt near the iſle of Wight, with a rich cargo and many paſſengers, in the year 1587.’

1582.—The queen’s letters to the grand ſignior were received with much civility, being delivered to him in the year 1582 by her ambafſador Hareborn, whom ſhe impowered to ſettle conſuls in the ſeveral ports, and to eſtabliſh laws or rules to be obſerved by the Engliſh trading to Turkey. With the firſt factors, the indefatigable Hakluyt [*V. ii, p. 164.*] ſent excellent inſtructions ‘for inquiring into the nature of dying ſtuffs of Turkey, and into the art of dying; alſo what ſpecies of thoſe might be produced in England, and how beneficial ſuch new productions would have been to us; which he inſtances in that of ſaffron, firſt brought into England by a pilgrim, and alſo woad, originally from Tholouſe in Languedoc; the damask-roſe was firſt brought in to England by Dr. Linacre, phyſician to King Henry VII and King Henry VIII; Turkey fowls about fifty years paſt, [*viz. about 1522.*] the artichoke in King Henry VIII’s time; and of later times the muſk-roſe, and ſeveral ſorts of plums by the Lord Cromwell, out of Italy; the apricot by King Henry VIII’s French gardener.’ (but here is no mention as yet of peaches nor of neſtarines). ‘And now within theſe four years, (1578) have been brought into England from Vienna in Auſtria divers kinds of flowers called tulipas, and thoſe and others procured thither a little before from Conſtantinople. And it is ſaid that ſince we traded to Zante, (this muſt have been but lately) the plant that beareth the coren is alſo brought into this realm; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may ſerve for pleaſure and for ſome uſe *. Many other things have been brought in that have degenerated by reaſon of the cold climate; ſome things brought in have through negligence been loſt: and Archbiſhop Grindal brought the tamarisk plant from Germany, and many people have received great health by this plant.’ On the commencement of the Engliſh trade to Turkey, the merchants having occaſion to attend the queen and council, they had there great thanks and commendations for the ſhips they then built of ſo great burden, with many encouragements to go forward for the kingdom’s ſake, (ſays the author of the Trade’s increaſe, who adds, that the ordinary returns of this trade at the beginning were three for one).

England, by entering into a direct trade to Turkey, procured all the commodities of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Perſia, and India, much cheaper than formerly. And (ſays Sir William Monſon) when the Venetians ſerved us with thoſe rich eaſtern wares, by the way of the Red ſea, and

* This ſhews that it was then but juſt introduced, and not well known.

down the Nile to Alexandria, and also by way of the caravans to Aleppo, they also were wont to take freight in their ships from port to port, whereas now (1635) all strangers are more desirous to employ our own ships in that service. Jacobs [*Lex mercatoria*, p. 9.] alleges, (upon what authority I know not) ' that the Barbary merchants were ' incorporated in King Henry VII's time; but that company decaying, ' out of their ruins arose the Levant or Turkey company, who, first ' trading with Venice, and then with Turkey, furnished England that ' way with East-India commodities, which, till then, were brought to us ' (mostly) by land, and to the Portuguese alone by long sea,' &c.

This year the ship *Sufan* of London, mounting thirty-four guns, carried out to Turkey the English ambassador Hareborn, who now first settled peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which piratical states had taken many ships belonging to London, Bristol, &c. And Hareborn having established all the English factories in Turkey, notwithstanding the malice of the French and Venetians, returned over land to England.

The same year a voyage to China was attempted from England with four ships; which, however, went no farther than the coast of Brasil, and returned home for want of provisions, after having fought with some Spanish ships of war on that coast.

Mezeray, in his History of France, acquaints us that the yearly revenue of their king, Henry III, was now got so high as thirty-two millions of livres, (or £3,200,000 Sterling) a livre being at this time equal to two shillings English.

The Hanseatic merchants, in their complaints to the diet of the empire against England, asserted, that by the high duty laid on woollen cloth in England, it was become (says Werdenhagen) twice or thrice as dear as it had before been: that hence sprung the vast increase of England's wealth, 200,000 cloths being yearly exported thence, three fourths whereof were carried into Germany; and from thence a great part was carried into Poland, Denmark, and Sweden: that the remaining fourth part was sent to the Netherlands and to France; but little or none into Spain; from whence it was easy to infer the immenseness of the profit accruing to that nation thereby. The only remedy therefor was to banish the English merchant-adventurers out of the empire; and absolutely to prohibit all manner of English woollen manufactures, as what they judged would effectually bring the queen to terms with the Hanse towns. The queen had some friends in this diet, who, together with her own able envoy, Gilpin, long and strenuously defended her and her merchant-adventurers. Yet in the end, the interest of the Hanse towns prevailed with the diet, who passed sentence against the English merchants, and absolutely prohibited all English woollen goods: yet Gilpin by a stratagem obtained that the sentence should not be executed till the decision

of another diet; and our merchants were afterward permitted to remove from Staden to Hamburgh, where they were well received.

In this year the Russia company sent out no fewer than eleven ships, well armed, for fear of enemies and pirates.

Pope Gregory XIII ordered ten days to be cut off from this year, because 365 days and 6 hours exceeded a year by 11 minutes; one day therefor is gained in about 132 years; by which means, from the year 325, when the council of Nice was held, to this year 1582, 10 whole days were gained. This was called the new stile, and doubtless the justest; though we and other protestant states kept to the old stile till very lately.

1583.—Such was the custom and policy of those times, that Queen Elizabeth was obliged, for the protection of the ships of her Russia company, (says Camden in her Annals) to obtain the king of Denmark's permission for the company's ships freely to navigate the North sea, by the coasts of Norway and Lapland to the haven of St. Nicholas; and in case of foul weather, &c. to take shelter either in Iceland or Norway, even in ports by former agreements prohibited, provided they did not trade there without that king's licence; for which privileges the company were to pay him 100 rose nobles annually, during the term of this grant.

Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Jerom Bowes to Russia: but the ministers of the new czar, Pheodore Juanowitz, being, as some said, corrupted by Dutch presents, he returned home without being able to obtain a renewal of the company's exclusive privileges. The writers of those times acquaint us, that, besides the main commodities sent from England to Russia, viz. cloths, silks, velvets, &c. they carried thither coarse linen cloth*, old silver plate, all kinds of small mercery wares serving for the apparel of both sexes, as linen and silk girdles, garters, purses, knives, &c. Yet what by the expense of the first discovery, (thirty years ago) and the large presents since bestowed on the czar and his ministers, and the false dealings of others there, it had cost the company about L80,000 before it could be brought to any profitable account; and even at this time, from the fickle temper of the czar and his people, the encroachments of the Hollanders, and the expense of ambassadors, &c. all born by the company, this trade now stood on a very precarious bottom. Camden in his History of Queen Elizabeth says that this new czar promised to remit to our company half of the customs paid by other nations, in consideration of their having been the first discoverers of the way thither by sea. In other respects he added to their privileges out of regard for the queen; at the same time accusing the company of having dealt falsely with his people; and no other answer than this could

* Great quantities of linsens of various kinds are now imported from Russia: such are frequently the vast alterations in commerce.

Dr. Fletcher obtain, who was sent afterwards ambassador on this behalf to Russia, in the year 1588.

The last part of the preceding paragraph we have taken from a curious and judicious treatise of Captain Carlisle's, who was son-in law to Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth; and who this year also set forth the hazard of the English in their voyages to Turkey from the piratical states of Barbary, for prevention whereof it cost about £2000 yearly in presents; and the like hazards in our trade to Italy, our sailors being obliged to pay large ransoms to the Algerines for their redemption from slavery. Moreover, the Venetians, envying our advancement in those trades, have loaded us with high duties on our merchandize, and on theirs which we bring back.

Yet (says Captain Carlisle) we drive a great trade with Spain and Portugal, who take off much of our wares to their Indies.

Carlisle had, by the interest of Sir Francis Walsingham and others, raised £1000 subscription at Bristol, for an attempt to settle in America; and had proposed to the Russia merchants to raise £3000 more at London; which £4000 they deemed sufficient to settle 100 men in their intended plantation.

Captain Carlisle judiciously displays the many benefits which would accrue to England by making a settlement in North America: Such as the great consumption of our woollen and other manufactures; taking off our idle and burdensome people; the great likelihood of rich mines; and still more, of our raising naval stores in America, which we are now obliged at high prices to take from other nations; that this proposed settlement may also be greatly helpful to the fishery in those seas; and as there are grapes in plenty in America, and olives may be easily propagated there, both wine and oil may be had in abundance: Furs also, and skins in abundance.

Pippins (according to the author of the Present state of England, printed anno 1683) were first planted in England about this time in Lincolnshire, prior to those of Kent.

In the year 1578 the queen had granted a patent to Sir Humphry Gilbert (half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh) and his assigns, to make discoveries westward, and to settle a colony. Accordingly, (after sundry discouragements) he sailed this year from Plymouth with five ships; and at Newfoundland was assisted by the English fishing ships there in taking possession of that island for himself, under the crown of England. He had carried with him many artificers, with toys, &c. for traffic. There he set up the queen's arms, and gave leases to many persons for stages to cure their fish; the Portuguese, French, and Spanish ships crews agreeing thereto. He thence sailed to Cape Breton, and to the continent of North America, where he lost one of his ships. Meeting with many other disasters, he returned homeward; but Sir Humphry and

all in his ship were lost in a great storm, and only one ship got safe home to Falmouth. Walter Raleigh, then a young man, was deeply engaged in this project.

The same year a ship of 250 tons belonging to Southampton failed on a voyage to Brasil and Rio de la Plata; but was in going thither unfortunately lost on the coast of Guinea.

Adrian Gilbert got the queen's patent to himself and others for five years, for the discovery of a north-west passage to China, &c. by the title of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the north-west passage; which scheme came to nothing.

The queen-mother of France, Catharine de Medici, assisting the bastard of Portugal, Don Antonio, with ships and troops, he got possession of one of the Azores or Western islands; but the Spanish fleet, consisting of twelve galleys and fifty galleons, meeting with that of France, totally defeated it. Voltaire in his General history of Europe (part v.) thinks, that this was the first time that galleys were seen in the Ocean, (*i. e.* without the Mediterranean sea) it being, says he, very surprising that they should have been brought the distance of 1000 leagues to those strange seas. When Louis XIV, long after this time, sent some galleys into the Ocean, it was falsely supposed to have been the first attempt of that kind: yet this attempt was, it is true, more hazardous than that of the Spaniards, the Channel being more tempestuous than the Atlantic ocean. The mercantile Venetian and Genoese galleys, which formerly resorted to England, were very probably of a more solid structure than those ones which are only fit for summer expeditions within the Mediterranean.

1584.—Sir Walter Raleigh, whose great genius inclined him to new enterprises and discoveries, this year procured a society of gentlemen and merchants to subscribe a considerable sum of money for forming a settlement on the continent of North America; and on Lady-day 1584 Queen Elizabeth granted them a charter for that purpose. Amidas and Barlow, with two vessels, were accordingly sent; but they failed about 1000 leagues out of their way: for the short course to the northern parts of America not being as yet known, they steered the wonted course of the Spaniards, by the Canary isles, and thence into the trade-wind to the Caribbee islands; thence sailing through the gulf of Florida, they anchored on the coast of the country now called Virginia; where, making some insignificant trade with the natives with toys for their furs, they returned home with gain (as they said) and greatly magnified the richness of the country, in order to encourage a second adventure. They brought home some pearls, and tobacco, (the first of that sort that had been seen in England). The queen seemed fond of this design; and either she herself, or Sir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia, which indeed they truly represented to be a

pleasant country, abounding in fine woods, deer, hares, wild fowl, fish, vines, currants, &c.

Raleigh therefor obtained Queen Elizabeth's patent to himself, &c. for the possession of such remote lands, not then inhabited by Christians, as they should discover in six years, of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever, reserving to the crown the fifth part of all gold and silver ore found therein; with power to seize to their proper use all ships with their merchandize that shall without leave plant within 200 leagues of this intended settlement; excepting, however, the queen's subjects and allies fishing at Newfoundland, &c. grants free denization to the planters and their posterity residing there. Powers are also granted to the patentees for making bye-laws there, not repugnant to those of England. N. B. In this and some other patents of those times, there was no distinct place, longitude, nor latitude fixed or limited for such plantation, although undoubtedly North America was the country intended.

In the same year Jerom Horsey, the queen's and the English Russia company's agent, is said to have obtained more benefits of the czar Theodore Ivanowitz than could be got in twenty preceding years. The czar sent Horsey over land with his compliments to the queen, who sent him back to him with her's: after which he took leave a second time, returning with the czar's presents for Queen Elizabeth. He was very honourably received at the new castle of Archangel, and coming to St. Nicholas, at the sea-side, he was saluted with the cannon of the English, Dutch, and French ships: which also plainly shews that this company's exclusive trade before this was quite abrogated*.

1585.—Next year Captain John Davis with two barks from Dartmouth first sailed into the straits now so well known by his name, and after proceeding to the northward as far as 66 deg. 40 min. returned home the same year, as all others since have done, without discovering a north-west passage. At this time we find they knew the use of somewhat like the harpoon, with which they killed a porpoise; but though many whales fell in their way, they knew not yet the right manner of killing them.

The fate of the noble commercial city of Antwerp must not be overlooked in the history of commerce. That most beautiful city, which had long flourished in the greatest opulence, the fruit of unrivalled commerce and manufactures, was now besieged and taken by the duke of Parma, the governor of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands.

* Camden expressly asserts that this czar gave free permission to the merchants of all nations to trade to Russia, and answered Elizabeth's demand of a renewal of the exclusive privileges, granted by his father to the English company in the White sea, by a proposal that she should throw the trade open to all her subjects; which shews, that the Russian prince was not ignorant of the principles of commerce, and of the interest of his country.

For three days together the Spanish soldiers wallowed in the plunder of the city, from which they carried off at least two millions of pistoles, besides which, an incalculable quantity of rich merchandize and furniture was destroyed by fire. Almost 3000 of the inhabitants fell by the sword, 1500 were burnt or trodden to death, and as many were drowned in the Scheld.

The ruin of this famous city gave the finishing blow to the commerce of the Spanish Netherlands. The fishing trade removed into Holland. The noble manufactures of Flanders and Brabant were dispersed into different countries. The woollen manufacture settled mostly in Leyden, where it still flourishes. The linen removed to Harlem and Amsterdam. About a third part of the manufacturers and merchants who wrought and dealed in silks, damasks, taffeties, bays, sayes, serges, stockings, &c. settled in England, because England was then ignorant of those manufactures: and the rest of the merchants of Antwerp, (more especially the protestants) would probably also have settled in England, but that foreign merchants paid double customs, and were also excluded from all companies or societies of commerce, as were also foreign journeymen from setting up to be master-workmen, or even partners in any trades but such as the English were unacquainted with. And thus, through the madness of Spanish popish bigotry, and of arbitrary power, commerce and manufactures, driven from their Netherlands, proved the means of enriching most of the countries of Europe west and north of the Mediterranean sea. A most serious memento to all nations!

To this persecution of the Flemish protestants the kingdom of Sweden is said to be indebted for its greatest improvements. They first taught the Swedes to make iron cannon, and other iron, copper, and brass manufactures; for before this time most of the Swedish iron was only run into pigs and sent to Dantzic, and other parts of Prussia, to be forged into bars; just as the English formerly sent their wool into Flanders, to be made into cloth by the Flemings.

Malynes, in his treatise intituled *Free trade*, (8vo, 1622, p. 68) observes, that no nation trafficked so much to Antwerp, in bulk of staple commodities, as England. This, says he, is asserted by Botero, who relates, that, two years before the taking of Antwerp, all the merchandize of Christendom which were vended there in one year being valued by the officers of that city, the English merchandize alone amounted to four fifths of the whole!

Though Antwerp was the most opulent city in the western parts of the world, yet as most part of its commerce was carried on by the ships of foreign nations, it had not much shipping properly of its own, compared with those of modern London and Amsterdam. So that when it was sacked, the shipping removed with the nations they belonged to,

which was one reason that it could never recover its former commerce, as the Dutch forts on the Scheld, below it, was another, and more cogent one. In its glory it contained 13,500 private houses, 42 churches, 22 markets, and 220 streets. From the Scheld on which it stands, in the figure of a crescent, were cut eight principal canals into the city for loaded ships to go into the heart of it. Not only England and Holland have happily felt the advantages of the wild conduct of Spain, in their persecution of the protestants of the Netherlands, by a very considerable accession of industrious manufacturers; but likewise sundry cities of Germany were thence stocked with industrious inhabitants: particularly, the count de Hanau thereupon erected what is called the new town of Hanau (much finer than the old one), since, however, increased by the persecution of the French protestants by Louis XIV.

It was ordered by the dean, high steward, and burgeses of Westminster, that the number of ale-houses should not exceed one hundred, viz. sixty for St. Margaret's parish, twenty for St. Martin's, and twenty for St. Clement's and the Savoy precinct. The inhabitants of St. Margaret's parish thus appear to have exceeded those of all the rest of the liberty by one sixth part; and as there were, when Maitland wrote, (about the year 1740) 1164 ale-houses in that city and liberty, he rightly enough estimates the whole to be about twelve times as large in his time as it was then.

Sir Richard Greenville sailed for Virginia, by the old round about way above described, with seven ships loaded with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and with men for a settlement. He began with planting at Roanoke isle, lying about five leagues from the continent*, in 36 degrees north latitude, where he left 108 men, who, neglecting to prepare their provisions in due season, and going far up the country in quest of mines, (for golden dreams were then universal) most of them were either destroyed by the natives, or perished for want; and the few, who survived, were taken up by Sir Francis Drake on his return from the Spanish West Indies, who took them all home with him, even although they had sown corn there, very near ripe, sufficient for two years sustenance. And they were but just gone, when a ship, fitted out at the sole cost of Sir Walter Raleigh, arrived there with all sorts of conveniences; as did Sir Richard Greenville soon after, with three other ships, with a farther supply: But finding the places quite desolate where the English planters had settled, they all returned home†.

* The island of Roanoke is scarcely five miles from the coast of North Carolina; for so that part of America was called, after the indiscriminate name of Virginia was restricted to the province now so called. *M.*

† In these accounts there seems to be some confusion respecting the time and the names of persons, owing to the carelessness of writers and transcribers.

Camden, (in his *Annals of Elizabeth*) says, that to the best of his knowledge, the first tobacco ever seen in England was now brought from Virginia; and he observes, that in a few years afterwards tobacco taverns (or smoking houses) were as common in London as beer-houses or wine-taverns. *M.*

The seven United provinces this year sent deputies to Queen Elizabeth, with request to take their provinces under her protection, or else to grant them sufficient aid during their war with the king of Spain. She refused to be their sovereign, but sent to their assistance the earl of Leicester to command her troops, consisting of 5000 foot and 1000 horse, and to be governor of their provinces. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, pp. 793 et seqq. *Collection of treaties*, V. ii, p. 83, ed. 1732.]

The states-general, as a security for her expenses, put her in possession of the town of Flushing, and the fort of Rammekins, in Zealand, and the town of Brill, with its forts; which were to be restored upon payment of the queen's disbursements. This is called the treaty of Nonsuch, concluded the 10th of August 1585.

It would be to little purpose to recount all the private adventures of Englishmen against the Spaniards in America in Queen Elizabeth's reign; yet Drake's grand expedition (though undertaken only by private adventurers) with 25 ships, and 2300 men, may merit a brief account. He sacked the town of St. Jago at the Cape de Verd isles. He sailed thence to the West-Indies, and took and pillaged the city of St. Domingo: then he took the city of Carthagená, and obliged them to ransom it. The season being far advanced, he found himself obliged to return homeward, without following his original scheme, which was to march over land to Panama on the shore of the South sea. Wherefore he sailed by the coast of Florida, where he sacked the fort of St. Augustine, and found about £2000 in money, with 14 brass cannon. Next he called at the infant Virginia colony, and carried the people home with him, as already noted. Hakluyt makes the whole booty of this expedition not to exceed £600,000, and says they lost therein 700 men: it therefor did not fully answer expectation.

This year Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to the earls of Warwick and Leicester, and to forty more, for an exclusive trade to the dominions of Morocco during twelve years; to the emperor whereof, Muley Hamet, she sent her minister, Roberts, who remained three years there, and obtained some privileges for the English; particularly, that none of the English should in future be made slaves in his dominions.

The Algerine pirates now first venturing into the Ocean, (according to Morgan's History of Algiers, V. ii, p. 588) with three ships attacked and pillaged the chief town of the Canaries, carrying home much booty, and many captives.

The violences of the duke of Alva, and the subsequent sack of Antwerp, had forced such multitudes of people to take shelter at Amsterdam, that in a few years after it increased above one half; and new ramparts, ditches, &c. were made round the increased part of the city. Werdenhagen observes, that at one time 19,000 people retired from Antwerp into Holland, and mostly to Amsterdam; whereby Antwerp, not

only the finest city of all Brabant, but almost of all Europe, was miserably stripped of its wealth and prosperity, whilst riches, arts, ingenuity, and industry crowded into Amsterdam, in a manner so sudden as hardly to be paralleled in story; so that it now became the chief city of traffic in all the Netherlands. For as the great pensionary De Witt observes, in his *Interest of Holland*, although Antwerp was, in respect of its good foundation and far-extended traffic, the most renowned merchandizing city that ever was (till then) in the world, sending many ships backward and forward from France, England, Spain, Italy, &c. and making many silk manufactures, yet Brabant and Flanders were too remote and ill-situated for erecting at Antwerp, or near to it, the fishery of haddock, cod, and herring, and for making that trade as profitable there as it might be in Holland. The king of Spain desired to weaken that strong city, (which he thought too powerful) and to disperse the traffic over his many other cities. The merchants of Antwerp, being necessitated to forsake that city, chose Amsterdam to settle in, (which before the troubles was the next great city of commerce in the Netherlands) because the isles of Zealand were not so well situated for inland commerce; and there was then no toleration of religion either in France or England. In the latter country also there were heavy duties on goods exported and imported; and their guilds or halls excluded foreigners: nevertheless, one third part of the dealers in, and weavers of, says, damasks, stockings, &c. went casually into England, because those trades were then new to the English, and therefore under no halls or guilds. Another great part went to Leyden; and the traders in linen fixed at Harlem. The Flemish fishing went also to Holland; though still the villages of Flanders and Brabant retained much manufacture, by means of land carriage into France and Germany. What Botero says, in his *Treatise of the causes of the magnificence and greatness of cities*, was even now certainly true of the cities of Flanders, viz. that they were the most mercantile and the most frequented cities for commerce and traffic in all Europe; a principal cause whereof was, that the infinite quantity of merchandize imported and exported paid but a very small custom.

At this time the new-erected republic of the United provinces was in great distress, as not only King Henry III of France, but Queen Elizabeth of England, had again refused to be their sovereigns. The sagacious queen foresaw that when she was once engaged against Spain in defence of that sovereignty, it would be almost impossible to tell, when she should be able to retreat with honour and safety; but the powerful aid she intended to give the states-general she might either lessen or increase at pleasure. She now therefore stipulated to supply the states with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, and to pay those troops whilst the war lasted, but to be repaid at the end of it; the three forts already men-

tioned remaining in her hands by way of security for the same, and for £100,000 in money, which she had formerly lent them.

Sir Bernard Drake, with a squadron of English ships, was now sent to Newfoundland, where he took several Portuguese ships laden with fish and oil, (Portugal being now united to Spain) which is all that we meet with material concerning that island during the rest of this century.

1586.—Misselden [*Circle of commerce*, p. 54, ed. 1623, 4to] relates, that Queen Elizabeth now confirmed all the former charters of the company of English merchant-adventurers, granting them the like authority to hold their courts, and to exercise their trade in Germany as amply as they had formerly done in the Netherlands, with strict prohibition to all not free of that company to trade within their limits*. Whereupon the city of Hamburgh invited them again to settle there, and the company sent thither two commissioners: yet the imperial and Spanish party in the senate so far prevailed, that the commissioners were obliged next year to go over to Staden, where they fixed the company's staple to good purpose. Before this time, Staden was unfrequented by merchants; but in ten years that the company resided there, Staden found a great change for the better, till the year 1597, when the company was forced to leave it.

Captain John Davis with three ships made his second voyage for the north-west passage; but finding no passage in the straits of his name, attempted it farther south, where he lost some of his men by the natives; and returned after bartering toys for some hundreds of seal-skins.

The Hanseatic towns on the Baltic shores, and particularly Wismar and Lubeck, still continued to have a considerable commerce while they continued to sail directly to Spain with their own vessels; but from this time forward, (says their historian Werdenhagen) by means of such numbers of Netherlanders as had fled to Hamburgh, that city pushed on a much greater commerce to Spain. From this period most authors date the great, but gradual, declension of the Hanseatic towns on the Baltic sea, and more especially that of Wismar; the magnificent churches, august market-place, town-house, capacious wine-cellars, and the large and stately private houses of which city, sufficiently testify its antient great trade and opulence.

At this time flourished the famous Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, who made some astronomical discoveries and improvements, which proved very beneficial to navigation, and consequently to maritime commerce.

According to Gemelli, the Chinese about this time granted to the Portuguese the rocky isle of Macao, below Canton, then inhabited by rob-

* Misselden says, he perused the original charter.

bers, on condition of expelling them, as they accordingly did; and there they built and fortified the town of that name, which they hold to this day, paying tribute and customs to the Chinese. Since the Portuguese were expelled from Japan, Macao is become quite inconsiderable, having but five ships left: it contained 5000 Portuguese, and 1500 Chinese in the year 1699.

The same year Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out from Plymouth two small vessels, which at the Azores took five Spanish ships; and, after some other exploits, returned home with a good booty.

Thomas Cavendish now commenced the second English circumnavigation of the earth at his own expense, which he effected in two years and two months, by the old route through Magellan's strait, and home by the Cape of Good Hope, having lost two of his three ships. He took a rich Spanish ship from the Philippines, and destroyed other ships and some towns in the South seas. But neither this nor Drake's circumnavigation were intended for making useful settlements in those remote parts, for the benefit of commerce, as most certainly they might easily have done; their object being only to pillage the Spaniards, together with some transient commerce.

In this same year the earl of Cumberland and Sir Walter Raleigh jointly sent out some ships to privateer on the Spaniards in the South seas: but this undertaking proved unfortunate, and a great loss to these two enterprising geniuses.

Hakluyt acquaints us, that Jerome Horsey now obtained of the czar Theodore Juanowitz, new privileges for the English Russia company, (though not exclusive ones) such as a freedom from certain tolls or taxes, &c. But it seems they were in this new grant prohibited from carrying their goods to the new castle of Archangel, and obliged to use the old warehouses and the harbour of St. Nicholas. As this is the second time that we find mention of the new castle of Archangel, it is probable there was then no town of that name, and that this new castle has since grown up into the town of Archangel.

We are indebted to De Witt's *Interest of Holland* for the following remarks on the earl of Leicester's conduct in Holland in this year, viz. 'that although during the troubles on the score of religion, many Flemish and Brabant clothiers and merchants retired to Holland, yet were they presently in great danger of being driven out again by the earl of Leicester, who, by the interest of the clergy, his courtiers, and English soldiers, endeavoured to make himself lord of the country, issuing very prejudicial placarts against traffic and navigation, designing by surprise to have seized on the three greatest trading cities, viz. Amsterdam, Leyden, and Enckhuysen.' In another place he says, 'that Leicester's edict at Utrecht, in the year 1586, prohibiting stores of war, provisions, or even merchandize, as also letters, from being car-

ried to the Spaniards or their allies, &c. had like to have marred all the advantages which the fall of Antwerp had brought to Holland, had not the French, Scots, Danes, and Vandalic Hanse towns, interposed, whereby that edict was frustrated. Nevertheless, the bare terror of its being to take place made very many trading people leave the Netherlands, who settled at Hamburgh, Bremen, Embden, Staden, &c.* The later edict, Thuanus [*L. lxxxv.*] thinks, was in order to raise money for carrying on the war, by obliging all nations to purchase free navigation at high prices. Great, however, as those two authors are, it may be considered that the later was a Frenchman, and the other strongly frenchified, and a violent republican, and foe to England*.

1587.—Sir Walter Raleigh had his mind so intensely set upon a plantation in North America, that he again sent out three ships and 150 persons of both sexes. These planters Raleigh's superintendant settled on the island of Roanoke, where he found the second colony had been destroyed by the natives. He rebuilt the fort and houses, calling the place the city of Raleigh; and leaving 115 men in his new settlement, he returned home, where he remained about three years before he could obtain the necessary supplies which he had promised to bring in the year after he left the colony. When he arrived in 1590, with supplies of men and stores in three ships, he found that such of the colony as remained alive had removed to a place on the continent called Croatoan, that word being carved on the trees. To this place they intended to sail in search of the colony; but a storm unfortunately arising, the ships lost their anchors and cables, and provisions also failing, they agreed to return home, leaving that miserable colony to perish, to the shame of that age; for though Raleigh was in trouble about this time, yet surely the queen and nation should have had compassion on those poor men, left amongst savages in a wilderness.

Thus was this scheme of a plantation in Virginia quite laid aside during all the rest of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and all the great expense of Raleigh and the other adventurers utterly thrown away, besides the loss of many men's lives.

A law was made in Scotland, whereby the legal interest was not for the future to exceed L10, or an equivalent of five bolls of victual, for L100 by the year, thus valuing five bolls equal to L10 Scots. [*11th Parl. Ja. VI, c. 52.*][†]

The law made in the reign of King James I, for sending deputies or commissioners to parliament, to represent the lesser barons or freehold-

* Camden's account of Leicester's conduct is nearly the same with those of the foreign authors here quoted. *M.*

† Contracts made before the date of this law were to remain valid. *M.*

ers, having been much neglected, it was now re-enacted; and the regular representation of the shires, and also of the cities and burghs, was ever after constantly kept up. [*Ib. c. 113.*]

In this king's reign there were sundry strict laws made for confining commerce in Scotland to the freemen of burghs; so far that no workman or craftsman should be permitted to carry on his craft or calling, in any adjacent suburb of a free burgh, even though the suburb should be no way subject to the burgh.

About this time the queen granted to the Steelyard merchants of the German Hanse towns the very same commercial privileges and immunities, in point of customs on commerce, as were enjoyed by her own natural-born subjects; provided, however, that her English merchants at Hamburgh were equally well treated; which yet did not give them entire content. In the mean time the queen, being at war with Spain, gave the Hanse towns due notice not to carry into Spain, Portugal, nor Italy, provisions, naval stores, or implements of war, for the king of Spain's use, under forfeiture thereof, and even of corporal punishment.

In England, as well as in other European countries, where there was any considerable commerce, the salaries, and daily wages or pay of artificers, soldiers, sailors, labourers, &c. were considerably enhanced about this time, occasioned partly by the general increase of commerce, and partly by the great accession of silver bullion annually imported from the Spanish colonies in Mexico and Peru.

The count of East-Friesland wrote to Queen Elizabeth, complaining of the Hollanders, who had blocked up his river Ems, and even part of his town of Embden, so as to hinder the exportation of corn, &c. on pretence of such provisions being carried to the Spaniards, their enemies, while at the same time they themselves sent 200 vessels yearly, with corn, and other provisions, &c. to their mortal enemy the king of Spain's country, for the sake of gain. The count tells the queen, how much he had formerly encouraged her merchant-adventurers when settled at Embden; also, how much even they were obstructed in carrying their cloth into the interior parts of the empire, by the interruption of his people's commerce by the Hollanders; and that he had encouraged her merchants, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the imperial and Hanseatic cities to obstruct it. [*Fædera, V. xvi, p. 6.*] Yet the company was not now at Embden, but had removed from Hamburgh to Staden.

Queen Elizabeth having intelligence of the formidable preparations of Philip II of Spain for an invasion of England, sent out Sir Francis Drake with a fleet of forty ships to the coast of Spain, where he destroyed many ships, particularly about 100 vessels laden with provisions and ammunition, near Cadiz and Lisbon. He also took a rich Portugal

carrack from East-India at the Azores, out of the papers whereof (says Camden, in Queen Elizabeth's history) the English so fully understood the rich value of the East-Indian merchandize, and the manner of trading into the eastern world, that they afterward set up a gainful trade, by establishing a company of East-India merchants at London. He also took an argosie full of rich merchandize.

The damages, which the Spaniards suffered from Drake, obliged them to postpone the intended invasion of England. But another greater, and seemingly more effectual, cause of deferring it, does equal honour to commerce, and to Sir Francis Walsingham, the secretary of state, who, by the aid of Thomas Sutton, Esq. (who was afterward founder of the charter-house hospital in London), and also of the queen's merchant Sir Thomas Gresham, and of some others, found means to get all the Spanish bills of exchange protested, which were drawn on the merchants of Genoa, and which were to supply Philip for carrying on his preparations. A merchant of London, says Bishop Burnet, [*History of his own times*, V. i, p. 313] being very well acquainted with the revenue and expense of Spain, and of all that they could raise, and knowing also that their funds were so swallowed up, that it was impossible for them to victual and fit out their fleet, but by their credit on the bank of Genoa, he undertook to write to all the places of trade, and to get such remittances made on that bank, that he might have so much of the money in his own hands, as there should be none current there equal to the great occasion of victualling the Spanish fleet. He reckoned that the keeping of such a treasure dead in his hands, until the season of victualling was over, would be a loss of £40,000: and he managed the matter with such secrecy and success, that the fleet could not be set out that year. At so small a price (says the bishop), with so skilful a management, was the nation saved at that time. Wheeler, the secretary and historiographer of the English merchant-adventurers company, also asserts, that the fellowship of merchant-adventurers were likewise, on this same occasion, assisting to the queen in like sort, at the mart of Kiel in Holstein. All which demonstrates the great importance of mercantile credit, and its influence, when well conducted, in matters of even the highest state concern to a nation.

In the same year John Davis, with three ships from Dartmouth, undertook a third voyage for a north-west passage to China, &c. In this voyage, he met with a Biscay ship, which he judged to be upon the fishing for whales. Nothing materially different happening in this attempt from the two former, he returned home without finding any passage, having gone up his former-named strait to no effect. All these three voyages were much encouraged by the lord treasurer Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham secretary of state, and other noblemen, and

also by several merchants. Those great men knew, from what had already been discovered, as also from the frame and structure of the terraqueous globe, that sooner or later more discoveries would be made; and that as it would greatly redound to the benefit of their country, so it would no less advance their own glory to be the instruments of such great benefits to their country.

1588.—King Philip II of Spain, though disappointed of invading England in the year 1587, sent his fleet and troops out against England in the memorable year 1588. Camden asserts that it was the best appointed of men, ammunition, and provisions, of all that ever the Ocean saw, and called by the arrogant appellation of the invincible armada. It consisted of

130 ships of all kinds,
19,290 soldiers,
8350 sailors,
2080 galley slaves,
2630 cannon.

The lord admiral, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, was the chief commander of the English fleet this year; Sir Francis Drake vice-admiral; Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher rear-admirals. The whole English fleet consisted of but 76 ships paid by the queen, and 38 by the city of London; besides 83 coasters, &c. sent by several other sea-ports; in all 197 vessels great and small*, besides those of Holland and Zealand. Some of our vessels, filled with combustible matter, and sent among the Spanish ships, are said to have given rise to the terrible invention of fire-ships†.

The pompous and tremendous *armada* of Spain, partly by the valour of the English navy, which, though much inferior, had many engagements with them in the Channel, and that of the states of the new Belgic republic, partly by the duke of Parma not joining them with his land and sea forces from the Netherlands, and partly by violently tempestuous weather, after losing many ships and men, was obliged to retire north about by the coasts of Scotland, and thence home to Spain, by the west coast of Ireland. On the coast of Scotland, they lost many ships, and (according to Camden) had above 700 soldiers and sailors wrecked there, who, by the intercession of the prince of Parma to King James, and with the consent of Queen Elizabeth, were afterward sent

* Stow, that circumstantial and indefatigable writer, gives the names of most of the English fleet, of which sixteen ships of war were furnished by the Londoners, and ten by the society of merchant-adventurers. There are also lists of the Spanish and English forces in a manuscript of the Cotton library, Julius, F. vi, No. 106, 107. *M.*

† The English may have invented fire-ships at this time, though it is certain that the Tyrians, 1920 years before, destroyed Alexander's works by a fire-ship, and the Constantinopolitans, A. D. 716, destroyed the Saracen fleet by the same means. *M.*

over to the Low Countries; but those who were wrecked on the Irish coasts were almost every where put to the sword. And thus were not only England, Scotland, Ireland, and the new republic of the United Netherlands, preserved from imminent destruction, but also the equilibrium of the general liberties of all the rest of Europe, as well as the protestant religion in Britain and elsewhere; for at this time Spain was undoubtedly the most potent monarchy in Europe, although by misconduct, and the growing power of Holland and England, and soon afterward of France (when its civil wars subsided), that kingdom soon after this time began to shew evident symptoms of a decline. Out of 134 ships, which for this great attempt came out of Lisbon, only 53 returned; only one of the galleasses of Naples, and one of the four great galleons of Portugal; and only 33 of the 91 galleons and hulks of other provinces; so that in all Spain lost 81 ships, and 13,500 soldiers and mariners, besides much treasure *.

Grotius, in his History of the Netherlands [*L. i, p. 171*] observes upon this occasion, that the glories of Greece and Rome were fully equalled by the valour and fortune of the English, though their advantages over Spain were more slowly and more safely obtained; and all the time they fought with the Spaniards they lost not one capital ship, nor above an hundred men; whereas the Spaniards suffered every extremity of misery, lost many capital ships, and near five thousand men.

Daniel Rogers, whom the queen had sent to Denmark with compliments of condolence on the death of Frederic II, and to cultivate the friendship of the tutors of the young king, was commissioned also to remonstrate against the arrestment of ships at the Sound for the offences of individuals, and against the evasion of the antient treaty, whereby the privilege of fishing at Iceland was to be renewed to the English every seven years. He also demanded, that the toll for passing the Sound should not be paid till the return of the ships from the Baltic, and then in the usual money of Denmark; that owners should not be liable to suffer for frauds committed by the masters of their vessels; that the packages (or wrappers) of cloths should not be charged with duties: and that the toll called *last-gelt* should be remitted to the English. But the Danes, who were displeased that the English sailed to Russia by the North sea, instead of passing through their Sound, evaded comply-

* The antient semicircular line of battle was still in use. In one of the engagements in the Channel, the Spanish fleet was drawn up in that form, and the two points of the semicircle or crescent were seven miles asunder. Neither was the old method of conducting a sea engagement by grappling the hostile ships, and fighting hand to hand, so far exploded, but that some of the English officers proposed it to the commander in

chief, who prudently declined a mode of fighting, wherein the superior size and lofty sides of the enemy's ships would have given them a decided superiority over his low-built vessels, and which would have entirely thrown away the great advantage which his fast-sailing small vessels had in the agility of their manœuvres. [*Candem A. ad an. 1588.*] *M.*

ing with his demands, on pretence of their king being under age. [*Camdeni Ann. Eliz. ad an. 1588.*]

As the number of men in a nation is of the utmost importance, we shall here quote a paragraph from the anonymous author of a small folio treatise, intitled, the Happy future state of England [1689, p. 249.] He says, that Mr. Pepys (secretary of the admiralty) shewed him a paper, stating, that the whole number of men in the realm of Spain, taken by a secret survey, some time, as is supposed, before the year 1588, was but 1,125,390, exclusive of the regular and secular clergy. Now, we may here note, that if it be true, as is generally presumed, that the grown-up men of a country are about one fourth part of the whole people, then multiplying 1,125,390 by four, gives for the population of Spain about this time 4,501,560 souls; the smallness of which number, in so extensive a country, is easily to be accounted for, when we duly consider their driving out such vast numbers of Moors and Jews, and their receiving no foreign supplies in their stead; their sending out continually such numbers of their own people in the preceding eighty years, to plant their American dominions; and also the consuming and destructive wars of the Emperor Charles V, and of his son King Philip II, in the Netherlands, Italy, &c. There are even many of opinion, that Spain does not at present contain above five millions of souls.

About this time there were annually manufactured in Cambray 60,000 pieces of cambric, which being valued, one with another, at 40 florins each, amount to 2,400,000 florins, or about £240,000 Sterling yearly. [*Thuan Hist. L. lxxxix, ad an. 1588.*]

The Happy future state of England relates [p. 127] that in a remonstrance of the corporation of the trinity-house in the year 1602 to the earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral of England (extant in Sir Julius Cæsar's collections) it is said, that in the year 1588, Queen Elizabeth had at sea 150 sail of ships, whereof only 40 were her own*, and 110 belonged to her subjects. And that in the same year there were likewise 150 sail of English merchant ships, of about 150 tons one with another, employed in trading voyages to all parts and countries. The queen's 40 ships carried 12,000 men, or 300 in each ship; the 110 hired ones 12,100, or 110 in each ship, on an average; and the 150 trading ships carried 6000 seamen, or 40 in each ship. But the remonstrance farther adds, that in a little above twelve years since the year 1588, the shipping, and the number of our seamen, were decayed about one-third part. This decay of our maritime power was doubtless owing to the wars with Spain, the great loss of shipping in those wars,

* Though England was then, next to Spain, largest of those ships did not exceed the size of a the most powerful maritime state in Europe, the modern fourth rate.

and in the many private expeditions and adventures of our people to America, Africa, &c. *

Both before and after the year 1588, upon Spain's complaining that the English ships frequented the Indian seas, Queen Elizabeth (as Camden and others observe) declared that the ocean was free to all, forasmuch as neither nature, nor regard of public use, do permit the exclusive possession thereof. The like answer she made to the king of Denmark, who set up a claim to the sovereignty of the seas of Norway and Iceland, because he was lord of the shores on both sides, saying, that the kings of England never prohibited the navigation and fishing on the Irish sea or channel, even though they be lords also of both shores. Yet in the case of the Russia company's ships, we have seen under the year 1583, the queen partly complied with the Danish claim. How different this stile is from that of the writers in the two following reigns, and of some even of later times on this subject, will be seen in its proper place.

In this same famous year, the chest at Chatham was founded, being a contribution for the relief of maimed and superannuated English mariners, out of which pensions are paid to them for life, by the advice of Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, &c. It was at first only a voluntary monthly contribution of the mariners out of their pay, for the succour of their wounded brethren, but was afterward made perpetual by Queen Elizabeth. By an act of the rump parliament [*anno* 1649, c. 24] for abolishing deans and chapters, and selling their lands, we find that this chest had been usually kept at the Hill-house at Chatham, which, with its gardens, &c. had belonged to the dean and chapter of Rochester. Till the noble foundation of Greenwich hospital by King William III, this was the only charity of that kind for distressed sailors. Gibson, in his additions to Camden's Britannia, observes that the navy of England has always owed more to the county of Kent than to all the other counties of England together, on account of the number and importance of the places of that county subservient to the royal navy, which, besides Chatham yards, docks, &c. has Greenwich, Deptford, Woolwich, Sheerness, and Dover subservient to it. How much these dock-yards, store-houses, &c. have been increased and improved since Camden's time, and even since the first edition of Gibson's additions (*anno* 1692), would require a volume fully to describe. And there are additions, enlargements, and very useful and beautiful improvements constantly making to those places, and also to the two famous ports of Portsmouth and Plymouth, insomuch that the king's yards alone appear like large towns of themselves. And as a beginning is made for

* The truth of this decay may be doubted, if Has any year of this century passed without some-
supported only by the authority of a remonstrance. body asserting that the country was ruined? *M.*

the like end at Milford haven, it is to be hoped authority will effectually complete the fortifications, docks, &c. of that incomparable haven, even in this generation.

Dr. Gyles Fletcher being sent ambassador to Russia, obtained (though not without difficulty) a renewal of certain former grants, such as liberty for the English Russia company to trade through Russia into Persia; also payment of part of the debts due by Russian subjects to that company; and that no Englishman residing in Russia should be reputed of the company, unless acknowledged and authorized by them. But the czar would never be brought to allow the company its original exclusive trade to this country; for which, and other causes, their trade was at this time very much decayed*.

A ship and pinnace from London made a prosperous voyage to Benin on the west coast of Africa. Queen Elizabeth also in the same year granted a patent for ten years to some merchants of Exeter and other towns in Devonshire, and two London merchants, for an exclusive trade to the rivers Senegal and Gambia in Guinea, because the adventuring of a new trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning: provided, however, that at any time after the date hereof, the queen, or six privy counsellors, may in writing revoke this patent, upon six months notice. So here is another instance of little more than the name of an exclusive company to be depended on for any certain determined time.

1589.—Queen Elizabeth, determined upon revenge for the Spanish invasion, took the frugal method of authorizing and encouraging private adventurers to undertake it at their own cost, the queen only supplying them with six of her own ships, to which the Dutch joined some ships. For this end, Sir Francis Drake for the sea service, and Sir John Norris for the army, procured many to join with them in so promising a project, taking with them Don Antonio the pretender to the crown of Portugal. Stow makes the number of ships assembled for that end to be 146, and 14,000 men (Camden says 11,000 soldiers and 1500 sailors); but Rapin only 80 ships and 11,000 soldiers. With this force they landed at Corunna in Galicia; and the lower town they took, but could not the higher. Next they took Peniche, and thence the army went over land, and the fleet proceeded to Lisbon, to attack Portugal, in behalf of the bastard Don Antonio prior of Crato (pretending to that crown in opposition to Philip of Spain, in possession of it): Yet there were so many Spanish troops in and near that city, that they could not take it. After taking Cascais, at the mouth of the Tagus, to recompense their charges (says Camden), they took about sixty hulks (or fly-boats) of the Ger-

* Camden says, that Fletcher could obtain no better answer from the czar than his predecessor got in the year 1583. [*Annales ad an. 1583.*]
M.

man Hanse towns, laden with wheat and warlike stores, to furnish a new armada against England, and kept the cargoes, but discharged the ships. Those ships, lest they should be taken, had sailed by the Orkneys, the Western isles of Scotland, and the west side of Ireland, because Queen Elizabeth had forewarned the Hanse towns that they should not carry any victuals nor provision for war into Spain nor Portugal, under pain of loss of ships and goods. Yet although this was a legal capture, it nevertheless gave Queen Elizabeth much trouble for several years after, in answering the remonstrances from the empire, and also from Poland and Dantzick, they being deeply concerned in this seizure, and in the end produced a total breach between England and the Hanse towns. At length, after sacking Vigo, they returned home to England with 150 pieces of cannon and a very rich booty (says Camden), though others thought otherwise, and that all their achievements and booty did not recompense the charge and the loss of 6000 of their soldiers and sailors. This is perhaps the greatest privateering enterprise (if it may properly be so termed) of any in the later ages of the world.

In the same year the brave and enterprising earl of Cumberland, with several ships, sailed on a private adventure to the Azores or Western isles, where he took many good prizes from the Spanish and Portuguese West-Indies, &c. seized on, and ransomed, the town of Fayal, and returned home with a great booty, though much distressed by storms, &c. At the Azores Lord Cumberland met with three or four Scottish ships, who supplied him with wine and water; and this is the first account we have met with of Scottish ships making so long a voyage*.

It is scarcely worth recording, that in the same year an abortive privateering adventure was attempted from Plymouth, with three ships, for the South seas of America, one of which was of 340 and another of 300 tons; but none of them could get through the straits of Magellan, and all the three were lost in returning, only six men getting home to give this account.

William Lee, A. M. of St. John's college in Cambridge, invented an engine or steel loom, called the stocking-frame, for knitting, or weaving, stockings. This was but twenty-eight years after we had first learned from Spain the method of knitting them by wires or needles. Mr. Lee's invention has proved a considerable benefit to the stocking manufacture, by enabling England, in after times, to export vast quantities of silk stockings to Italy, &c. where it seems (by Sir Josiah Child's excellent Discourses on trade, published in the year 1670) they had not then got the use of the stocking-frame, though little short of 100 years after its invention: yet Dr. Howell, in his History of the world, [V. ii,

* It appears by a letter from King James to Queen Elizabeth, [*Fadera*, V. xvi, p. 336] that some of the Scottish merchants, in the year 1598, (and probably also sooner) traded to the Canaries, which are still more distant than the Azores. M.

p. 222.] makes this invention eleven years later, viz. in 1600; and adds, that Mr. Lee not only taught this art in England and in France, but his servants did the same in Spain, Venice, and in Ireland.

Henry IV king of France greatly enlarged the silk manufactures in that kingdom. Before this time the silk-worm and mulberry trees had been propagated only in the Liois, Dauphine, Provence, and Languedoc; but this king not only carried it as far north as Orleans, but brought silk to be an universal manufacture in France. Mezeray says, that he also planted mulberry trees near Paris, and attempted to breed silk-worms at the Tuilleries, Fountainbleau, and the castle of Madrid, but without success.

The manufacture of cloth, both woollen and linen, in France, was likewise much increased in that king's reign, as also many other mechanical works: so that the French (says De Witt in his Interest of Holland) could now supply others with more manufactures than foreigners could take off; whereas formerly the bulk of the people of France subsisted by tillage and vine-dressing.

1590.—About the year 1590 the invention of the telescope, or spying-glass, was discovered, which is justly esteemed one of the most useful and excellent discoveries of modern times, though produced by mere chance. The common account is, that two children of one Janson, a spectacle-maker at Middleburg in Zealand, being at play in their father's shop, and looking through two pieces of glass which were at some small distance from each other, the weathercock of the church steeple appeared to them unusually large, and much nearer. Of this they instantly told their father, who, surprised also at first, made the experiment of fixing two such pieces of glass in brazen circles or cylinders, so as they might be placed nearer or farther at pleasure. Janson very soon improved this discovery so much, that he presented a telescope twelve inches long to Prince Maurice, and another to the archduke Albert. Wotton (in his Reflections upon antient and modern learning) relates, that Prince Maurice, conjecturing that they might be of great use in war, desired him to conceal his secret; and for that reason his name was so little known, that neither Des Cartes nor Gerard Vossius had ever heard any thing of him, when they attributed this invention to Jacobus Metius of Alcmæer. None of those first telescopes, however, were above eighteen inches long; neither were they properly framed for making astronomical observations, till Galileo, astronomer to the grand duke of Tuscany, hearing of the discovery, made such great improvements, as have gained him, in the opinion of many, the honour of the invention itself, by giving to the telescope the appellation of Galileo's tube. Some, indeed, make this noble invention to have happened eleven years later, and assert that J. Baptista Porta, a noble Neapolitan, was the first inventor; but the general belief is as above. Our incomparable Sir

Isaac Newton was the inventor of the reflecting telescope, consisting of specula or mirrors, instead of lenses, which has been since much improved, and is much more exact and useful than refracting ones. The microscope, which magnifies the smallest object so as to be distinctly viewed, was discovered in the year 1621; and it is said this happened both in Naples and Holland at the same time *.

By the telescope astronomy is brought to a degree of perfection unattainable by the antients. Navigation (and consequently commerce) is likewise much assisted from a more perfect discovery of the heavenly bodies; and whole volumes have been published on the amazing discoveries made by the help of the microscope.

We have the best authority for fixing the date of the first manufacture of sail-cloth in England in the year 1590, being the preamble to an act of parliament, [1 *Jac. I*, c. 23] reciting, that, 'whereas the cloths called mildernix and powel-davies, whereof sails and other furniture for the navy and shipping are made, were heretofore altogether brought out of France and other parts beyond sea, and the skill and art of making and weaving of the said cloths never known or used in England until about the 32d year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, about what time, and not before, the perfect art or skill of making and weaving of the said cloths was attained to, and since practised and continued in this realm, to the great benefit and commodity thereof,' &c.

As we still excel all the nations upon earth both in naval power and in maritime commerce, every thing relative to either should, as far as is practicable, come to us at the first hand. Yet, though it may seem somewhat strange that a nation in those days, very far from being eminent in shipping, should have so long supplied us with this great article, it ought to be considered that they were, in those days and long before we fell into it, eminent for the manufacture of many kinds of excellent cloths made both of flax and hemp; and that perfection, in almost every art, is not to be attained but by very slow degrees.

The states-general of the United Netherlands wrote to Queen Elizabeth, complaining of the great and excessive damages done to their merchants and people by her ships of war, as well in her ports as on the seas, in their return homewards from the western parts, (i. e. Spain and Portugal), amounting, as by vouchers, to 1,600,000 florins. They subjoin, that the people of the United provinces do not depend either on the intrinsic riches or extent of their country, both being very inconsiderable; but their whole dependence is on their navigation and traffic, which must be inviolably supported, otherwise their merchants will withdraw into other countries, and the states will be rendered ut-

* Mr Anderson might have also found the invention of the microscope ascribed to Zacharias Janfon by an author quoted by Wotton, p. 180. *M.*

terly incapable of carrying on the present war against the king of Spain ; that at this very time their ships, sailing towards the West, and to France, and returning, are dayly more and more pillaged and robbed by the queen's subjects, who are so cruel as to oblige the Hollanders, whom they rob, to give it to them under their hands, that the goods they are robbed of are fairly bought of them by the English ; and in fine, that their people can no longer endure such cruel usage, which will in the end redound to the disadvantage of her dominions :—wherefor, they urge her to a speedy and effectual redress, &c.

To these complaints the queen's council replied, that such as had really suffered damage, had either already had satisfaction, or should have it, upon proper application ; and that the queen would speedily send over to Holland a person of distinction, in order to settle with the states all the matters complained of.

The captures which the states called robberies, were the consequences of the Dutch trading to the Spanish territories, (here cautiously hidden under the words western parts), notwithstanding that the states, as well as the queen, were at war with Spain. A practice which the Dutch have at all times not only used, but pleaded for, even in their offensive alliances with Great Britain, and much more when in a state of neutrality ; of which we have no need to produce instances, because they are innumerable, and many very recent ones too.

In the same year 1590, a second voyage was made from London, with the same ship and pinnace as in the year 1588, to Benin in Africa, which likewise was prosperous. In both voyages their cargoes outward were linen and woollen cloths, iron manufactures, bracelets of copper, glass beads, coral, hawks bells, horses tails, hats, &c. and they brought home Guinea pepper, elephants teeth, oil of palm, cotton cloth, and cloth made of the bark of trees.

In Giovanni Botero's second book of the Causes of the magnificence and greatness of cities, [c. 8] he tells us, that excellent sugars were produced in the island of Madeira, where at present in our days we hear of none at all *.

The same year is memorable for the gallant behaviour of ten English merchant ships returning home from Constantinople, Venice, &c. which in the straits of Gibraltar fought twelve Spanish galleys carrying 300 men each, and after six hours made them fly, without losing one man, although the Spanish galleys lost many men, and were greatly hurt.

The province of Samoieta (the most northerly part of the Russian territories) was now brought under the Russian monarchy, it having

* It is equally deserving of attention, that the wine of Madeira about this time (viz. in 1588) had acquired the excellent character which it still retains ; and that great quantities of it were exported to various countries, and especially to England. The same Portuguese author also notes the excellency of the confections and conserves of sugar in Madeira. [*Pigafetta, in Purchas, B. vii, c. 4, § 2.*] M.

been hitherto unknown to Russia, as lying in a violently-cold climate, opposite to Nova Zembla. Those new tributaries are now said to have agreed to pay two sable skins yearly per head to the czar, whereby the trade to Russia was greatly increased.

The country of Siberia lying south of Samoieda had been discovered and reduced a little before this time, and has since been greatly improved, and thereby has considerably increased the revenue of Russia, not only from their fine furs of many kinds, but from their excellent iron-works, as also from their sturgeon, salmon, &c. in great quantities, to the considerable increase of the commerce of Russia.

Queen Elizabeth now farmed her customs at £42,000, and afterwards at £50,000, to Sir Thomas Smith, who had long had them at the rent of £14,000. Such an advance is a good evidence of the great increase of the commerce of England.

Till about this time, says Sir Philip Meadows, (in his excellent Observations concerning the dominion and sovereignty of the seas) from the Memoirs of the duke de Sully, the whole naval strength of the crown of France was about half a dozen of ships of war (such as they were) at Brest and Rochel, and about a score of galleys in the Mediterranean. But this king (continues he) dressed a new plan of the French monarchy; and though his great designs were interrupted by an immature death, and also by a succeeding minority, yet the great Cardinal Richlieu resumed it again. He first taught France that the fleur de luces could flourish at sea as well as on land, and adorned the sterns of his new-built ships with this prophetic inscription:

“ Florent quoque lilia ponto.”

Queen Elizabeth, knowing the good effects of a potent navy, made several prudent regulations therein. Mr. Burchet, in his Naval history, relates, ‘ that she assigned £8970 yearly for the repairs of her fleet.’ How mean such a sum would be thought at present for such a purpose needs not to be observed; her own ships (as we have seen) were but few; and money in those days went much farther for all things than in our days.

It is undoubtedly true that the number, wealth, and splendour of large and populous cities are in general the best symptoms of the state of commerce every where; nevertheless, in great arbitrary monarchies, as in France, Russia, Turkey, Persia, &c. the cities, which are the usual residence of their monarchs, and of their courts, nobles, guards, &c. may be large and splendid without having a generally-prosperous commerce in their respective countries. Giovanni Botero, an eminent Italian author, who about this time wrote an excellent small treatise on the causes of the magnificence and greatness of cities, gives us the several causes or means of making cities great and magnificent; such

as, the commodious situation, good soil and roads, deep and safe havens and rivers, colonies, good government, schools, privileges, industry, &c. All which, though necessarily conducive to make a great and rich city, will never attain the end without commerce and manufactures, and foreign or maritime trade where it can be had. Among the kingdoms of Christendom, (says he) the greatest, richest, and most populous is France, containing 27,000 parishes, and 15 millions of people; so fertile by nature, and so rich through the industry of her people, as not to envy any other country; and by means of the residence of the kings of so mighty a kingdom so long at Paris, that city is become the greatest in Christendom, containing about 450,000 people. What he adds is remarkable, though surely not strictly true even then, and much less so in our days, at least with relation to England, viz. the kingdoms of England, Naples, Portugal, and Bohemia, as also the earldom of Flanders, and the dukedom of Milan, are states, in a manner, of equal greatness and power; so that the cities wherein the princes of those same countries have for any long time made their residence have been, in a manner, also alike, as London, Naples, Lisbon, Prague, Milan, and Gaunt, which have each of them, more or less, 160,000 inhabitants*. But Lisbon is indeed somewhat larger than the rest, by means of the commerce of Ethiop, (i. e. Africa) India, and Brasil; as is likewise London, by means of the wars and troubles in the Low countries; and Naples is, within these thirty years, grown as great again as it was. In Spain there is not a city of any such greatness, partly because it has been, till of late, divided into divers little kingdoms, and partly through want of navigable rivers, to bring so great a quantity of food, &c. into one place, for maintaining an extraordinary number of people. The cities in Spain of most magnificence are those where the ancient kings and princes held their seats, as Barcelona, Saragossa, Valentia, Cordova, Toledo, Burgos, Leon, &c. being such as pass not the second rank of the cities of Italy. Yet he allows Granada, where the Moorish kings so long reigned, and Seville, through the discovery of America, to be greater than those other cities; and Valladolid (by means of the former long residence of the kings of Spain, though no city) may compare with its noblest cities; and also Madrid is much increased, and continually increasing, by the court which King Philip keeps there. Cracow, through the former long residence of the kings of Poland, and Vilna, by that of the great dukes of Lithuania, are the two most populous cities in Poland. In Russia, Volodimer, Great Novogrod, and Moscow, are the most eminent cities, as having been all three the seats of their great dukes, though at this day Moscow, their

* It must be observed, that the quotations are here taken from the English translation, printed in 1606.

present residence, is so great and populous as to be reckoned one of the four cities of the first rank in Europe, which are Moscow, Constantinople, Paris, and Lisbon. In Sicily, Palermo is the chief, being equal to cities of the second rank in Italy *. Rome, whose majesty exceedeth all the world, would she not be more like a desert than a city, if the pope held not his residence therein, with the greatness of his court, the concourse of ambassadors, prelates, princes, with an infinite number of people serving both him and them; if, with magnificent buildings, conduits, fountains, and streets, it were not gloriously adorned; and if, with all these means, it did not draw and entertain such a number of merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, artificers, workmen, and labourers? [B. ii, c. 1.]

In B. ii, c. 2. he inquires, 'what the reason is, that cities, once 'grown to a certain greatness, increase not onward according to that 'proportion?' After remarking on the increase and decrease of old Rome, he subjoins, and in like manner, since it is 400 years [i. e. 572 years from this year 1762] since Milan and Venice had as many people as they have at this day, how comes it to pass that the multiplication goes not onward accordingly? Some answer, that plagues, wars, deaths, &c. are the causes: but this gives no satisfaction, because these have always been. Others give a more trifling answer, viz. God governs the world; which we know was also always so. My answer may not only serve for cities, but also for the universal theatre of the world: I say then, that the augmentation of cities proceeds partly out of the virtue generative of men, and partly out of the virtue nutritive of cities. Now, forasmuch as men are at this day as apt for generation as they were in the times of David or Moses, if there were no other impediment, the propagation of mankind would increase without end, and the augmentation of cities would be without term; and if they do not increase *in infinitum*, I must needs say it proceeds from the defect of nutriment and sustenance sufficient for it, which are gotten either out of their own territories or else from foreign countries. Now, to have a city great and populous, it is necessary that victuals may easily be brought into it, and that such city have the means for that end, by overcoming all obstacles. Now, that greatness which depends on remote causes, or hard means, cannot long endure, and every man will seek his advantage and ease where he may find it best: great cities are more subject to dearths than small ones; and plagues afflict them more grievously and frequently, and with a greater loss of people. So that although men were as apt to generation in the height of old Roman greatness as in the first beginning thereof, yet for all that the people increased not proportionably, because

* By cities of the second rank in Italy, he understands such as contain under an hundred thousand inhabitants.

the virtue nutritive of that city had no power to go farther ; and in succession of time, the inhabitants finding much want, and less means to supply the same, either forbore to marry, or else fled their country ; and for the same reasons, mankind, grown to a certain complete number, hath grown no farther ; and it is 3000 years or more that the earth was as full of people as at present ; for the fruits of the earth, and the plenty of victual, do not suffice to feed a greater number. Man first propagated in the East, and thence spread far and near ; and having peopled the continent, they next peopled the islands ; thence they passed into Europe, and last of all to the new world. The barrenness of soils, scarcity of necessaries, inundations, earthquakes, pestilences, famines, wars, &c. have occasioned numberless migrations ; and even the very driving out by force of the younger people, and in many countries the selling of them for slaves, in order to make more room for such as remained ; all which are the let and stay that the number of men cannot increase and grow immoderately.

At this time, according to the same author, the city of Paris far exceeded, in number of people, and in abundance of all things, all other cities of Christendom, Moscow excepted ; and Lisbon was the next greatest city of Christendom. Yet we of the present age see London exceed any of them all, unless Paris, according to some, should be excepted.

The same Botero, still speaking of the causes of the greatness of cities, observes, ' that it is not one particular advantage alone that will effect such greatness, but the many before-named advantages concurring ; also ornaments, (like those truly grand ones of Rome, Venice, &c.) easiness of access, and of carriage, and fruitfulness of the neighbouring soil. Thus Piedmont hath plenty of corn, cattle, wines, and excellent fruits, and yet hath not one great city : and the like in England, London excepted ; for although it abounds in plenty of all good things, yet there is not another city in it that deserves to be called great : as may also be said of France, Paris excepted, which city, however, is not situated in the fruitfulest part of that great kingdom *.

1591.—There was held at Lubeck a general assembly of the deputies of the Hanse towns, at which those of Rostock, Dantzick, Bremen, and Hamburg, were present, where they treated of their rights, immunities, &c. which they alleged the queen of England dayly endeavoured to impair ; whereupon they sent letters to her, written with great heat. The queen in a contemptuous manner answered those letters, telling

* Botero says, that France possesses four *magnets*, which attract the wealth of other countries, viz. *corn*, which is exported to Spain and Portugal : *wine*, which is sent to Flanders, England, and the coasts of the Baltic ; *salt*, made by the heat of the sun on the shore of the Mediterranean,

and also of the Ocean as far north as Saintoigne. The fourth consists of *hemp* and *cloth*, of which, and of cordage, great quantities are carried to Lisbon and Seville, for the shipping ; and the exportation of the articles of this fourth class is incredibly great. [*Repub. Gallie*, p. 573.] M.

them, that although they had written to her with so little respect, she imputed that rather to their amanuensis, or secretary, than to themselves; at the same time letting them know how much she despised their menaces. [*Tbuani Hist. L. 100.*]

Some members of the English Turkey, or Levant, company, having, about the year 1584, carried part of their cloth, tin, &c. from Aleppo to Bagdat, and thence down the river Tygris to Ormus in the Persian gulf, and thence farther to Goa, for an attempt to settle a trade to East-India over land, for that end carried the queen's commendatory letters to the king of Cambaya, and to the king of China. They found the Venetians had factories at all those places, and were therefor great enemies to this attempt of the English, who, however, soon after travelled to sundry other places in India, and to Agra, the great Mogul's capital; also to Lahor, to Bengal, to Pegu, Malacca, &c. and returned by sea to Ormus, and so up the Tygris to Bagdat, Bir, and Aleppo, and lastly to Tripoly in Syria, and sailed thence in an English ship to London this year (1591), having made many useful remarks and discoveries on the nature of the East-India commerce, preparatory to their intended voyage by sea to India, now actually going out.

We now find the first instance recorded in the *Fœdera* of an exclusive patent for the sole right of printing and publishing a book granted by the queen to Richard Wright of Oxford, authorizing him to publish an English translation of Tacitus, and prohibiting all others from printing the same during his life, or importing any English translation whatever of Tacitus from beyond the sea *. [*Fœdera, V. xvi, p. 96.*]

Christiern IV, king of Denmark, in answer to Queen Elizabeth's complaints of exactions from the English merchants, with respect to the toll

* This English translation of Tacitus has escaped the researches of the laborious Fabricius. And several earlier exclusive grants for printing particular books have escaped Mr. Anderson.

In the year 1534 Henry VIII gave the university of Cambridge the privilege of appointing three stationers and printers, natives or foreigners, who might print and sell all books licenced by the chancellor of the university, or his deputies. But he does not say that nobody else shall print or sell the books. [*Fœdera, V. xiv, p. 543.*]

1539.—He directed Lord Cromwell to superintend the printing of the English Bible, and gave the exclusive privilege of printing it for five years to any persons who should be appointed by him. [*Fœdera, V. xiv, p. 649.*]

1542.—The same king gave Antony Marlar, citizen and haberdasher of London, the exclusive privilege of printing the Bible in English for four years. [*Fœdera, V. xiv, p. 745.*]

1547.—Edward VI gave Reginald Wolf for life the office of his printer and bookseller for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, books, for grammars,

and for maps and charts, with a salary of £1:6:8 a-year; and he prohibited all other printers from invading his privilege. [*Fœdera, V. xv, p. 150.*]

1551.—Laurence Torrentine, a German, printer to Cosmo duke of Florence, having printed an edition of Justinian's Pandects from the celebrated copy, which had been preserved at Pisa (but previously at Amalfi) King Edward prohibited all his subjects from reprinting it, either without, or with, notes or additions, for the space of seven years. [*Fœdera, V. xv, p. 255.*]

None of these grants were to the authors. But, 12th March 1563, Queen Elizabeth granted to Thomas Cooper of Oxford, and his assigns, the sole right of printing and publishing his dictionary, entitled '*Theaurus utriusque lingue Latine et Britannice*,' for twelve years, and prohibited all abridgements or other attempts to pirate the work. [*Fœdera, V. xv, p. 628.*] This is clearly a literary property vested in the author; and it is, if I mistake not, the earliest certain instance of it upon record in Great Britain. *M.*

in the Sound, vindicated his collectors, and in his turn complained of some English pirates, who frequently robbed his subjects of their ships and merchandize; which violences were so heinous and intolerable that he could neither conceal nor endure them longer. He therefor requested she would forthwith redress them, and thereby prevent his doing it himself, though unwillingly, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 105.] Probably the seizures of the Danish ships, carrying naval stores, &c. to Spain, were the subject of his remonstrance.

We have a letter to Queen Elizabeth from the elector palatine, in answer to her's to him, expressing his sorrow that the archbishop of Bremen, by command of the Emperor Rodolph, had absolutely prohibited the senate and people of Staden from any commerce with the English merchant-adventurers, or from suffering them to reside there, even although four years ago the senate had made a contract with the English company for their residence there. He tells the queen that this prohibition was violently obtained, by means of the Spanish ambassadors, and of certain factious Hanseatics, who are only grieved they do not enjoy the advantages which the said contract procured for Staden; and he promises his good offices for procuring redress. We have a like promise from the elector of Saxony to the queen on the same subject. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, pp. 106, 111.]

The Hanse towns endeavoured to force the town of Elbing in Prussia to discountenance the English merchant-adventurers, by forbidding their resort thither; but the Elbingers understood their own interest too well to part with so advantageous a branch of commerce. They therefor wrote a respectful letter to Queen Elizabeth, acquainting her with the displeasure of the other Hanseatics, both against them and Staden, on this account. They also told her, that the Hanseatics had lately held a general diet at Lubec, but that their resolutions were kept very secret; but they (the Elbingers) were resolved to leave the matter to be considered by the king and diet of Poland; and in the mean time, under her majesty's protection and authority, they would go on, as their inclinations led them, in favour of her merchants. And King Sigismund of Poland, in a respectful letter to the queen, also declared his approbation of the English merchant-adventurers residing at Elbing, or any where else in Poland. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, pp. 135, 154.]

At length the first voyage * from England to East-India was undertaken in this year, with three ships; but it was rather a privateering adventure against the Portuguese than a proper mercantile voyage, for they took several of that nation's ships. In their way to India they had lost so many men by sickness near the Cape of Good Hope that they

* Linschotten [p. 170] says, that before he failed from India (in January 1589) they had heard of an English ship having passed the Cape of Good Hope. *M.*

were obliged to send one of their ships home, and proceeded with only two to India; moreover, in a storm beyond that cape, they lost company of Captain Raymond in the principal ship, which was never heard of more. So that only Captain Lancaster's ship arrived in India, which also met with many grievous misfortunes: and on her return, sailing to the West-Indies, whilst the captain and most of his men went on shore to look for provisions on an uninhabited island, six of the sailors ran away with the ship; and at the end of three years this unfortunate captain was brought home, several of his men having perished for want at that place.

The Portuguese, who had settled at Angola, having been routed in a battle with the natives, applied to the king of Spain for fresh assistance, to enable them to complete their conquests.

Several gallant achievements of the English happened in this year against the shipping, towns, &c. of Spain in America and elsewhere, as related long since fully by so many others; but beyond all was that unparalleled resistance made by the gallant Sir Richard Greenville, in the queen's ship the *Revenge*, in which he sustained a cruel engagement for fifteen hours against fifteen great Spanish galleons, at the Azores, till his ship had neither men nor ammunition for defence any longer, and therefor yielded, as it is finely related by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The temporary Guinea company of England now made a third voyage, and traded with the natives with iron-ware, &c. in exchange for elephant's teeth, hides, &c.

This year a fleet of ships sailed from St. Malo for Canada, where the French had been settled long before. They were wont in those times to fish at the isles in the bay of St. Laurence for morse, or sea-horses, whose teeth were then sold much dearer than ivory, though now esteemed of little value; they also made much oil from those animals. The colonists being supported from France, the country became well peopled near the north bank of the vast river St. Laurence, where there are sundry towns, forts, and improvements; inasmuch that the Baron Lahontan, who had been governor there, and published an account of the country, computes the French inhabitants to be 180,000 persons, which surely is rather too many. Lahontan mentions a kind of prophecy or foresight in the Canadians, that their colony would one day be conquered by New-England, &c. which, to our comfort, has proved true.

1593.—In the year 1593, two of Queen Elizabeth's own ships of war joined in partnership with some merchant ships*, fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, and commanded by Sir John Boroughs, Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir Robert Cross. They first took a Biscayner of 600 tons, laden with iron stores for the West-Indies; next they forced a

* It was then customary for the royal ships to join with the adventurers of London, Bristol, &c.

great East-India carrack on shore at the Azores, where it was burnt : soon after they met with the greatest of all the East-India carracks, homeward bound, of 1600 tons, with 700 men, and 36 brass cannon, which they took, though with great slaughter, and carried her into Dartmouth, where she surpris'd all who saw her, being the largest ship ever seen in England. The cargo consisting of the richest spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, China ware, or porcelain, ebony wood, &c. moderately valued at £150,000, was divided amongst the adventurers, of whom the queen was the principal. The possession of such immense foreign riches greatly encouraged the English to go directly to the East-Indies purely on a mercantile account.

Queen Elizabeth this year granted a second patent for a trade to Turkey or the Levant. The former one, being only for seven years from 1581, must have expired in 1588; yet it does not appear by any thing in Hakluyt, who is in other respects an exact writer, that it was again renewed till this year, when fifty-three persons (consisting of knights, aldermen, and merchants,) had the queen's patent for twelve years. It recites, that Sir Edward Osborn (hereby appointed the first governor for one year), William Harborn, Esq. &c. had not only established the trade to Turkey, at their great cost and hazard, but also that to Venice, Zant, Cephalonia, Candia, and other Venetian dominions, to the great increase of the commerce and manufactures of England; wherefor the queen now incorporates them by the name of the governor and company of merchants of the Levant; the governor and twelve assistants to be elected yearly. The limits of their charter to be, I) The Venetian territories; II) The dominions of the grand signior by land and sea; and lastly, through his countries overland to East-India, a way lately discovered by John Newberry, Fitch, &c. as already related. The said patentees, their sons, apprentices, agents, factors, and servants, solely to trade thither for twelve years;—may make bye-laws for their good government. If their ships and goods shall be lost at sea, the company may draw back the customs they had paid for the same. Shall have thirteen months allowed for re-exportations of the merchandize they bring home, without paying any custom for such re-exportation, so as they belong solely to Englishmen, and in English bottoms. Four good ships, with ordnance and munition for their defence, and with 200 English mariners, shall be freely permitted to go at all times during the said twelve years; provided, that if the queen be at war, so as to have occasion for those four ships, then, upon three months notice by the lord admiral, that the queen cannot spare the said ships from the defence of the realm, the company shall forbear sending them out until her navy shall return home. The company may have a common seal, and may place in the tops of their ships the arms of England, with a red cross in white over the same, as heretofore they have used. No other subjects

shall trade within the company's limits. And whereas the state of Venice has of late increased the duties on English merchandize carried thither, and on Venetian merchandize exported from thence in English ships; for redress thereof, the queen forbids the subjects of Venice, and all others but this company, for the said twelve years, to import into England any of the fruits called currants (being the raisins of Corinth), or wines of Candia, unless by the company's licence under their seal, upon pain of forfeiture of ships and goods, half to the queen and half to the company, and also of imprisonment; provided always, that if the Venetian state shall take off the two new imposts, then this restraint touching currants and wines of Candia shall be void. The company may admit to be new members any who shall have been employed as their factors, &c. And the queen gives leave for eighteen persons more (three of whom to be aldermen of London, by her herein named) to be of the said company, upon each of them paying £130 to this company towards their past charges in establishing the said trades. Members not conforming to the rules, payments, and regulations of the company, shall forfeit their right to be of the said company, whereupon the company may elect others in their stead. If this patent shall hereafter appear to the queen not to be profitable to her or to the realm, then, upon eighteen months notice, it shall cease and determine. And, on the other side, if, at the expiration of the said twelve years, this trade shall appear to be advantageous, then this company may, on their petition to the queen, have a new grant of twelve years more. Dated the 7th of January, in the 34th year of her reign.

N. B. There was formerly a particular branch of this company, which was called the Morea company, and which traded with a joint stock. But this general Turkey company has from the beginning been only what is called a regulated company.

In the same year, Sir Walter Raleigh had formed a design on the Spanish West-Indies, and also to surprise the port of Panama in the south sea; but that enterprise, like very many such, was frustrated by contrary winds. The immense riches annually brought home by the Spanish and Portuguese fleets from the East and West Indies occasioned so many attempts of the English to intercept them, that though Raleigh was now disappointed of his design on the West-Indies, yet the great East-India carrack before mentioned made amends for his expense of the equipment of fifteen ships for the West-India expedition.

Whilst those enterprises were made beyond sea, our general commerce occasioning a gradual increase of the suburbs of London, the humour of dismal apprehensions therefrom, which had moved Queen Elizabeth to issue a proclamation against it in the year 1580, in this year infected the parliament so far as to enact, I) That no new buildings should be erected within three miles of London or Westminster. II)

That one dwelling-house, either in London or in Westminster, should not be converted into more. III) That no inmates or underfitters should be in the places aforesaid. IV) That commons or waste grounds lying within three miles of London should not be inclosed. And thereto was added, V) That the length of a statute mile for the future should be eight furlongs, each furlong containing forty poles or perches, and every pole to contain sixteen feet and a half in length; so that an English mile was hereby to contain 1760 yards in length. [35 *Eliz. c. 6.*]

We may here observe, that as this law was doubtless made by the influence of the landholders, with a view to prevent their people from leaving the country to settle in London, which made their rents fall, for want of a sufficient demand (as they then imagined) for provisions, &c. in their respective countries; the landed gentlemen in our days understand their true interest much better, and therefor have forbore such sort of complaints, although the suburbs of London be at least four times as large as they were then; since it is certain, that people from the country settling in London can afford to use and consume considerably more in quantity, and better in quality, of the provisions, manufactures, &c. produced in the country, than the same number of people could have done, had they remained there.

Queen Elizabeth gave a commission to the enterprising George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, for fitting out any number of ships of war by him and his associates, not exceeding six, at his and their expense, for annoying the dominions of Spain, or of any others not in amity with her; and she granted them the use of two of her own ships of war, to be victualled and manned at their expense, to join their own ships. The spoils she empowers the earl to divide amongst the subscribers to the expedition.

This squadron, consisting of eleven ships, was destined to intercept the Portuguese carracks bound to East-India; but failing of that, he went and sacked the isle of Lancerota, one of the Canary isles. From thence he sailed to the West-Indies, and took the town of Porto Rico, with an intent to settle at it, and to make it the principal station for his future enterprises against the Spaniards in those parts. He therefor turned out all its inhabitants; but by diseases there he lost 700 men in forty days, whereupon he returned home with less booty than glory.

The plague being now in the city of London, the queen issued a proclamation, which shews the antient greatness of Bartholomew fair in that city, though now dwindled into nothing, in substance as follows: Whereas the sickness is in sundry places in and about London; to prevent its being communicated to other parts of the realm, she expressly prohibits the keeping of Bartholomew fair, there being wont to be a general resort of all kinds of people out of every part of the realm to it; therefor there should not be any market kept in the usual place of

Smithfield for any wares, nor stalls or booths for merchandize ; but the open place of Smithfield should this year be only for the sale of horses and cattle, and of stall-wares, as butter, cheese, and such like, in gross, and not by retail, and for two days only. And for the vent of woollen cloths and linen cloth, to be sold in gross, and not by retail, the same should be all brought within the close yard of St. Bartholomew's *, where shops are there continued, and have gates to shut the same place in the night-time ; and this to continue but three days. The sale of leather to be kept in the outside of the ring of Smithfield, as hath been accustomed, without erecting any shops or booths for the same. [*Fædera*, V. xvi, p. 213] At this time it is said that the account of the numbers dying weekly in London began to be kept, though it was not till the year 1663 that the weekly bills of mortality were regularly kept, those at this time being only taken occasionally, on account of the plague.

Some English ships now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the bay of St. Laurence, for morse and whale fishing (says Hakluyt), which is the first mention found of the later fishery by the English ; and although they found no whales there, they however found on an island 800 whale-fins, where a Biscay ship had been lost three years before ; and this too is the first mention of whale-fins or whale-bone by the English.

By the trade to Archangel, the English were now well acquainted with the northern seas, where they carried on a great fishing, or hunting rather, for morse (as the Russians called them †), beyond the North cape at Cherry island, so named from Alderman Cherry, but called by the Dutch Bear isle. But it seems those amphibious creatures became afterwards so shy, that the moment they saw any man they ran into the sea ; whereupon the English fell into the whale fishery, though not quite so early as this time.

It was enacted, that when wheat did not exceed the price of 20s per quarter, peas and beans 13/4, barley and malt 12s per quarter, they might be exported in English ships, paying custom, 2s for wheat, and 1/4 for the other grain per quarter. [35 *Eliz. c. 7.*]

1594.—The parliament of Scotland now passed an act, that in respect of the great dearth and scarcity of flesh meat, the time of Lent should be ascertained, viz. from the 1st of March to the 1st of May inclusive ; during which no flesh meat should be sold nor eaten but by sick persons ; neither throughout the rest of the year should flesh meat be eaten on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. Moreover, neither lambs nor calves under a year old should be slain before Whitsunday yearly. This

* That close yard of St. Bartholomew's is now called Cloth-fair.

† The English call them sea-horses, and the Dutch and French, sea-cows.

was merely a new political Lent, which did not pretend to have any relation to religious abstinence. The landholders might surely have more effectually promoted the increase of flesh meat, by enabling their tenants to take long leases of their farms, whereby they might have had time sufficient for raising sheep and oxen, and increasing their butter, cheese, poultry, &c. This law was doubtless very favourable to the fisheries of Scotland, which was probably the motive for enacting it.

The emperor Rodolph II having written a letter to Queen Elizabeth in the preceding year respecting the grievances daily complained of by the maritime cities of the Baltic league (i. e. the Hanse towns), the queen now dispatched Dr. Perkins as her envoy to the emperor to vindicate her conduct towards the German Steelyard merchants of the Hanse confederacy. That envoy gave the following account to the emperor's ministers, viz.

That the antient privileges which they formerly had in England, because of their great abuse of them, and in consideration that they were become incompatible with the good state of the realm, had been abrogated in the reign of Edward VI; yet Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, granted them the trade of her own subjects, until at length, in the year 1577, an assembly of the Hanse deputies at Lubeck decreed to forbid the English merchants trade at Hamburgh; and yet at this time, notwithstanding all their unkind dealing, her majesty offereth them the privileges of her own subjects, in case that they will suffer some convenient trade to the English merchants in their cities. And for that, in all kingdoms, some old usages and privileges, by change of circumstances, use to be taken away, especially if some great abuse of them happen, the Hanses have no cause to complain of England, but of themselves; wherefor it hath been taken somewhat unkindly that a mandate of late hath been given (meaning by the emperor) against the English trade at Stoade*. [*Fædera*, V. xvi, pp. 212, 253—*Camdeni Annales*, L. iv.]

An engine was erected at Broken-wharf, in London, for conveying the Thames water into the several streets of that city by leaden pipes into every house. [*Stow's Annales*, p. 1279.]

The author of a Collection of voyages undertaken by the Dutch East-India company, and of an account of several attempts to find out the north-east passage (8vo, 1703), in his introduction remarks, that 'if the Spaniards had not seized on the Hollanders' ships, and exposed their persons to the rigour of the inquisition, probably they had never extended their navigation beyond the Baltic sea, the northern countries, England, France, Spain, and its dependencies, the Mediterranean, and

* This clause relates to the decree of the German diet, which Gilpin's dexterity had defeated, as already noted.

‘ the Levant.’ But necessity obliging that people to the practice of commerce, ‘ they were obliged to try new ways of getting by sea to far distant countries, in order to avoid meeting with the Spaniards and Portuguese.’ Being debarred from sailing to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, they determined to attempt a way thither by steering first north-east, and then along the coast of Tartary, in order to reach China, Japan, India, &c. Accordingly, William Barents, with three ships, this year sailed round Norway and Lapland, and to the north coast of Nova Zembla, but could go no farther for the ice; and yet those who returned home retained great hopes of success when farther trial should be made.

Captain James Lancaster was now fitted out with three ships by some merchants of London, and was joined by some Dutch and French freebooters. They took thirty-nine ships from the Spaniards, and then attacked the port of Fernambuc in Brasil, and took the lower town and haven, driving the inhabitants to the upper town. There they loaded fifteen ships with the merchandize of a great East-India carrack, which had been wrecked there, and with sugar, Brasil wood, and cotton, and returned home safe. [*Camden’s Elizabeth, English edition, 1635, p. 434.*]

1595.—The states of Holland, and Maurice prince of Orange, now sent out Barents with seven ships on a second attempt for a north-east passage, through Waygate’s straits, between the south shore of Nova Zembla and the north coast of Samoieda; but after many endeavours to pass the straits, they were so obstructed by ice from the Tartarian sea that they were obliged to return home this same year.

In Strype’s edition of Stow’s Survey of London, we find, that in consequence of the calamitous dearth of corn in the preceding year, the lord mayor ordered a survey of the number of poor housekeepers within his jurisdiction, which amounted to 4132; so that, allowing them to be about a fourth part of all the houses in London, the whole might be about 17,000 houses, though at present about 24,000. This increase is owing to sundry void spaces being built up into streets and courts since the reformation from popery, and also later, since the great conflagration in the year 1666. This cannot be more clearly evinced than by one single instance, viz. that before the conflagration, all that large court named Exchange-alley, fronting the south gate of the Royal exchange, quite through into Lombard-street south, and into Birchin-lane east, whereon are now so many lofty edifices, was then but one single merchant’s house and garden; and the like may be instanced of sundry other places in the city. Yet, by the farther great increase of commerce, the merchants and wholesale dealers of London now begin rather to lessen the number of houses, and consequently of inhabitants, by turning many dwelling-houses into store-houses for merchandize. Moreover, by a late statute [33 Geo. II] the city of London is em-

powered to make new openings and streets therein, for the conveniency and ornament thereof, in which a considerable progress has already been made.

The vast increase of the suburbs of London toward the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign demonstrates the great increase of the commerce of England better than a whole volume of speculative reasoning. It is not material to make different sections thereof, and therefore we have brought them all together, whether a little before or after this year.

It seems that about this time the grounds called Spitalfields began to be built on for weavers, &c. as was also Hog-lane in that part which had lately had fair rows of elm-trees all along, now turned into houses, on both sides, from Houndsditch to Whitechapel church.

' In the middle of this century there was not a single house between St. Catherines and Wapping; but now there is a continued street from the tower all along the river, almost as far as Radcliff, inhabited by sailors and victuallers.

' Northward the suburbs have been less increased than on the east and west sides; yet there was an increase about this time on that side also. Where the buildings on the west side of Smithfield stand, was formerly a very large pond of water; and where the place called the Sheep-pens is, was a field with growing elms, and the place of execution for criminals. Afterward, in King Henry VI's reign, they began to build the space between the said pond and the river of Wells (now Turnmill brook), which runs into Fleet-ditch; and afterward that pond was drained and built on, and so down that street now called Cow-lane, and also Chick-lane, and Hosier-lane, &c.; so that the buildings there are so increased, that now remaineth not one tree there.'

Some other additions were made about Clerkenwell, about or near this time, where the fields, gardens, and avenues of the great priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and also the convent on the north side of Clerkenwell green, stood, &c.

Westward (without Newgate), the great street named Holborn, and its contiguity, has been gradually built quite up to the village of St. Giles's in the fields. [*Stow's Survey—Howell's Londinopolis.*] But as the greatest increase thereabout was chiefly in the next century, we must refer thereto.

Queen Elizabeth had written to King Christiern IV of Denmark for his leave that a merchantman of Harwich might freely resort for fishing to the small isle of Westmony, adjacent to the great island of Iceland, as in former years. The Danish king answered, that her subjects had been prohibited from resorting thither, because they took the liberty of frequenting it without asking leave, contrary to antient treaties: but if they would comply with those antient treaties, they should be free to

fish at Iceland, the port of Westmony alone excepted; the fishery of that port being now, as well as antiently, appropriated for the use and service of his own court. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 275.]

Sir Walter Raleigh having in the preceding year sent out a ship for making discoveries in the country of Guiana, of which he had, unhappily and fatally, formed very exalted ideas with respect to its immense treasures and great cities, from false information, this year sailed thither himself with several ships, and many worthy and experienced gentlemen and mariners. He first seized the fort on the isle of Trinidad, where he learned that Guiana extended above six hundred miles up from that coast; and there he also received abundance of fresh but very false accounts of rich mines and great cities, and particularly the vast and rich city named El Dorado, or Manoa, the supposed capital of Guiana. On this romantic presumption, Raleigh, with an hundred men in boats, sailed four hundred miles up the great river Oronoque, enduring great fatigues for a whole month, but without meeting with any great city, though he saw many Indian nations on its banks: but it beginning to swell on account of the approach of their winter, he found himself obliged to return to his ships before he could reach that imaginary golden city: he is, however, said to have brought back some plates of gold, which he had obtained from the bordering nations who traded with Guiana. He had, it is said, been encouraged to this attempt by his cousin the lord admiral Howard, and by Sir Robert Cecil secretary of state, to whom he dedicated his account of it.

In this same year, Sir Amias Preston, with three ships, burnt Porto Santo at the Madeiras; thence sailing to the West-Indies, he destroyed some of the Spaniards' towns there (poorly defended doubtless), and returned home with some booty, though probably less in value than the expense incurred. And Sir Francis Drake, with six of Queen Elizabeth's own ships, twenty-one private ships and barks, and 2500 men, sailed from Plymouth to the West-Indies, where (the Spaniards knowing of their coming) he did but little execution against their towns; so well had they now fortified almost every where, being sufficiently warned by former disasters: there he fought with part of a Spanish fleet sent against him, with little advantage. Next he attempted with 750 men to get cross the isthmus of Darien to Panama on the South sea, but the Spaniards had so fortified the roads that they were forced to come back to their ships. In their return homeward, both Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins (two most gallant commanders) died at, and were buried in, their element,—the sea.

The officers and sailors of the Dutch ships which had been sent last year to try a passage by the north-east to China and India giving still great hopes of being able to find such a passage, which they computed would be about 2000 miles nearer than the usual way, the states-general

and the prince of Orange were encouraged to send out seven ships, under Barents again, with all sorts of merchandize, and with money to trade with, hoping to get through Waygat's straits. Their smallest ship was directed to return with the news of the other six ships having doubled cape Tabin, which was counted the extreme point of Tartary, or, at least, when they should be gone far enough to steer to the southward, without being in danger from the ice; but finding the same obstructions in the strait, and yet more at the farther end of it, from the mountains of ice at the entrance of the Tartarian sea, they returned to Holland after they had been four months and an half on that voyage.

The Hollanders finding from their first attempt that it was apparently impracticable to sail to China and India by the north-east, at length determined this year to force their way thither by the Cape of Good Hope, which they performed with wonderful courage and success. Four ships sailed from Holland in April 1595, and returned home (all but their biggest and most leaky ship, which they burnt) in twenty-nine months, flushed with success and big with hopes, though, by reason of the opposition of the Portuguese and Javanese, it did not fully answer expectation in point of present gain. This first undertaking was set on foot by nine merchants of Amsterdam, with a capital of only 70,000 guilders.

From the arrival of the Dutch in India the Portuguese justly date the ruin of their affairs in that country. Yet Dr. Gemelli Careri assigns another very probable cause of the decline of the Portuguese in East-India, viz. their conquest of Brasil; for finding much more profit by that rich colony, they slighted East-India, and neglected to send sufficient supplies for preserving what they already possessed there. This is so certain, says Gemelli, that the king of Portugal was several times in the mind of absolutely abandoning East-India, had not the missionaries made him sensible, that if he did so, all the christians of those countries would again fall into idolatry and mahometanism. To say the truth, one may venture to pronounce, that the original cause of their ruin in India was the too great number of their conquests there, too far asunder to be effectually succoured, whilst they were engaged in war against the Dutch in Europe, as well as in India and Brasil.

1596.—King Philip II of Spain again making great preparations against England, Queen Elizabeth wisely determined by all means to prevent his attempts on her coasts; and as the best means for that purpose would be to attack and annoy him in his own ports, for that end she sent out 126 ships of war, seventeen whereof were her own ships, the remainder being, as usual, hired ones. They carried 7360 land-soldiers; and were joined by a Dutch squadron of twenty-four ships; all being under the command of the earl of Essex and the lord admiral Howard. The gallant and successful attack and sacking of the famous

and strong port and city of Cadiz is in all our histories at large, and therefor improper in this work to be enlarged on. There they burnt and destroyed much shipping and more riches, and demolished all the forts; all which together were estimated at twenty millions of ducats of real loss and damage to Spain. Much rich booty was brought home, together with two galleons and a hundred brass cannon, and two hundred other pieces of ordnance were either taken or sunk in the sea. Eleven of the king of Spain's best ships, forty-four merchant ships, and an immense quantity of naval stores, ammunition, provisions, &c. were destroyed; and for ransom of their lives they agreed to give hostages for the payment of 520,000 ducats. This, in short, was a very glorious exploit, and did not a little raise the credit of the queen, and of her naval and land-forces, as well as of her ministers and commanders. In this attack the English employed six ships of Lubeck and Dantzick to board the Spanish galleons, the admiral being unwilling to hazard the queen's own ships.

Nevertheless, Philip, determined on making reprisals for so great an insult, disgrace, and loss, assembled his whole marine force at Lisbon, with all the foreign ships in his ports; as also a body of land-forces, and many Irish fugitives, intending an invasion either of England or Ireland. But a violent tempest arising, destroyed the greatest part of his ships, whereby an end was put to the invasion for the present year.

Sir Anthony Shirley, after cruising on the coasts of New Spain and the Spanish West-Indies, landed on the island of Jamaica, and having plundered St. Jago de la Vega its principal town, left the island.

Sir Robert Dudley and others sent out three ships with intent to trade to China, of which, and its rich commerce, the English had heard so much. Wood, the commander in chief, had Queen Elizabeth's letters to the emperor of China. But all that we know of this unfortunate voyage is, that they never got so far as East-India; but after encountering storms, sickness, and famine, were at length driven on the Spanish West-Indies, having only four men left alive, who were made prisoners, and their ships seized. [*Purchas, B. iii, c. § 2.*]

In this year the Hollanders attempted a third (and the last) time a north-east passage to China, but were very unfortunate therein, losing one of their two ships; and Barents, with such men as were left alive, wintered miserably in Nova Zembla, and out of their battered ship fitted out a smaller one, and with infinite hazards and difficulties returned home to Holland, Barents, however, dying in his return.

1597.—Two laws were made at this time for relief of the aged and maimed poor; the one was for the amendment and improvement of a law [35 *Eliz. c. 4.*] for charging every parish with a weekly tax for the relief of sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners, by enabling any person to erect for those purposes hospitals and houses of correction, and

for that end to purchase goods or lands, not exceeding the yearly value of 200*l.*; the other laid a farther tax on every parish for the relief of soldiers and mariners, the highest rate of any parish being eightpence, and the lowest twopence, weekly. [39 *Eliz. cc.* 5, 21.]

We have a second instance this year of the fallibility of some acts of parliament relating to commerce, in a corroboration [39 *Eliz. c.* 11] of an act [23 *Eliz. c.* 9] which ‘prohibited the use of logwood or blockwood in the dying of cloths, &c. as a practice false and deceitful; directing all logwood, wherever found, to be burnt, and that neither cloth nor wool should thereafter be dyed therewith*.’ Nevertheless, in after times, logwood has proved extremely profitable, useful, and proper in dying. And it is in our days found to be a great inconveniency to our commerce that our logwood-cutters are perpetually disturbed in the bay of Campechy by the Spaniards, pretending an exclusive property in that bay, though never yet planted by them, as will be seen under the year 1662 and 1717.

The parliament of Scotland again prohibited the exportation of wool, and ordained, that craftsmen strangers be brought home for working it up. [*Act Ja. VI, parl.* 15, *c.* 250, *ed. Murray.*] They laid a duty of five per cent on all foreign cloth and other merchandize imported; but allowed peers, barons, and freeholders, without paying any custom, to send their own goods beyond sea, for their own particular use; and to import wines, cloths, and other furniture, only for their own particular use, but not to make merchandize thereof, conformable to the laws and liberties granted to them before. [*Parl.* 15, *c.* 251.] This ill-judged exemption frustrated the whole intent of the statute, as the landed men of every country (and eminently so of Scotland), with their retinues, were then the great bulk of the people, and undoubtedly the principal consumers of foreign merchandize; besides, that under colour of the above exemptions, many frauds might be, and doubtless were, committed.

They also prohibited the importation of English woollen goods; the same cloth (says the act) having only for the most part an outward show, wanting that substance and strength which oftentimes it appears to have, and being one of the chief causes of the transportation of gold and silver out of this realm:—the only true and solid reason for this law. [*Parl.* 15, *c.* 252.]

They enacted this same year, that three new towns be erected in different parts, for the better entertaining and continuing of civility and

* The English were not insensible of the utility of logwood in dying, but they were ignorant of the method. Mr. Hakluyt, in his instructions to Hubblethorne the dyer, when he was setting out for Persia, therefor recommended to him to endeavour to learn the method of fixing the colour given by it. *M.*

polity within the Highlands and isles, viz. one in Kentire, one in Lochaber, and a third in the isle of Lewis *. [Parl. 15, c. 263 †.]

At this time the interest of the Hanseatic and imperial cities of Germany, coinciding with that which the crown of Spain had at the imperial court, produced a mandate from the emperor Rodolph to the town of Staden no longer to entertain the comptoir or company of the English merchant-adventurers. [Fœdera, V. xvi, p. 326.] Being thus forced to leave Staden and all other parts of the German empire, the company was invited to settle in Groningen. At the same time the town of Embden and the dukes of Holstein and Brunswick wrote to Queen Elizabeth, professing, though they were obliged to submit to the emperor's order, their readiness to serve her in any other respect ‡. Wheeler, the historiographer of the merchant-adventurers company, asserts, that eleven or twelve other towns in the Netherlands vied with each other for the residence of the company.

The merchants of the Hanse towns flattered themselves that Elizabeth would gladly restore their antient privileges in England, in order to recover those of the English merchant-adventurers in Germany; but her intentions were very different; for, knowing that their privileges were repugnant to the great commercial interests of England, after demanding, for the sake of decorum, a revocation of the imperial edict, she, without further delay, directed a commission to the mayor and sheriffs of London to shut up the house inhabited by the merchants of the Hanse towns at the Steelyard in London; and moreover, ordered all the Germans there, and every where else throughout England, to quit her dominions on the very day on which the English were obliged to leave Staden; whose expulsion thence was, it seems, deferred till now. From this time the place called the Steelyard was never again applied to that use.

At our final parting with the Steelyard merchants, we may observe that they had in old times been a kind of a bank for our kings whenever they wanted money at a pinch; but they were sure to be well paid in the end for such assistances.

The capture of sixty of the Hanse towns ships, loaded with corn and naval stores for Spain, in the year 1589, by the English, widened the

* Nothing appears to have been done in consequence of this act till the year 1602 (but according to Moyse 1599), when the island of Lewis was granted (as countries in America were about this time) to some gentlemen of Fife; the colony being drawn from that maritime shire, as supposed acquainted with the fishery, 'a source from which Scotland ought naturally to derive great wealth.' But the resistance of the islanders frustrated the scheme. A second attempt was made in 1605 with no better success. [Spotswood's history, pp.

468, 490.] It was reserved for a Dutch colony to introduce fishing and trade in Lewis, and to build the village, or burgh, of Stornoway, which was till a few years ago the only town in the Western islands. M.

† Many other laws for the regulation of commerce and police were enacted by the Scottish parliament in this session. M.

‡ The duke of Brunswick appears to have had a pension of 500 merks a-year from Elizabeth.

breach with the Hanseatics, which doubtless proved greatly beneficial to England in the end; for the English found means to get their cloths, &c. imported into Germany, though not in so open and direct a manner as before: and the merchant-adventurers company have obtained a flourishing residence at the city of Hamburgh even to this day.

From Sir William Monson's Naval tracts [*printed in Gburchill's Collection of voyages*, V. iii] it appears that the earl of Cumberland was the first English subject that built a ship so large as eight hundred tons burden; which ship, with some others, he now employed in an expedition at his own private expense against Spain.

This year there was a definitive treaty concluded (at Westminster) with the states-general of the seven United provinces, concerning the payment of the money expended in their defence, being £800,000 Sterling by computation; also for what should afterward be expended; and moreover, for the redelivery of the cautionary towns; also for the states assisting England with thirty or forty ships of war in case of being attacked by Spain. All that has any immediate relation to our general subject, is the slender burden of those ships of war, so very short of such in our days, viz. the one half of them were to consist each of 200 tons burden, and the other half of between 100 and 200 tons. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 340—*Collection of treaties*, V. ii, p. 120, ed. 1732.]

1598.—The English merchants trading to Denmark complained of the Danish officers violently seizing their merchandize; to which the Danes replied, that those goods were justly condemned by the laws of Denmark, as not having been truly entered at the custom-houses, viz. skins, tin, cloth, &c. short entered. This stiffness of the Danish court (then favouring the Spaniards) produced a sharp remonstrance from the queen, which procured a remission of so much of the confiscations as amounted to 30,000 dollars: but, on the other hand, the king of Denmark demanded redress from Queen Elizabeth for certain piracies of the English on his subjects; for now (says Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth) there began to grow controversies about such matters, meaning the carrying of contraband goods, as naval stores, &c. to the Spaniards.

The several trials for a north-west passage to China, by Hudson's and Davies's straits, and for a north-east passage on the north side of Nova-Zembla, or through the straits of Waygatz, and the annual voyages to Archangel, had so accustomed the English to those boisterous seas, that some of the Russia company now occasionally commenced, for the first time, the fishery for whales near Spitzbergen, where those huge animals are found in greater numbers than any where else that we yet have discovered*.

* The abundance of whales in the South sea was quite unknown in Mr. Anderfon's time. *M.*

The Dutch East-India merchants now sent out Heemskerck on a second voyage to East-India, with eight ships; who returned home in the year 1600, laden with the five usual kinds of spices, viz. cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and mace.

And so fond were the Dutch of this trade, that they would not wait for the return of those eight ships, but in 1599 sent out three other ships; and so they went on yearly, making vast returns of profit to the proprietors, all Europe being in those times extremely fond of spices, to a much greater degree than at present.

The Hollanders now also sent out four ships, commanded by Oliver Van Noort, on a new adventure, which, after various accidents, failed through Magellan's straits into the South sea; and thence on to the East-Indies, where they had sundry encounters with the Spaniards and Portuguese: and after some trading for pepper, they returned home by the Cape of Good Hope; this being the fourth navigation round the globe; but the first performed by the Dutch.

1599.—The route to Archangel was so well known, and so much frequented at this time, that, according to Werdenhagen, the Hanseatic historian, even so far as from Venice, at least one ship annually resorted thither for commerce. So much was all Europe by this time improved in the arts of commerce and navigation.

The queen, by proclamation, strictly enjoined all letter-of-marque ships to give security before they set sail, not to injure the subjects of nations in amity with her; and as some complaints of piratical practices by such ships had been made by the Danes and French, she appointed commissioners to inquire into, and redress them. [*Fædera*, V. xvi, p. 362.]

At this time (according to Grotius' Annals of the Netherlands) the sea ports of Holland, and other parts of the united provinces, generally built 2000 new ships every year. A thing almost incredible, did it not proceed from so reputable and illustrious an author *.

King Henry IV of France (according to Mezeray) now prohibited all foreign manufactures, as well of silk as of gold or silver, pure or mixed, at the request of the merchants of Tours, who undertook to make quantities of such manufactures sufficient for the whole kingdom; yet, grasping at more than they could perform, and being also complained of by the city of Lyons, (justly stiled the golden gate of France), as thereby destroying their famous fairs, as well as lessening the king's customs, that edict in favour of Tours was revoked. Yet (as Puffendorf observes) those new manufactures of France, and more especially that of silk, did afterward draw great wealth into that kingdom.

* Surely all the boats must have been included vessels ever been built in the whole of the British dominions. *M.*

This year Queen Elizabeth sent John Mildenhall over land, by Constantinople, to the court of the great mogul, to apply for certain privileges for the English company, for whom she was then preparing a charter for trading to East-India, in which he was long opposed by the arts and presents of the Spanish and Portuguese jesuits at that court; whereby they prepossessed the mogul against the English; so that it was some years before he could entirely get the better of them *.

1600.—Elizabeth wrote to King Christian IV of Denmark, complaining of his people, who had seized on some English fishing vessels on the high seas northward, remote from land; and she tells that king, 'that the high seas were free for fishing by the consent of all nations;' [*Fæderæ, V. xvi, p. 395*] which was her constant stile on this subject. This seizure was probably made somewhere near Iceland or Norway, on pretence of the English not having first asked leave of the Danish court before they went to fish in those seas, agreeable to a convention formerly made with Denmark. All disputes about the fishing there are long since at an end.

In a treatise, entitled *England's grievance discovered in relation to the coal-trade* (1655) we see, that Newcastle upon Tine had obtained charters from King Henry III, Edward I, and III, Richard II, Henry IV, and Queen Elizabeth; the latest of hers being in this year 1600, wherein she describes it as a town of merchants, a mart or market of great fame, and stuffed with a multitude of merchants dwelling therein: and whereas it is an antient town, and has time out of mind had a certain guild or fraternity, called hoast-men, for the discharging and better disposing of sea-coals, grind-stones, rub-stones, and whet-stones, in and upon the river and port of Tine, though not as yet incorporated; she therefor now (in the 43d of her reign, though that book by mistake says the 13th) 'incorporates them by the name of the governor, stewards, and brethren of the fraternity of hoast-men of Newcastle.' By this and former charters it appear, that this famous town had great jurisdiction on the river Tine, from the sea seven miles above the town, in point of navigation, admiralty jurisdiction, fishery, &c. And also that Newcastle had been serviceable to former princes in their wars, by supplying them with mariners and ships, as, down to our own time, it has ever been in all our naval wars.

Dr. Davenant, an able author, (in his *New dialogues, V. ii, p. 93, ed. 1710*) affirms, that the gold and silver coin at this time in England did not exceed four millions, which were the tools we had to work with

* He also met with much trouble by means of two Italian merchants at Agra. The Italians, who seem to have had no idea that the navigation by the Cape of Good Hope was possible to them, had about this time made several attempts to extend their correspondence and trade to India over land. [*Purchas, B. iii, c. 1, § 3—Linschotten, pp. 145, 154, 155, 191,—and see above in the year 1591.*] M.

when we first began to make a figure in the commercial world, which was near that period of time.

Our own Turkey merchants first, and the Dutch East-India company next, who had got the start of us in the East-India trade, keeping up the price of pepper from 8/ to 4/ per pound, we being at war with Spain, and so could not get spices from Lisbon at first hand, Queen Elizabeth now determined to enter her people directly upon a commerce to East-India.

Accordingly, on the 31st of December 1600, she granted a charter to George earl of Cumberland, and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants, that, at their own cost and charges, they might set forth one or more voyages to the East-Indians, in the country and parts of Asia and Africa, and to the islands thereabouts, divers of which countries, islands, &c. have long since been discovered by others of our subjects; to be one body politic and corporate, by the name of the 'governour and company of merchants of London trading into the East-Indies;' to have succession; to purchase lands, without limitation; to have one governor and twenty-four persons, to be elected annually, who shall be called committees, jointly to have the direction of the voyages, the provision of the shipping and merchandize, also the sale of the merchandize, and the management of all other things belonging to the company. Sir Thomas Smith, alderman of London, was to be the first governor, and a deputy-governor to be elected in a general court; both the governors and all the committees to take the oath of fidelity: as also, every member to take an oath, before being admitted, to traffic as a freeman of this company. The company, their sons, at twenty-one years of age, their apprentices, servants and factors in India or elsewhere, may, for fifteen years from Christmas last, freely and solely trade, by such ways and passages as are already found out, or shall hereafter be discovered, into the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and all the islands, ports, towns and places of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the straits of Magellan, where any traffic of merchandize may be used to and from every of them, in such manner as shall from time to time be limited and agreed on at any public assembly or general court of the company, any statute, usage, diversity of religion or faith, or any other matter to the contrary notwithstanding; so as it be not to any country already possessed by any christian potentate in amity with her majesty, who shall declare the same to be against his or their good liking. Either the governor or deputy-governor must always be one in general assemblies, when they may make all reasonable laws, constitutions, &c. agreeable to the laws of England, for their good government, by plurality of voices, and may punish, by fines and imprisonment, the offenders against their laws. The queen grants to the company an exemption from paying any customs for the first four voyages; and for

customs which shall afterwards be payable for merchandize from India, the company shall be allowed to give their bonds, payable one half in six months, and the other half in six months after. For merchandize lost at sea outward bound, the customs shall be allowed to the company out of the next cargo shipped off. India merchandize, that shall have paid the customs, may, until the end of thirteen months, be re-exported by any subjects without paying farther customs. The company may export in their first voyage, now preparing, £30,000 in foreign coin or bullion, so as at least £6000 thereof be first coined in the queen's mint, and the like for the subsequent voyages, provided the company first import at least so much foreign coin or bullion in gold or silver into this realm, of which £6000 shall be coined as aforesaid. The company may send yearly to East-India six good ships and six pinnaces, with 500 mariners, unless the navy royal goes forth. None of the queen's subjects, but the company, their servants, or assigns, shall resort to India without being licenced by the company, upon pain of forfeiting ships and cargoes, with imprisonment till the offenders give £1000 bond to the company not to trade thither again. Nevertheless, for the encouragement of merchant strangers and others to bring in commodities into the realm, the queen gives power to the company to grant licences to trade to East-India; and she promises not to grant leave to any others to trade thither during the company's term without their consent. The majority of any general meeting of the company may admit apprentices, servants, factors, &c. to the fellowship or freedom of the company. The silver to be exported shall only be shipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and shall be duly entered by the customhouse officers, without paying any custom for the same. Gold and silver imported shall be entered before landing the same. Provided, that in case this charter shall hereafter appear not to be profitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the company, their charter shall cease and determine: but if otherwise, then the queen promises, at the end of the said fifteen years, upon the company's suit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer. This is the same East-India company which, through many various vicissitudes, existed under the same denomination till the year 1708, when it was absorbed in the present united company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

N. B. The original shares subscribed were £50 each.

About the close of the sixteenth century decimal arithmetic was invented by Simon Stevin of Bruges. [*Wotton's Reflections upon antient and modern learning*, c. 30.]

1601.—The patentees of the English East-India company immediately raised the sum of £72,000, (though not in one joint stock or common capital, as in succeeding times, there having been no joint stock in this company till the year 1613), and this year sent out their first fleet for

India, commanded in chief by Captain James Lancaster, having one ship of 600 tons, one of 300, two of 200 each, and one of 130 tons, as victualler to the whole fleet, carrying 480 men, and £27,000 in money * and goods, the remainder of the £72,000 being absorbed in the purchase of the ships, artillery, ammunition, provisions, &c. At Acheen, in the isle of Sumatra, they loaded some of their ships with pepper; but not meeting with enough, and sailing thence for the straits of Malacca, they completed their cargoes by the capture of a Portuguese ship of 900 tons, loaded with calicoes, &c. and sailing thence to Bantam, they delivered the queen's letter and presents to the king, as they had before done the like to the king of Acheen, and both kings sent letters and presents for Queen Elizabeth, and granted privileges to the company. So, having settled factors at Bantam, they sailed homeward, and arrived in the Downs in September 1603, having made this first voyage prosperously in two years and seven months.

Sir William Monson, in his Naval tracts, observes, upon the East-India company's sending out their first fleet, the East-India trade was written against in England, and was also briefly answered under the following heads, viz.

I) It exhausts our treasure.

' *Answer.* We may by this trade draw as much silver from other countries as we send to India.'

II) It will destroy our mariners by the great difference of climates.

' *Answer.* As long voyages breed the best mariners, this of East-India will rather increase than diminish their number.'

III) It will be the decay of our shipping by the worms, unless sheathed with lead.

' *Answer.* So far from this, it will be the increase of our shipping, by maintaining eight or nine ships of each 1000 or 1200 tons, which are larger than any we now use, and which on occasion may be of greater service to the nation than all the other shipping of London.'

IV) It will obstruct the vent of our woollen cloth, in return for which we now take spices, &c. from Turkey, which our East-India trade, bringing more cheap to us, will prevent.

' *Answer.* This inconvenience will fall only on the Turkey company, whose spices, &c. come to us at the third hand, whereas they will now come to us at the first hand from India.'

V) More spices will be brought home than we can vend.

' *Answer.* Our own nation, the East country, and Russia, will consume more than we can bring home.

* The money was Spanish; whence it appears that the Spaniards were already the diggers and that even during the long continued hostilities, importers of bullion for the use of the more industrious nations. See *Purchas*, L. iii, c. 3, § 1. M.

VI) The source of our East-India trade was the secret malice of some against the Turkey company.

Answer. If the East-India trade proves beneficial, it ought to be pursued without regarding private grudges; and men would not venture such great stocks in it, if they did not think it so *.

To these objections, says Sir William Monson, the answers are in the main just, after twenty-five years experience; † but he adds, that the bane of that trade in his time was, their having triple the number of eight or nine ships at first proposed for this trade, thereby over-cloyed; whereby also the prices of East-India merchandize were enhanced there. And moreover, it drew mighty stocks of money to maintain it, whereby all the kingdom imputed the scarcity of money to it.

Werdenhagen observes [*V. ii, p. 19*] that till the beginning of the seventeenth century the merchants of Hamburgh, and some others of the Hanse towns, made regular annual voyages up the Mediterranean sea, as far as Venice, to their great profit; but now those of Amsterdam getting into that trade, so completely wormed the Hanseatics out of it, that at length the Hamburghers had no other trade left to them with Venice, but to sell their large ships there, and return home overland. This author farther says, that they formerly traded also to Florence, Genoa, and Messina, for silk, in exchange for their corn; and the ships of Lubeck, Wismar, and Straelfund, then also used to frequent the ports of Spain, till supplanted therein also by the more dexterous Hollanders.

Wheeler, the advocate and secretary of the merchant-adventurers company of England, and the great antagonist of the Hanseatics, who wrote in this year, pleases himself not a little, that the latter were then so much decayed in power and strength, as that the state need not greatly to fear them; for as the causes, which made the Hanse towns of estimation and account in old times, were the multitude of their shipping and sea-trade, whereby they stored all countries with their eastern commodities (naval stores, flax, hemp, linen, iron, copper, corn, &c.)

* With respect to these answers to the objections against an East-India trade, we may briefly note, that the answer to the first is in our days strongly confirmed; for the re-exportation of East-India goods brings back a much greater balance from foreign nations than all the bullion we send to India. And with relation to the fifth, the Dutch company having soon after got possession of the coast of Ceylon, in which alone the best cinnamon is produced, and the isle of Amboyna being the best for cloves, and the Molucco isles for nutmegs and mace, the English company have long since been excluded from those spices at the first hand; only pepper abounding in so many different parts of India, our company must ever deal

largely in that spice, as it ever will probably be in most general demand all over the world by all ranks and conditions of people. Yet it is confessed, that the assertion in the answer to the sixth objection is far from being conclusive with respect to the general benefit, since there may be branches of commerce very beneficial to the merchant, which may be, at the same time, pernicious to the public.

As the trade from England to East-India is become of so great importance to the public, and employs so vast a capital, we shall throughout the remaining part of our work take special cognizance of all debates and reasonings for and against it, and of all the material alterations and changes in it.

† He wrote his Naval tracts in 1625.

and served princes with their large and stout ships in time of war, we shall find at this time they have in a manner lost both the one and the other long ago, when compared with what they formerly were. And if her majesty should forbid all trade into Spain, after the example of other princes, they would in short time be quit of the rest; for that trade is their chiefest support at this instant. Besides, of the seventy-two confederate Hanse towns, so much vaunted of, what remains almost but the report? And those which remain, and appear by their deputies, when there is any assembly, are they able, but with much ado, to bring up the charges and contributions, &c. for the defence and maintenance of their league, privileges, and trade in foreign parts and at home? Surely no! for most of their teeth are out, and the rest but loose, &c.

The main aim of this author was to confute the allegations of the Hanse towns at the German diet, that the company of merchant-adventurers was a proper monopoly, as well as the attempts at home of the separate traders, who were equally that company's opponents.

Although what we have, in different parts of this work, already exhibited concerning the English merchant-adventurers company, may seem sufficient to explain its nature, as being merely what is known in England by the name of a regulated company, yet we thought a farther authentic description of it by Wheeler their secretary might once for all be acceptable, viz.

The company consists of a great number of wealthy merchants of divers great cities and maritime towns, &c. in England, viz. London, York, Norwich, Exeter, Ipswich, Newcastle, Hull, &c. These of old time linked themselves together for the exercise of merchandize, by trading in cloth, kerseys, and all other, as well English as foreign, commodities, vendible abroad, whereby they brought much wealth home to their respective places of residence. Their limits are the towns and ports lying between the river of Somme in France, and along all the coasts of the Netherlands and Germany, within the German sea; not into all at once, at each man's pleasure, but into one or two towns at most within the said bounds, which they commonly call the mart town or towns, because there only they stapled their commodities, and put them to sale, and thence only they brought such foreign wares as England wanted, and which were brought from far by merchants of divers nations flocking thither to buy and sell as at a fair. The merchant-adventurers do annually export at least 60,000 white cloths, worth at least L600,000, and of coloured cloths of all sorts, kerseys, bays, cottons, northern dozens, and other coarse cloths, 40,000 cloths more, worth L400,000, in all one million Sterling, beside what goes to the Netherlands from England, of woofels, lead, tin, saffron, coney-skins, leather, tallow, alabaster, corn, beer, &c. And our company imported, viz. of the Dutch

and German merchants, Rhenish wines, fustians, copper, steel, hemp, onion-seed, iron and copper wire, latten, kettles, pans, linen, harness, saltpetre, gunpowder, and all things made at Nuremberg (such as toys, small iron ware, &c.) Of the Italians, all sorts of silks, velvets, cloth of gold, &c. Of the Easterlings, naval stores, furs, soap, ashes, &c. Of the Portuguese, spices and drugs. With the Spanish and French they (*i. e.* the staple of Antwerp) had not much to do, by reason that our English merchants have had a great trade directly to France and Spain, and so serve England directly from thence with the commodities of those two countries. Of the Netherlanders they buy all kinds of manufactures, tapestry, buckrams, white thread, incle, linen, cambrics, lawns, madder, &c. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy and sovereign of the Netherlands, the founder of the order of the golden fleece, gave the fleece for the badge of that order, in consideration of the great revenue accruing to him from the tolls and customs of our wool and woollen cloth *.

The first account † we meet with of any French ships fitted out for East-India, is in this year, when a company of merchants in St. Malo fitted out two ships, one of which was cast away at the Maldivé islands, where the crew were detained as prisoners for some time, and afterwards got home to France. Laval, who writes the account of their unfortunate voyage, says nothing of the success of the other ship.

After many ineffectual laws for the support of the poor, an act was now passed [43 *Eliz. c. 2*] prescribing nearly the present method of collecting the poor's rates, by overseers in every parish: yet notwithstanding the various alterations and amendments which the laws relating to the poor have undergone, it is still the opinion of every observing person, that the poor might be taken care of at a much lower expense than by the present method; and that the shameful nuisance of common beggars and vagabonds might also be effectually prevented, were a proper committee of gentlemen and merchants, with one or two able and honest lawyers, to undertake the truly arduous, though not absolutely impracticable task, with patience and steady resolution.

In this same year thirteen ships sailed from Amsterdam for East-India; which returned in safety.

A statute was enacted [43 *Eliz. c. 12*] for awarding commissions to hear and determine policies of assurances made among merchants, in the preamble of which are the following words: 'Whereas it hath been time out of mind an usage amongst merchants, both of this realm and of foreign nations, when they make any great adventure (specially into

* So says Wheeler, but without authority. *M.*

† So early as the year 1503, a voyage to India was undertaken by some merchants of Rouen, under the command of Mr. Gonville. Meeting

with a terrible storm at the Cape of Good Hope, he was driven upon unknown coasts, and after great hardships returned to Europe. [*Hist. philos. et politique*, V. ii, p. 182, ed. 1782.] *M.*

' remote parts), to give some consideration of money to other persons
 ' (which commonly are in no small number), to have from them assur-
 ' ance made of their goods, merchandizes, ships, and things adven-
 ' tured, or some part thereof, at such rates and in such sort as the par-
 ' ties assurers and the parties assured can agree; which course of deal-
 ' ing is commonly termed a policy of assurance; by means of which it
 ' cometh to pass, upon the loss or perishing of any ship, there follow-
 ' eth not the undoing of any man, but the loss lighteth rather easily up-
 ' on many than heavily upon few, and rather upon them that adven-
 ' ture not, than upon those that adventure, whereby all merchants, spe-
 ' cially of the younger sort, are allured to venture more willingly and
 ' more freely. And whereas heretofore such assurers have used to stand
 ' so justly and precisely upon their credits, as few or no contro-
 ' versies have risen thereupon; and if any have grown, the same have
 ' from time to time been ended and ordered by certain grave and dis-
 ' creet merchants appointed by the lord mayor of London, until of
 ' late years that divers persons have withdrawn themselves from that
 ' arbitrary course, and have sought to draw the parties assured to seek
 ' their moneys of every several assurer, by suits commenced in her ma-
 ' jesty's courts, to their great charges and delays.' For remedy here-
 ' of it was now enacted, ' that the lord chancellor (or keeper) do award
 ' one general or standing yearly commission, for the determining of
 ' causes on policies of assurances, such as now are or hereafter shall be
 ' entered within the office of assurances within the city of London:
 ' this commission to consist of the judge of the admiralty, the recorder
 ' of London, two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and
 ' eight discreet merchants, or any five of them; which commission
 ' shall have authority to determine all causes concerning policies of as-
 ' surance in a summary way, shall summon the parties, examine wit-
 ' nesses upon oath, and imprison disobeyers of their decrees: they
 ' shall meet weekly at the office of insurance, on the west side of the
 ' Royal exchange, for the execution of their commission, without fee
 ' or reward; and any who may think himself aggrieved by their de-
 ' terminations, may in two months exhibit his bill in chancery for a
 ' re-examination of such decree, provided the complainant do first lay
 ' down to the said commissioners the sum awarded; and that the lord
 ' chancellor or keeper may either reverse or affirm the first decree, ac-
 ' cording to equity and conscience; and if he decrees against the as-
 ' surers, double costs shall be awarded to the assured. Lastly, no com-
 ' missioner shall be either assurer or assured.'

Assurance, or insurance, of ships and merchandize on the seas seems
 to have been in use in England, upon the revival of commerce, some-
 what earlier than on the continent; and Antwerp, when in its meridian
 glory, learned it from England: ' And whereas (says Malynes's *Lex*

‘*Mercatoria*) the meetings of merchants in London were held in Lombard street (so called because certain Italians of Lombardy kept there a pawn-house or lombard long before the Royal exchange was built), all the policies of insurances at Antwerp which then were and now (1622) yet are made, do make mention, that it shall be in all things concerning the said assurances as was accustomed to be done in Lombard street in London, which is imitated also in other places of the Low Countries.’

The senate of Staden wrote to some great man of Queen Elizabeth’s court (not named), requesting him to assure the queen of their readiness to receive the English merchant-adventurers to reside in their town as formerly, provided there be no monopoly or college, as they stile it, of the said merchant-adventurers, since they have learned that the imperial court has become more favourable to the English; and that the emperor’s mandate struck only at the monopoly, as what the Hanseatics opposed. In the mean time all English merchants in general may freely resort to Staden. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 408.] But it was with a very bad grace that the merchants of the Hanse complained of monopolies, who for three centuries had been the greatest monopolists in Europe. We may therefor consider this letter as merely complimentary.

The wars of Ireland having drained much of the money of England, Queen Elizabeth coined shillings, sixpences, threepences, and halfpence, of a baser alloy than the English Sterling coins, which she sent into Ireland, as the only proper coins to pass there; and she also erected an office of exchange between England and Ireland, for exchanging the said new money with sterling moneys of England, appointing the offices of exchange to be at London, Bristol, and Chester, in England, and Dublin, Cork, Galway, and Carrickfergus, in Ireland, where twenty shillings English money were to be exchanged for twenty-one shillings Irish. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 414.]

King Henry IV of France, an able and penetrating prince, published an edict for reducing the interest of money in that kingdom to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. That king therein observes, that high interest had ruined many good and antient houses; that it had obstructed commerce, tillage, and manufactures, many persons, through the facility of their gain by interest of money, choosing rather to live idly in good towns on their income arising therefrom, than to labour in the more painful employments, in liberal arts, or in husbandry.

It might have been expected that the English, now a nation of considerable commerce, would have perceived the benefit of low interest sooner than France; yet the fact was quite otherwise, for interest was not reduced in England from ten to eight till the year 1624, nor from eight to six per cent till fifty years after this time.

The many grants of monopolies were now found to be very detrimental to the general prosperity, and petitions against them were given in to the parliament. The queen thereupon, before any application was made to her, took up the business herself, and cancelled most of the grants, leaving the rest to the due course of law. This prudent conduct of the sovereign was acknowledged by an address of thanks from the house of commons.

1602.—The Russia and Turkey companies, at their joint expense, sent two fly-boats of seventy and sixty tons, with thirty-five men, commanded by Captain George Waymouth, to make another attempt for the north-west passage. Having penetrated to the latitude of 63 deg. 53 min. and finding the sea impassable on account of the ice, he returned home in July.

Queen Elizabeth sent Lord Ewre, Sir John Herbert, and Dr. Dunn, as her plenipotentiaries, to Bremen, to treat with those of Denmark concerning peace and commerce, and gave them the following instructions.

I) Whereas there are certain treaties in the reigns of King Henry VII and King Henry VIII with the crown of Denmark, wherein certain places and ports in Denmark and Norway are assigned to our English subjects, for the trade of fishery, habitation, and such like, which our merchants at present are debarred the use of, you shall omit the special naming thereof, contenting yourselves rather to obtain for our merchants a free trade and dealing in the king's dominions, and every part thereof, in general terms; the intention of this treaty being to establish good amity between us and our loving brother (King Christian IV) for ever; as also some good means of (commercial) intercourse for our subjects.

II) And with respect to intercourse (*i. e.* commercial correspondence by treaty), you are to understand that our merchants use very little trade in the dominions of Denmark; yet, in general terms, mention is to be made of kind entreating our subjects on both sides, with liberty to trade, paying the ordinary duties.

III) For coming, going, and abiding, and (which most imports our subject) for the intercourse of our merchants with the East countries through the passage of the Sound; as also of our merchants of Muscovy by the Wardhuys, and of the fishing of Iceland and Wardhuys.

As to the passage of the Sound, our merchants have long since, by their humble supplications, declared unto us that they are very much abused there, as well by daily increase of exactions, as by the uncertainties of the duties required, with taking light occasions to stay them, searching their ships, and confiscating their goods.

IV) You may farther declare, that as customs are grounded upon acknowledgment of regality, for protection, permission for coming in and out, for maintaining deep bays and lights, for repairing ports, banks, &c. so use they to be urged with some proportion to the ground thereof, ever leaving means to the merchant-adventurer for recompense of his venture and travail; and that tolls otherwise taken are rather esteemed wilful exactions than due and just customs: and seeing, both by former treaties, and for safety in that passage (the Sound), tolls must be paid, wherein doubtless you shall find them very strict (the best part of that king's revenue arising from such perquisites), we leave you to confer with the merchants what may be wrought for their reasonable satisfaction.

First, concerning the hundredth penny, it is against all reason that it should be otherwise rated than according to the valuation which appeareth by certificates from the magistrate of the place whence the goods came, and not in that place where he should be both judge and jury.

Secondly, it is a most unjust thing that the merchant should be put to the proportion of entry of every particular in every pack, otherwise than by certificate as aforesaid.

Thirdly, that in case of concealments the mixed goods be not confiscated, but only what is concealed, or some double or triple value thereof; for it is a great violence that merchants goods shall be forfeited for mariners faults, and it is contrary to two articles of the treaty of 1490.

Fourthly, there must also be a moderation of measure of the lasts and the last-geldt.

Fifthly, for passage of the company of Muscovy, there was a particular contract made in the year 1583, at the humble suit of the merchants, whereunto for the time we gave our consent, with some modification*.

But it is very unreasonable servility to look for such a power over another monarch, in a sea of such dimensions as is between his countries and Iceland, when it is well known that none of our ships do ever come within sight of land. We may as well impose the like toll upon all ships of his country that shall pass through any of our channels, or about our kingdoms. Concerning the fishing at Wardhuys (at the North cape, where the very summer preceding the Danes had seized and confiscated the ships of Hull for fishing thereabout without a licence from them) and in the seas of Iceland, the law of nations does allow of fishing in the sea every where, as also of using the coasts and ports of potentates in amity for traffic, and for avoiding of danger from

* See above in the year 1583.

tempests *; wherefor no licence ought to be insisted on, as in old treaties, for fishing, &c. on that coast; for it cannot be admitted, that the property of the sea, at what distance soever, is consequent to the banks, as it happeneth in small rivers, where the banks are proper to divers men; for then it would follow, that no sea were common, the banks on every side being the property of one or other.

To all which the Danish king replied in this same year in a letter to the queen, by referring to old treaties between England and Denmark, which Queen Elizabeth would not allow to be of any force in her days. That king moreover in his turn complained of the depredations committed by certain English ships on those of Denmark. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, pp. 425, 441.]

Upon the whole, the queen's instructions are so extremely well penned, and the reasonings so just for not observing the obsolete restrictive treaties, that it is humbly apprehended they may even be found useful to ministers and ambassadors of the present and future times in similar cases, commercial and nautical.

Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation, prohibiting her subjects from pirating on the ships and merchandize of nations in alliance with her, under pretence of their belonging to Spain and Portugal (which shews the complaint of the king of Denmark not to have been without ground), and for regulating the sale of prizes, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 436.]

Chavin from France now sailed up the great river of St. Laurence to Canada, but made no settlement there till the following year.

The plurality of East-India partnerships or societies, at this time formed in Holland, creating much disorder and clashing in that commerce, the states-general summoned before them the directors of all those companies, and obliged them to unite for the future into one; to which united company the states granted the sole commerce to East-India for twenty-one years, from the 20th day of March 1602, and their now joint capital stock consisted of 6,600,000 guilders (or about £600,000 Sterling). This joint capital stock was proportioned in the following manner, viz.

Amsterdam to have one half of the said capital, and twenty directors.

Middleburg one fourth of it, and twelve directors.

Delft, Rotterdam, Enchuyfen, and Hoorn, each one sixteenth part, and seven directors, making in all sixty directors from all those places. Or more minutely, by other accounts,

* How different is this language from that of her two next successors, and of Selden in his *Mare clausum*? Had Grotius seen these instructions, and other similar declarations by Elizabeth, they would have furnished excellent arguments in his *Mare liberum*.

	<i>Guild.</i>	<i>Stiv.</i>	<i>Pen.</i>
Subscribed by Amsterdam -	3,687,038	6	8
Middleburg -	1,306,655	4	0
Delft -	470,962	10	0
Rotterdam -	174,562	10	0
Hoorn -	268,430	10	0
Enchuyfen -	541,562	10	0
Total subscribed	6,449,211	10	8

Each of which places elected a number of directors, sent out a number of ships, and received returns, all proportioned to the sums thus subscribed; and at each of those places there is an East-India office, called their chamber.

The Dutch united company sent this year a fleet of fourteen ships to India, and made great advantage by the voyage.

Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation, after the unaccountable humour of that age, in foreseeing dangers that have never yet happened, nor are ever like to happen, from an increase of the suburbs of the city of London, though at present much more considerable than in her days. All that can be said for her zeal herein is, that the greatest judgments are sometimes biased by popular mistakes and clamour. The common objection, that the head (i. e. London) was become too large for the body (i. e. England) first began to be made about this time, and has been frequently started since on various occasions, we apprehend without solid grounds, the increase of buildings in London being principally the consequence of an increase of our general commerce. She therein says, that foreseeing the great and manifold inconveniencies and mischiefs which daily grow, and are like more and more to increase unto the state of the city of London, and the suburbs and confines thereof, by access and confluence of people to inhabit the same, not only by reason that such multitudes could hardly be governed by ordinary justice to serve God and obey her majesty, without constituting an addition of more officers, and enlarging of authorities and jurisdictions for that purpose, but also could hardly be provided of sustentation of victual, food, and other like necessities for man's relief upon reasonable prices: and finally, for that such great multitudes of people inhabiting in small rooms, whereof many be very poor, and such as must live by begging or worse means, and being heaped up together, and in a sort smothered, with many families of children and servants in one house or small tenement, it must needs follow if any plague or other universal sickness come amongst them, it would presently spread through the whole city and confines, and also into all parts of the realm.

For remedy thereof, she commands all persons to desist from any new buildings within three miles of any of the gates of London, and only one family to inhabit one house. And having, in the 22d year of her reign, published certain useful orders and decrees for enforcing her then proclamation, farther corroborated by act of parliament in the 35th year of her reign, yet the said mischiefs daily increasing, through the negligence of magistrates, &c. she now commands the lord mayor of London, &c. faithfully to execute the following articles, viz. I and II articles the same with those in the statute of the 35th of this queen, already exhibited under the year 1593*.

III) Such tenements as have been divided within these ten years in the foresaid limits, the inmates to be avoided presently, if they have no estate for life, lives, or years, yet enduring; and for such as have such estate or term, then as the same shall end, the tenement to be reduced to the former state.

IV) All sheds and shops to be pulled down, that have been erected within seven years past.

V) Empty houses, erected within seven years past, not to be let to any, unless the owner shall be content that they be disposed of for some of the poor of the parish that are destitute of houses, at such rents as they shall allow.

VI) Buildings on new foundations not yet finished, to be pulled down. With sundry other regulations not material enough for us to transcribe.

We find, by letters from the Emperor Rodolph II, that the Hanse towns were now willing to enter into an amicable treaty with Queen Elizabeth, to which he understands the queen not to be averse. And he appoints the treaty to be held at Bremen, notwithstanding his own imperial mandate of 1597, with the concurrence of the German diet, against the monopolizing company of the English merchant-adventurers, who in that year resided at Staden, commanding them to depart the empire in three months time. [*Fœdera*, V. xv, p. 458.]

But the queen and nation were become too wise to let the Hanseatics return again to their old methods of commerce in England, now so greatly interfering with the commerce of her own people.

Queen Elizabeth and the king of Denmark, after some sharp letters on both sides concerning the exactions and depredations mentioned under the preceding year, agreed to send their plenipotentiaries to Bremen, where the queen had two treaties to manage at the same time, neither of which came to any thing.

At that congress, the Danes strenuously insisted that the English should pay the new tolls in the Sound and the last-geldt; that the Russia com-

* See above in the years 1580 and 1593.

pany should continue to pay the 100 rose-nobles yearly, for passing the North seas to Archangel; and also that the English should not fish at Ferroe, Iceland, nor Wardhouse, without a licence from Denmark; and so the congress broke off.

All those pretensions, excepting the toll in the Sound, are long since wisely dropped by the Danish court, as points untenable in these more enlightened times.

After sixteen years suspension of sailing from England to America, owing to the unsuccessful attempts of Raleigh, &c. in the later part of the last century, Captain Gosnol, who was an expert sailor, and had been employed in those former attempts, now made a voyage to the coasts of Virginia*, where he traded with the Indians for peltry, saffrafras, cedar-wood, &c. in latitude 42, in the country now called New England. On Martha's vineyard (an island so named by him) he sowed English corn, which he saw come up kindly, and returned home, making a prosperous voyage.

For his credit it ought to be related, that he was the first Englishman who found out the shorter course to the coasts of North America, without sailing (as hitherto) to the West-Indies, and through the gulf of Florida; which, beside the great compass about, was also much more dangerous, more especially in passing that gulf. And in the year following two Bristol ships traded there, as did also Captain Gilbert from London, with the Indians, and also with those of St. Lucia, Dominica, Nevis, and St. Christopher, isles not yet planted.

In this last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign one more expedition was set on foot against the coasts of Spain, where, with eight of the queen's ships, and some hired ones, commanded by Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Monson, the Spanish flota was unsuccessfully attacked: yet they had better success in attacking a number of ships in the haven of Cezimbra, two of which they destroyed, and from thence carried home a rich carrack worth a million of ducats. Soon after, seven of the eight ships which had escaped from Cezimbra were destroyed near Dover by Sir Robert Mansel.

1603.—After innumerable distractions, many rebellions and insurrections, and much confusion, the entire pacification of Ireland was this year effected, by the absolute submission of the grand rebel Tyrone to Queen Elizabeth's mercy, he not knowing (says Sir James Ware's History of Ireland) that the queen died six days before. During Queen Elizabeth's reign, (says Sir John Davies) she sent over more men, and

* The reader will remember, what has been already observed, that the English then gave the name of Virginia to the whole continent of North America.

spent more treasure, to save and reduce Ireland, than all her progenitors since the conquest.

Queen Elizabeth died 24th March 1603, and was succeeded by James VI king of Scotland, the first monarch of Great Britain *.

The accession of Scotland to the crown of England has undoubtedly proved a great benefit to the later, not only as thereby a most dangerous back-door was for ever shut against France or any other foreign enemy; but likewise as it has largely supplied England with stout and able men, both for the land and sea service, beside other benefits needless to be enlarged on. But King James's accession was undoubtedly detrimental to the Scots in many respects. It carried away the court, their principal nobility and gentry, as well as foreign ministers and many other strangers; whereby the trading people were deprived of much money that used to be spent in that country. It considerably decreased the demand for both foreign and home commodities. It also decreased the number of their people, and thereby created discontent; all which however were afterward well made up by a communication of the English trade and colonies to Scotland, the result of the more happy consolidating union in the year 1707.

The resort of the Scottish nobles to the court (which their ancestors had shunned as much as possible) completed the union of London and Westminster, by converting the antient country villas and gardens of the citizens, and the interjacent cottages, into a continued street, which is called the Strand.

King James, at his accession to the crown of England, called in all the ships of war, as well as the numerous privateers which the English merchants, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, had so successfully employed against Spain, and by which they had done infinite damage to the commerce of that nation, declaring himself to be at peace with all the world. The king's pacific disposition gave an opportunity to mercantile and colonizing adventurers to plant and improve the colonies of Virginia, New England, Bermudas, and Newfoundland (if the last may even at this day be termed a colony) as also to make a considerable progress in the trade to the East-Indies. The royal navy too was increased in his reign to almost double the number of Queen Elizabeth's own ships of war, viz. from thirteen to twenty-four men of war. The largest of Queen Elizabeth's ships at her death was of 1000 tons, carrying 340 mariners, and 40 cannon; and the smallest of 600 tons, carrying 150 mariners, and 30 cannon, beside smaller vessels occasionally hired of private owners.

* King James said of his predecessor Elizabeth, 'that she was one, who in wisdom and felicity of government surpassed all princes since the days of Augustus.' [*Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 28.] An excellent comparison. M.

According to Sir William Monfon, [*Naval tracts*, p. 294] there were not above four merchant ships now in England of four hundred tons burthen.

King James issued a proclamation for annulling several monopolies, and at the opening of his first parliament spoke sharply against them; although afterward he gave great encouragement to them.

Henry IV, king of France, seeing that it was in vain to prohibit the exportation of gold and silver, unless those things for which they were sent were made at home, that the use of silk was become so common (more especially among the fair sex) that they despised the woollen clothes so universally and frugally worn by their ancestors; redoubled his exertions, during the present season of tranquillity, to encourage and extend the propagation of silk-worms, and the manufacture of silk. He procured workmen to conduct a manufacture of tapestry from Flanders, where it had long flourished, and also introduced the manufacture of fine earthen ware from the Netherlands. He revived the glass-houses which had been first set up in the reign of Henry II, in imitation of those at Venice, and set up a linen manufacture. He also made rivers navigable; and his attempt to unite the Loire and the Seine, at a vast expence, was a laudable, though unsuccessful, undertaking. In his buildings, gardens, &c. his improvements shewed the greatness of his genius for the arts. [*Thuan Hist. L. cxxix.*]

It was not till this year that the French began to settle in the country called Canada, or New France, on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, near the place named Trois Rivières, but they did not get so high as Quebec till the year 1608. They proceeded to settle on the north side only of that river, between Quebec and Montreal, till 1629, when Sir David Kirk reduced the whole to the obedience of England.

The weekly bills of mortality at London began now to be regularly kept as in our days; yet many of those bills in earlier times have been lost. And even the bills in their most modern condition afford but an imperfect conjecture of the magnitude of London, as comprehending only the christenings and burials of those of the established church, although the dissenters of all denominations are very numerous. Those also who are buried in St. Paul's cathedral, in the abbey-church at Westminster, in the Temple church, the Rolls chapel, Lincoln's Inn chapel, the Charter-house, the Tower, and some other parts, are said to be entirely omitted. Before the last plague of 1665, the yearly bills were much more frequently filled with that disease than, to our comfort, they have been since, owing probably to the more airy and open rebuilding of London after the great conflagration in the year 1666, and the greater plenty of sweet water.

By an act against the importation of foreign corrupt hops, and brewing with such, it appears, that, though hops were produced in abundance in England, still some were imported, as it makes heavy complaints of the adulteration of foreign hops, in the sacks of which were found great quantities of stalks, powder, sand, straw, &c. by means whereof the subjects of this realm have been of late years abused, &c. to the value of £20,000 yearly, beside the danger of their healths. [1 *Jac. I, c. 18.*]

The house of commons granted the king during life a subsidy of tonnage and poundage for the guard of the seas, in so abject a style, (the words, your majesty's poor commons, being frequently repeated) and so unworthy of the spirit of free-born Englishmen, that it is the less to be wondered at that his son and successor made so free with this subsidy without consulting his people. [1 *Jac. I, c. 33*]

The tonnage duty was 3s for every ton of wine, and 1s for an aum of Rhenish wine.

The poundage was 1s on every 20s value of goods exported and imported, excepting woollen cloths exported, and fish exported taken by English subjects.

By this same act they granted him £1 : 13 : 4 on every sack of wool exported, and the same for every 240 woolfels, to be paid by aliens only, who should also pay 2s for every 20s value of pewter exported by them. Yet the following year King James by proclamation prohibited the exportation of wool, which, indeed, it was high time to do, our own manufacture of it being now so considerable, and so much sent into foreign parts, as to employ or work up all, or near all our own wool at home.

About this time the English East-India company settled their factory at Surat, in the province of Cambaya or Guzaratte, and were soon followed thither by the Dutch. And there, at first, the Portuguese, pretending to the sole and exclusive commerce to India, were very troublesome to both English and Dutch, by seizing their ships and merchandize, and murdering their people: yet in the end both those nations, but more especially the Dutch, took a complete revenge on the Portuguese in India.

We may on this occasion briefly remark the very great benefits which both the cities and potentates of East-India have reaped from the coming of the Europeans thither; and more especially the dominions of the Mogul, by the great increase of his customs, and of his towns and sea-ports. Even this famous town of Surat, though now the first port of the continent of India for maritime commerce, was little better than a village till that time, though since containing above 200,000 souls. The Europeans, moreover, have instructed the East-Indians in many sorts of manufactures, &c. and more particularly in building better and safer ships.

The Portuguese in India had been in possession of the coasts of Ceylon (as we have related) ever since the year 1505, when they erected their first fort at Columbo, where the best cinnamon on earth grows. Zoares, the Portuguese general, obliged the king of Ceylon to pay the king of Portugal an annual tribute of 124,000 pounds of cinnamon, twelve rings set with most pretious stones, and six elephants; as on the other hand, the Portuguese engaged to assist him against all his enemies. But the Moors settled in Ceylon, being jealous of the Portuguese, found means to interrupt the harmony between the king and them; nevertheless the Portuguese, in spite of all opposition, at length fortified themselves quite round that extensive island. The Hollanders, however, doomed to be the perpetual scourge of the Portuguese in India, first landed there in this year, and went to Candy the capital, to wait on the king, in order to contract a friendship with him, which excited the jealousy of the Portuguese, who were not, however, so soon supplanted as they apprehended. [*Churchill's Voyages*, V. iii, p. 573.]

The Dutch East-India company sent out this year twelve ships, which, however, miscarried in attempting Mozambique and Goa; yet they took several Portuguese ships: they also drove the Portuguese from Amboyna and Tidore in the Moluccos. This year their company divided 15 per cent on their capital of 6,459,841 guilders*.

At this time Sir Walter Raleigh laid before King James a small essay in manuscript, intitled Observations concerning the trade and commerce of England with the Dutch and other foreign nations; but being not much regarded at that time, he got it a second time laid before that prince a little before his execution, probably in hopes of pardon. Its main drift was to demonstrate the five following propositions, or how many ways England supinely suffered other nations (who had little or no means or materials of their own to work upon) to carry away the trade of the world.

As, I) That foreigners, (he meant principally the Hollanders) by the privileges they allowed to strangers, drew multitudes of merchants to live amongst them, and thereby enriched themselves.

II) By their storehouses or magazines of all foreign commodities, wherewith, upon every occasion of scarcity, they are enabled to supply other countries, even those from whom they brought those very commodities.

III) By the lowness of the customs of those foreign nations, (here he still means the Dutch.)

* Mr. Anderson has occasionally given the subsequent dividends of the Dutch East-India company, but frequently from erroneous authorities. I have therefor taken the liberty of cancelling them all, and have given the whole at once in the comprehensive form of a table down to the year 1796, which will be found inserted under the year 1799.
M.

IV) By the structure or roominess of their shipping, holding much merchandize, though sailing with fewer hands than our ships, thereby carrying their goods much cheaper to and from foreign parts than we can; whereby the Dutch gain all the foreign freights, whilst our ships lie still and decay, or else go to Newcastle for coals.

V) Their prodigious fishery, of which they make such vast returns yearly.

After these five propositions, he goes on to remark on the freedom from custom allowed by the Dutch, for any newly erected trade. That even in France all nations may freely buy and sell, being free of custom outwards twice or thrice in the year. That at Rochel and in Britany there is free custom all the year round, and also in Denmark; excepting between Bartholomew-tide and Michaelmas. That the Hanse towns imitate the Dutch in those wise regulations, whereby they also abound in riches and all manner of merchandize, have plenty of money, and are strong in shipping and mariners, some of their towns having near one thousand sail of ships.

That the Dutch and other petty states ingross the transportation of the merchandize of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and the East and West Indies; all which they carry to Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and other northern parts, and bring back the bulky commodities of those northern regions into the southern countries. Yet is England better situated than Holland for a general storehouse. No sooner does a dearth happen of wine, fish, or corn, &c. in England, than forthwith the Embdeners, Hamburgers, and Hollanders, out of their storehouses load 50 or 100 ships or more, dispersing themselves round about this kingdom, and carrying away great store of coin and wealth, thus cutting down our merchants, and decaying our navigation, not with their natural commodities, but with those of other countries.

Amsterdam is never without 700,000 quarters of corn, beside what they dayly vent, though none of it be of the growth of their country; and a dearth of only one year in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. is justly observed to enrich Holland for seven years after. In the last dearth six years ago in England, the Hamburgers, Embdeners, and Hollanders supplied this kingdom from their storehouses; and in a year and a half carried away from the ports of Southampton, Exeter, and Bristol, near £200,000; and from other parts of this kingdom, (more particularly including London) it cannot be so little as £2,000,000 more, to the great decay of your kingdom, and impoverishing of your people, discredit and dishonour to the merchants, and to the land.

The Dutch, &c. have a continual trade into this kingdom with 500 or 600 ships yearly, with merchandize of other countries, storing them up here until the price rise to their minds; and we trade not with fifty ships into their country in a year.

He goes on to observe very truly, that unless there be a scarcity or high prices, all merchants avoid the parts where great impositions are on merchandize; which places are usually slenderly shipped, ill-served, and at dear rates, often in scarcity, and in want of employment for their people: whereas the low duties of the wise states above named draw all traffic unto them, and the great liberty allowed to strangers makes a continual mart; so that whatever excises, &c. they may lay upon the common people, they are sure ever to ease, uphold, and maintain the merchants by all possible means, thereby to draw the wealth and strength of Christendom to themselves: and although the duties be but small, yet the vast exports and imports do greatly increase their revenues; which vast commerce enables the common people not only to bear the burden of the excises and impositions laid on them, but also to grow rich.

In former ages, the city of Genoa, as appears by their antient records and sumptuous buildings, had a vastly extended commerce, whether all nations traded, being the storehouse for all Italy and other parts: but after they laid so great a custom as 16 per cent, all nations left trading with them, which made them give themselves wholly to usury; and at this day we have not three ships go thither in a year.

On the other side, the duke of Florence having laid small customs on merchandize at Leghorn, and granted great privileges, he has thereby made it a rich and strong city, and his state flourishing.

Next, Raleigh comes to his favourite point, the fishery. The greatest fishing that ever was known in the world is upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland; but the great fishery is in the Low Countries and other petty states, wherewith they serve themselves and all Christendom.

I) Into four towns in the Baltic, viz. Koningberg, Elbing, Stetin, and Dantzick, there are carried and vended in a year between 30,000 and 40,000 lafts of herrings, which, being sold but at L15 or L16 the laft, is about - - - L620,000 0 0

And we send none thither.

II) To Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the ports of Riga, Revel, Narva, and other parts of Livonia, &c. above 10,000 lafts of herrings, worth - - - 170,000 0 0

And we send none at all to those countries.

III) The Hollanders send into Russia near 1500 lafts of herrings, sold at about 30s per barrel, is - - - 27,000 0 0

And we send thither about twenty or thirty lafts.

IV) To Staden, Hamburgh, Bremen, and Embden, about 6000 lafts of fish and herrings, sold at about L15 or L16 per laft, - - - 100,000 0 0

And we none at all.

V) To Cleves and Juliers, up the Rhine to Cologne and Frankfort on the Maine, and so over all Germany, near 22,000 lafts of fish and herrings, sold at L20 per laft (and we none), is	-	-	-	440,000	0	0
VI) Up the river Meuse to Maefrecht, Liege, &c. and to Venloo, Zutphen, Deventer, Campen, Swoll, &c. about 7000 lafts of herrings, at L20 per laft (and we none at all), is	-	-	-	140,000	0	0
VII) To Guelderland, Artois, Hainault, Brabant, Flanders, Antwerp, and up the Scheldt, all over the archduke's countries, between 8000 and 9000 lafts, at L18 per laft (and we none), is	-	-	-	162,000	0	0
VIII) The Hollanders and others carried of all forts of herrings to Roan alone in one year, besides all other parts of France, 5000 lafts (and we not 100 lafts), is				100,000	0	0
Total sterling money,				-	L1,759,000	0 0

Over and above these, there is a great quantity of fish vended to the Straits. Surely the stream is necessary to be turned to the good of this kingdom, to whose sea-coasts alone God has sent these great blessings and immense riches for us to take; and that any nation should carry away out of this kingdom yearly great masses of money for fish taken in our seas, and sold again by them to us, must needs be a great dishonour to our nation, and hinderance to this realm*.

Raleigh goes on to other branches of the Dutch commerce, viz. that, although abundance of corn grows in Poland, Livonia, &c. yet the great storehouse for grain, to serve Christendom, &c. in time of dearth, is in the Low Countries.

The vintage of wines and gathering of salt are in France and Spain, but the great stores of both are in the Low Countries: and they send near 1000 sail of ships yearly into the east countries with salt and wine only, beside what they send to other places; and we not one ship in that way.

The exceeding great groves of wood are in the east countries, chiefly within the Baltic; but the large piles of wainscot, clapboard, fir, deal, masts, and other timber, are in the Low Countries, where none grows, wherewith they serve themselves and other parts, and this kingdom; and they have 500 or 600 great long ships continually using that trade, and we none at all.

The wool, cloth, lead, tin, and divers other commodities, are in England; but by means of our wool, and of our cloth going out rough, un-

* This account of the magnitude of the Dutch fishery was quoted sixty years after by the grand pensionary De Witt, as believing that Raleigh had taken great pains to obtain accurate information. There is, however, good reason to suspect that it is not entirely free from exaggeration. *M.*

dress'd, and undyed, there is an exceeding manufactory and drapery in the Low Countries, wherewith they serve themselves and other nations, and greatly advance the employment of their people at home and traffic abroad, and in proportion suppress ours.

We send into the east countries yearly but 100 ships, and our trade chiefly depends on three towns there, viz. Elbing, Koningsberg, and Dantzick; but the Low Countries send thither about 3000 ships, trading into every city and port-town, vending their commodities to exceeding profit, and loading their ships with plenty of their commodities, which they have 20 per cent cheaper than we, by reason of the difference of the coin; and their fish yields ready money. They send into France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, about 2000 ships yearly with those East-country commodities, and we none in that course.

They trade into all cities and port-towns of France, and we chiefly to five or six.

The Low Countries have as many ships and vessels as eleven kingdoms of Christendom have, let England be one. They build every year near 1000 ships*, although all their native commodities do not require 100 ships to carry them away at once. Yet although we have all things of our own in abundance for the increase of traffic, timber to build ships, and commodities of our own to load about 1000 ships and vessels at once, beside the great fishing, and as fast as they make their voyages might reload again, yet our ships and mariners decline, and traffic and merchants daily decay.

For seventy years together we had a great trade to Russia†, and even about fourteen years ago we sent store of goodly ships thither; but three years past we sent out four thither, and last year but two or three ships: whereas the Hollanders are now increased to about thirty or forty ships, each as large as two of ours, chiefly laden with English cloth, herrings taken in our seas, English lead, and pewter made of our tin, beside other commodities; all which we may do better than they. And although it (Russia) be a cheap country, and the trade very gainful, yet we have almost brought it to nought by disorderly trading. So likewise we used to have eight or nine great ships go continually a fishing to Wardhouse, and this year but one.

God hath blest your majesty with copper, lead, iron, tin, alum, copperas, saffron, fells, (i. e. skins) and many more native commodities, to the number of about 100; and other manufactures vendible, to the number of about 1000; beside corn, whereof great quantities of beer are made, and mostly transported by strangers; as also wool and coals.

* With respect to this number of *ships* built annually, it may be observed, that the whole of the British dominions, even in the present very extended state of British commerce, have never built quite so many *vessels* in any one year. M.

† There was a trade with Russia at the port of Narva long before the route by the North cape was discovered.

Iron ordnance, a jewel of great value, far more than it is accounted, by reason that no other country (but England) could ever attain unto it, although they had attempted it with great charge.

Raleigh, moreover, tells the king, that there were about 80,000 undressed and undyed cloths annually exported from England, whereby £400,000 per annum, for fifty-five years past (being above twenty millions), has been lost to the nation; which sum, had the said cloths been dressed and dyed at home, would have been gained, beside the farther enlarging of traffic, by importing materials for dying, and the increase of customs thereon. Moreover, there have been annually exported in that time, in bayes, northern and Devonshire kerseys, all white, about 50,000 cloths, counting three kerseys to one cloth, whereby five millions more have been lost for want of dying and dressing.

Our bayes are sent white to Amsterdam, and there dressed, dyed, and shipped for Spain, Portugal, &c. where they are sold by the name of Flemish bayes; so we lose the very name of our home-bred commodities.

Speaking again of the fishery, he asserts, that the great sea-business of fishing employs near 20,000 ships and vessels, and 400,000 people yearly, upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with sixty ships of war, which may prove dangerous. The Hollanders alone have about 3000 ships to fish with, and 50,000 men are employed yearly by them on your majesty's coasts aforesaid; which 3000 ships employ near 9000 other ships and vessels, and 150,000 persons more, by sea and land, to make provision, to dress and transport the fish they take, and return commodities; whereby they are enabled yearly to build 1000 ships and vessels.

King Henry VII, desiring to make his kingdom powerful and rich by an increase of ships and mariners, and for the employment of his people, moved his sea-ports to set up the great and rich fishery, promising them needful privileges, and to furnish them with loans of money; yet his people were slack. That by only twenty fishing-busses, placed at one sea-coast town, where no ship was before, there must be to carry, recarry, transport, and make provision for one bus, three ships; likewise every ship setting on work thirty several trades. Thus those twenty busses set on work near 8000 persons by sea and land, and cause an increase of near 1000 mariners, and a fleet of eighty sail of ships in one town, where none were before.

In the conclusion he strongly recommends what he calls a state-merchant, from which he promises a great increase of commerce, manufactures, shipping, and riches; yet, as far as appears from his general account of it, it seems to be no more than for the king to give him leave to name a number of commissioners, to be vested by his majesty with authority to take examinations upon oath, and in other respects to re-

gulate commerce to the best advantage ; which scheme seems much the same with the present board of trade and plantations, erected in the year 1696.

Raleigh's essay on commerce was a masterly performance for the time in which it was written, yet he is sometimes mistaken ; for instance, his advice to raise the nominal value of coin above its intrinsic value, or, in other words, above the price of bullion in other nations, which he thinks would be a means to keep our coin to ourselves. Yet in this point Raleigh may be excused, seeing that so lately as the years 1695 and 1696, when the silver coins were so shamefully impaired as to require a general recoinage, an otherwise able and diligent secretary of the treasury fell into the like mistake, as will be related in its place.

His theory is good in respect of the great advantages accruing to the public by dying and fully dressing our cloths before exportation ; nevertheless, we shall see Alderman Cockayne's patent for that end in the year 1615 prove unsuccessful, although those arts have since been gained by us gradually, and without force, which a compulsory law in King James's reign could not effect. King James's attempt also in the year 1623 to erect granaries of corn, in imitation of Holland, proved abortive. The fishery is much altered since Raleigh's time : people, even in popish countries, are become more delicate in their palates, and less fond of a salt-fish diet ; yet it must be allowed that there is still a great demand for salted fish in many countries.

Upon the whole, although some part of this essay may possibly lie under the censure of exaggeration, yet its historical and critical remarks render it very deserving of a place in commercial history.

Besides the establishment of a company of mines-royal erected in 1563, and another for mineral and battery-works in 1568, King James now incorporated the earl of Pembroke and others, for better continuing the corporation (of the 10th of Queen Elizabeth) of the society of mineral and battery-works ; yet notwithstanding the acts of parliament of the 10th and 39th of Elizabeth, and sundry grants of King James and of King Charles I and II, with prohibitions of foreign iron-wire and wool-cards ; and that the company of mines-royal was united in 1668 to that of the mineral and battery-works, whereof Prince Rupert and the earl of Shaftsbury were then elected governors ; two acts of parliament, nevertheless, (in 1689 and 1693) declared no mines to be royal, either of copper, tin, iron, or lead, even though gold and silver should be extracted therefrom ; provided, however, that the crown may have the pre-emption of those metals, paying for copper ore L16 per ton, tin L2 per ton, iron L2, and lead L9 per ton. These acts greatly discouraged the above named societies, and gave rise to the mine-adventurers company, now also in a very languishing condition in our days.

By a statute of this year [c. 25] when wheat is not above L1 : 6 : 8 per quarter, rye, pease, and beans, 15s, and barley and malt 14s per quarter, they may be exported in English ships, paying custom, 2s per quarter for wheat, and 1/4 for the other kinds.

1604.—An assembly of Hanseatic deputies now appointed a solemn embassy to foreign nations, for the renewal of their mercantile privileges, in the name of the cities of Lubeck, Dantzick, Cologne, Ham-
burgh, and Bremen. They first addressed King James, who, because they brought no letters from the emperor, soon dismissed them with the following answer of his privy council.

That as their privileges were heretofore adjudged to be forfeited, and thereupon resumed by the king's predecessors, in respect of the breach of conditions on their part, so it can no way stand with the good of the state to restore them again to the said privileges. And with this answer they departed nothing contented. [*Thuani Hist. L. cxxxi.—Winwood's Memoirs, V. ii.*]

The Hanseatics went thence to the court of France, where they met with abundance of good words, but nothing else; and then they went to the court of Spain, where, probably for the emperor's sake, they had some success.

King James I having determined to make peace with all nations, a treaty was set on foot at London between his ministers and those of King Philip III of Spain, and of the Archduke Albert, and the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, for the Netherlands. What was then concluded relating to commerce is in substance, viz.

I) All ships of war, and letters of marque and reprisals, to be called in on both sides.

II) King James's garrisons in the cautionary towns shall not supply the Hollanders with any military stores, nor any other assistance whatever, during their revolt from Spain.

III) There shall be a free and uninterrupted commerce between the dominions of both parties, as it was before the late wars, and as agreeable to former treaties of commerce; with free access to each others ports, so, however, that no number exceeding six ships of war shall enter into any port on either side without previous leave.

IV) The merchandize of England, Scotland, and Ireland, may be freely imported into the Spanish dominions, without being obliged to pay the new impost of 30 per cent, and shall pay none but the old duties.

V) With respect to the merchandize which King James's subjects shall buy in Spain, they shall likewise be exempted from the said new impost of 30 per cent, provided they bring away the said merchandize in their own shipping, and unlade them either in the British dominions or in the Spanish Netherlands; but they shall not carry them any where

else without paying the new impost, unless it be to France, after Spain shall have adjusted her differences with that crown.

VI) There shall be no interruption of commerce in either country on account of difference in religion.

VII) The effects of persons dying in either country shall be carefully kept for their executors or administrators.

VIII) Six months time shall be allowed, in case of a rupture, for merchants in either country to remove their effects.

IX) The ships of neither contracting party shall be detained in the ports of the other country, nor be made use of for war, without their respective sovereign's consent. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 579.]

In consequence of this treaty King James incorporated a company of merchants for an exclusive trade to Spain and Portugal; but this monopoly being found to be very prejudicial to commerce, was in the following year so strongly remonstrated against by the house of commons, that the patent was revoked, and the trade to those countries left free to all as before, by act of parliament. [3 *Jac. I*, c. 6.]

The king gave licence to Sir Edward Michelborne and his associates, to go with their ships on the discovery of Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya, and the isles thereto belonging, and to trade with the said countries and people (not as yet frequented and traded unto by any of our subjects or people) without interruption, any restraint, grant, or charter to the contrary notwithstanding. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 582] This licence was directly contradictory to the following clause in Queen Elizabeth's charter of incorporation to the East-India company, viz. 'None of the queen's subjects but the company, their servants or assigns, shall resort to India, without being licenced by the company, upon pain of forfeiting ships, cargoes,' &c. Yet he and Captain John Davis went this year with one ship and a pinnace to Bantam, but (according to Purchas) performed nothing memorable.

The English East-India company sent out four ships under Sir Henry Middleton. At Bantam he loaded two ships with pepper, going with the other two to the isles of Banda, famous for the trade of nutmeg and mace. At Amboyna, so eminent for cloves, he loaded a good quantity; and there he found the Dutch at war with the Portuguese about the sovereignty of that important island. In their return homeward one of their ships was lost, but the other three got safe home in the year 1606.

The following record shews the very great difference of times and seasons then and now. Its title is, *Commissio pro tobacco*, wherein King James sets forth, that whereas tobacco being a drug of late years found out, and brought from foreign parts in small quantities, was taken and used by the better sort, both then and now, only as physic, to preserve health, but is now at this day, through evil custom and the toleration thereof, excessively taken by a number of riotous and disorderly persons

of mean and base condition, who do spend most of their time in that idle vanity, to the evil example and corrupting of others; and also do consume the wages which many of them get by their labour, not caring at what price they buy that drug. By which immoderate taking of tobacco the health of a great number of our people is impaired, and their bodies weakened and made unfit for labour; besides, that also a great part of the treasure of our land is spent and exhausted by this only drug, so licentiously abused by the meaner sort. All which enormous inconveniencies we do well perceive to proceed principally from the great quantity of tobacco dayly brought into this our realm, which excess might in great part be restrained by some good imposition to be laid on it. Wherefor, we command you our treasurer of England to order all customers, comptrollers, searchers, surveyors, &c. of our ports, that, from the 26th of October next, they shall demand and take for our use, of all merchants, as well English as strangers, and of all others who shall bring in any tobacco, the sum of six shillings and eightpence on every pound weight thereof, over and above the custom of twopence upon the pound weight usually paid before, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 601.] As this king, as well as his son and successor, had a mortal hatred to tobacco, and as it was, moreover, all brought from the Spanish West Indies, it is no wonder he laid a tax on it equal to a prohibition, had it been legally imposed and strictly executed. He then little apprehended that in process of time the tax on the tobacco of his own colonies would yield a very considerable share of the public revenue. We may add, what is obvious to all, that he had no right to lay on such a duty without the consent of parliament.

The king issued a proclamation for the reformation of the coin, and for coining new money. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 605.]

The new coins were pieces of 20*s*, 10*s*, 5*s*, 4*s*, and 2/6, in gold; and pieces of 5*s*, 2/6, 1*s*, 6*d*, 2*d*, 1*d*, and an halfpenny, in silver.

The barbarous cruelties committed by the Spaniards in Chili, as well as in other parts of America, so incensed the natives, that they destroyed five of the thirteen Spanish towns in that country with much slaughter. It is even said that a considerable part of Chili still preserves its native independence.

1605.—We have already seen the charters of two temporary English Levant or Turkey companies expire; and as such limited grants are always discouraging to the adventurers, King James now gave a perpetual charter to a new company, by the designation of the merchants of England trading to the Levant seas. It is what is called in England a regulated company (there being as yet no joint stock companies existing), every member trading on his own particular bottom, though under such regulations as should be settled at their own general courts. The charter grants to a number of persons therein named, and their

sons, and all others thereafter to be admitted or made free of the company, annually to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, to manage all matters relating to the trade, freedom, &c. All the king's subjects, being merchants, under the age of twenty-six years, on requiring the same, and paying L25 to the company, and if above twenty-six years of age, paying L50, shall be made free of this company, and all their apprentices shall be admitted to its freedom on payment of 20s only.

Thus a most profitable commerce to England was established in perpetuity *, whereby great quantities of our woollen manufactures, and of later times other merchandize, as watches, jewels, &c. have been exported thither. The Venetians, for many ages, supplied Constantinople and other parts of the Levant with woollen cloth and other merchandize; but the English being able to afford their cloths cheaper than the Venetians, drove them totally out of the cloth trade to Turkey. The author of the Trade's increase, published in 1615, says, that at first this company's ordinary returns were three to one; and this has generally been the case in newly discovered trades.

It is true that Turkey is not a country to get a great and direct balance from, yet the raw silk brought from thence has been the means of bringing our silk manufacture to its present magnitude; and as we have also from thence cotton, mohair yarn, and dying stuffs in great quantities, we may justly esteem this trade profitable to the public for the advancement of many sorts of manufactures. From the Levant also come drugs, coffee, carpets, &c.

Captain Ley settled with some Englishmen on the river Weapoco in Guiana; but supplies miscarrying, they were forced to abandon that settlement. [*Smith's Voyages*, V. ii.]

King James this year coined gold pieces called units, value 20s, double crowns 10s, Britain crowns 5s, thistle crowns 4s, and half crowns 2s 6d; and next year he coined rose-rials of 30s, spur-rials of 15s, and angels of 10s. His silver coins were in all respects the same as before.

As every improvement and increase of the metropolis of the British empire indicates the increase of its general wealth and commerce, we shall not scruple to take notice that an act of parliament was passed [3 *Jas. I. c. 22*] for paving St. Giles's and Drury-lane, wherein St. Giles in the fields is described as a town separate from the great contiguity, very foul and miry, and till now unpaved. What we now call Broad St.

* How far the exclusive privileges of the company may be profitable to the nation at large, is now called in question; and indeed their privileges have been asserted to be now *prejudicial* to the British commerce and manufactures, by Mr. Eton, in his *Survey of the Turkish empire*, 8vo, 1798. M.

Giles's, is in this act called 'the street in that part of the town of St. Giles leading to Holborn.'

About this time coaches began to be in pretty general use among the nobility and gentry in London; but hackney-coaches and stage-coaches to and from the country were still unknown.

Philip III king of Spain issued a severe declaration, prohibiting the inhabitants of the United provinces from trading to the dominions of Spain, or to the East or West Indies. But the Dutch East-India company were so far from being thereby overawed, that it rather inspired them with fresh resolution and diligence; for they presently sent out eleven ships, prepared as well for war as for commerce. These were soon followed by eight more, well supplied with soldiers, who were to keep garrison in the East-Indies, where they at first reduced the fort of Amboyna, and after taking several Spanish and Portuguese prizes, they entirely dislodged those two nations from the Molucco isles. But without tiring the reader with all the several voyages of that Dutch company, and their numberless advantages over the Spaniards and Portuguese in India and at sea, we shall here only summarily observe that they soon obtained full possession of an immense commerce there, and in time established their factories and settlements from Balfora at the mouth of the river Tigris in the Persian gulf, along the coasts and isles of India even to Japan, making alliances with many Indian princes, being moreover sovereigns in many parts of India, particularly the coasts of Ceylon, Palicat, Masulipatam, Negapatam, and many other places along the coasts of Coromandel, Cochin, Canonor, Cranganor, and other places along the coast of Malabar, and the best part of the great isle of Java, with Batavia, their great emporium there, the centre of all their Indian commerce: they are also sovereigns of the Moluccos and other spice islands; and at length they became so potent as to be able to send out a fleet in India of forty or fifty capital ships, and a land army of 30,000 men.

The riches brought home to Europe by the several nations now trading to the East-Indies, having excited the emulation of the court of Denmark to attempt a shorter way thither by the north-west, although so often before fruitlessly attempted by others, King Christiern IV this year sent out three ships into Frobisher's straits, which traded with the natives, some of whom they brought home to Copenhagen. They repeated these attempts thither for several succeeding years, but made no material discovery.

1606.—The people of Hull, who had long frequented the fishery on the coasts of Iceland and Norway, made also some essays for that passage on the coasts of Greenland; and now also the Russia and East-India companies joined in sending out John Knight, who had been sent thither the preceding year by the court of Denmark; but he returned

without any discovery. They now began to kill morfes, or sea horfes, by lances, whose teeth being in those times esteemed better than ivory, they brought home many of them, and much of their oil, and also thirty tons of lead ore from Cherry island, so called because discovered in 1603 by a ship belonging to Sir Francis Cherry.

In the years 1608 and 1610, the Russia company took possession of Cherry island, and brought home considerable quantities of morfes teeth and oil. In Gull island they discovered three lead mines and a coal mine.

In the third of King James, an act of parliament passed, with directions how a passage may be made by water from London to Oxford; but as this law did not answer expectation, it was repealed.

In this year a new treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was concluded between King James and Henry IV king of France, for their mutual defence against Spain, and for supporting the United Netherlands. What relates to commerce is in substance as follows, viz.

I) The duties and customs in both countries to be the same as in former treaties.

II) In the ports of London for England, and of Rouen, &c. for France, all controversies between merchants shall be referred to two merchants of each nation, who shall be called conservators of the commerce, and shall take an oath for the faithful execution of their office, and shall be appointed anew every year. They shall see to the justness of weights and measures, and those in France to the goodness of English woollen cloth; and what shall appear to be bad shall be re-exported to England, but without confiscation, or the paying of any duty at the removal or return of such cloth.

III) If in any ship of either party there be found goods not entered, which should have paid custom, only the unentered goods, but none of the others in the ship, shall be forfeited.

IV) Merchants dying in either country may freely bequeath their effects according to the laws and customs of their own respective countries.

V) All letters of reprisals shall be called in on both sides. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 645.]

N. B. In this treaty the isles of Guernsey and Jersey are by name included.

An English minister was now for the first time appointed to reside in Turkey, by King James's letters-patent to Thomas Glover, to be his envoy and agent in the dominions of Sultan Achmet the grand signior; who has freely given his consent that our merchants may trade to his dominions. Liberty is hereby given to the said Thomas Glover to reside in what part of Turkey he shall think best, and to appoint consuls for the good government of the English in the other proper ports. This

was in consequence of the newly incorporated Levant company of the preceding year, erected in perpetuity.

Henry, the patriotic king of France, erected a council for the encouragement and improvement of commerce ; and he persevered in his endeavours to introduce new manufactures in his kingdom. Besides those already mentioned, mills for working and cleaning of iron, manufactures of gauzes and thin linen cloth, cloth and ferges, and gilt leather, were established in various parts of France.

Captain Gosnold having given an advantageous description of Virginia, as Raleigh and others had done before, the gentlemen and merchants of England began to entertain fresh hopes of planting a permanent colony there ; and both the London and Bristol merchants had for three or four years past, traded (as Gosnold had also done) for such commodities as the Indians on the coasts of that country could supply. Captain Gilbert also in this year first landed in the great bay of Chesapeake, where he lost his life. Moreover, Captain Weymouth, fitted out by the earl of Southampton and the Lord Arundel of Wardour in the year 1605, had traded also on those coasts with the Indians, bartering his beads, knives, combs, &c. for their furs, skins, &c. to vast profit. At length, after much solicitation, Captain Gosnold obtained of King James a charter for two companies.

The first company consisted of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Edward Wingfield, Esq. Mr. Hakluyt the industrious compiler of a collection of voyages, and others, who, under the name of *the South Virginia company*, or the London adventurers, had a patent for all the lands in America comprehended between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude, which are now called Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina.

The second company was called the Plymouth adventurers, who were empowered to plant and inhabit as far as to 45 degrees of north latitude, including what are now called Pensylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England. But these last did not plant till some years afterwards.

The London company sent out two ships, in which went Mr. Percy, the earl of Northumberland's brother, and four more of the council of that company, carrying with them a clergyman, fundry artificers and tools, provisions, ammunition, &c. They landed and fortified three miles from the mouth of Powhatan (now James river) within Chesapeake bay, and gave their first settlement the name of James town, which it still retains. This therefor was properly the first English colony on the continent of America which took root, and has proved permanent to our days, all former attempts having proved abortive. Here one hundred men settled, with all necessaries, and Captain John Smith (who has written the first account of the country) was left to be their princi-

pal manager ; and the earl of Southampton joining himself to this company, procured Sir Thomas Dale (an experienced foldier in the Netherland wars) to be their first governor. Some of the other principal managers were Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Danvers, Sir Maurice Abbot, Alderman Abdy, &c. These gentlemen prevailed on the great Sir Francis Bacon to write his excellent instructions concerning new colonies, which are printed amongst his other essays.

It is very true that the yellow isinglass dust found in James river, and other golden dreams, did for a while suspend the proper improvement of that infant plantation, which was also greatly obstructed by their many squabbles with the natives, then very numerous there ; but as they were regularly supplied with necessaries and recruits from England, they at length surmounted all difficulties, the greatest of which were perhaps their own intestine divisions, and bad conduct, often bringing them into distress.

The company of merchant-adventurers of the city of Exeter obtained an act of Parliament [4 *Jac. I. c. 9*] confirming a charter which Queen Elizabeth had granted them, in the year 1560, for an exclusive trade to the dominions of France. This was a proper monopoly legally established, but only as far as related to the rest of the inhabitants, who were not free of that company, for which this statute assigns as a reason the inconveniencies arisen from the excessive number of ignorant artificers, &c. who in that city took upon them to use the science, art, and mystery of merchandize.

In the same session of parliament, and the very next statute, the town of Southampton obtained power to exclude every one from merchandizing, and buying and selling in that town, who was not free of it, with an exception, however, of the barons and freemen of the Cinque ports, whose privileges of buying and selling there are hereby preserved entire. Both these monopolies, though merely local, would nevertheless in our more experienced days be deemed by wise men an unreasonable restraint.

1607.—Camden now published his last and improved edition of his most valuable work, intituled *Britannia*. Since his time the condition of many English towns is greatly altered for the better, by the general increase of commerce. For instance, speaking of Lyme in Dorsetshire, he calls it a little town, scarcely to be reputed a seaport town or haven, though frequented by fishermen ; yet this once contemptible place is now become a great town, and a port of good shipping, having a fine pier and many opulent merchants.

The town and port of Poole, also in the same county, is greatly increased in ships and merchants since a little before Camden's time, when according to him the bulk of its inhabitants were a few fishermen.

The seaport town of Sunderland had no existence in Camden's time, otherwise it could not have escaped the notice of that accurate author; and the like may be observed of Falmouth, now a well frequented port. Of Norwich we have elsewhere noted the great improvements; and the like may be remarked of Bristol, and yet much more of Liverpool; also of Newcastle, and many others, both seaports and inland towns, where manufactures now greatly flourish, as Leeds, Halifax, Birmingham, Manchester, &c.

It must however, be admitted on the other hand, that some few English towns have decayed, which in old times were much more considerable, particularly the cities of York and Lincoln. The latter especially must have had a sudden as well as a very grievous decay in Camden's time, who observing how much the city of Lincoln was sunk under the weight of time and antiquity, adds, 'that of fifty churches which were remembered to have been in it by our grandfathers, there are now scarce eighteen remaining.' Since Camden's time they are reduced to thirteen shabby ones.

Since we are upon this subject of the increase and decline of cities, Thuanus (who likewise wrote in 1607), speaking of the famous commercial city of Dantzick, observes, that from a small and obscure beginning it has since so greatly increased, that at this day it may be esteemed the most frequented and richest emporium, not only of the north and west, but even of the whole earth, which was probably saying rather too much, as Amsterdam may be presumed to have been then much more frequented by shipping, of greater magnitude, of a more extensive commerce, and more opulent than Dantzick. But be that as it may, Dantzick is since in some degree declined from its former prosperity, though still a noble and opulent city.

King James gave a charter for seven years to Richard Penkevill of Cornwall, Esq. and his colleagues, for the sole discovery of a passage to China, Cathay, the Moluccos, and other parts of the East-Indies, by the north, north-east, or north-west. They were hereby incorporated by the name of the colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the north passage, and were to enjoy for ever all the lands they should discover (not already found by any Christians), reserving to the crown the supreme sovereignty, and also certain prerogatives, duties, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 660.] But as nothing followed (that we can learn) from this charter, we need say nothing farther about it.

Captain Henry Hudson (whether connected with the above company or not is uncertain) now sailed as far north as $80\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, in quest of the passage; and he repeated his attempt in the following year to as little purpose, after having in vain tried a north-east passage by Nova Zembla the same year. His name, however, is perpetuated, by being given to a great bay in the northern part of America.

There having been of late years many inclosures of heaths, commons, and other waste grounds in England, the poor peasantry or cottagers of several counties made a kind of riotous insurrection on that account, which however was soon quelled.

The English East-India company now sent out their third voyage with three ships; but as it would be equally tiresome and unprofitable to relate what is to be found in so many other works, it is sufficient to remark that the superior industry of the Dutch in India had already been beforehand with us at the spice islands, of which they soon after this time made themselves sovereigns, as they remain at this day, and that the Portuguese jesuits at the mogul's court still continued equal enemies to both English and Dutch in India.

Under this year Mezeray (though a popish author) writing of the reign of King Henry IV of France, highly commends the state of Venice for wisely consulting the true interest of their people; for, finding many inconveniencies from the indiscreet zeal of persons, especially on their deathbeds, in the year 1603, they prohibited the building of churches, convents, or hospitals, without the senate's permission; and in 1605 enacted that no ecclesiastic be allowed to leave, bequeath, or engage any goods to the church; that none should henceforth give any estate in lands to the clergy, nor to religious orders, without the consent of the senate, who would allow of it upon good consideration. And upon the pope's storming thereat, the senate answered, 'that it was not just that such lands as maintained the subjects, and were to bear the charges of the state, should fall into mortmain;' and they quoted the like practice of the emperors Valentinian and Charlemain, of all the French kings from St. Louis to Henry III, of Edward I king of England, of the Emperor Charles V, &c. And (what is most memorable) although the pope interdicted the republic and excommunicated the senate, yet many of their bishops and clergy stood firm to the senate, in spite of all the thunder of the Vatican.

1608.—The manufacture of alum was now invented and successfully practised in England, being happily encouraged and propagated in Yorkshire by Lord Sheffield, Sir John Bourcher, and other landed gentlemen of that county, to the very great benefit of England in general, and to the singular great emolument of the proprietors thereof to this day. King James was a great encourager of these alum works, having, by the advice of his ministers, assumed the monopoly of it to himself; and therefor he prohibited the importation of foreign alum.

But that king was not at all successful in his laudable zeal for the propagation of silk in England, in imitation of King Henry IV of France. He this year sent circular letters into all the counties of England for planting mulberry trees; for which end he caused printed instructions to be published, as also for breeding and feeding silk-worms.

‘ Having seen,’ says King James, ‘ in a few years space, that our brother the French king hath, since his coming to that crown, both begun and brought to perfection the making of silk in his country, whereby he hath won to himself honour, and to his subjects a marvellous increase of wealth.’ This was very true; but experience has shewn that neither that king nor any of his successors have been able to propagate silk in any place north of the river Loire, and much less so far north as about Paris.

Neither have any later attempts in England for this purpose succeeded; our climate being apparently too cold for it. But the climate in Carolina and Georgia is better suited for silk-worms than the very southernmost provinces of Spain, France, or Italy; which therefore it is earnestly hoped will soon be effectually encouraged, as very hopeful and considerable beginnings have already been made. But as the bringing of so great a matter to any degree of perfection will require many hands and much expense, it seems very well to merit the consideration and aid of the public; the quantity of raw silk of the very best quality already produced in those two provinces giving rational ground for hoping that perhaps even the very next generation may enjoy the substantial effects of the present endeavours for the propagation as well of silk as of wines, potashes, cochineal, and sundry other excellent new productions; more especially considering the encouragement annually allotted for those and many other noble purposes by the honourable and ever to be applauded society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, lately established in our own time.

Hitherto the English were but little skilled in the arts of dying and dressing their own woollen cloths; they therefore usually sent them white into Holland, where they were dyed and dressed, and then sent back to England for sale. It is surprising that those who made the finest cloths in the world could not finish them: but the fact was really so. Alderman Cockayne, and some other merchants, reflecting on the great profit thereby made by the Hollanders, proposed to the king to undertake the dying and dressing of cloths at home, to the great profit of the public and his majesty; whereupon Cockayne obtained an exclusive patent for it, and the king was to have the monopoly of the sale of such home-dyed cloths. The king thereupon issued a proclamation, prohibiting any white cloths to be sent beyond sea, and seized the charter of the company of merchant-adventurers, which empowered them to export white cloths. The Hollanders and German cities, on the other side, prohibited the importation of all English dyed cloths. Thus was commerce thrown into confusion, Cockayne being disabled from selling his cloth any where but at home: beside that, his cloths were worse done, and yet were dearer, than those done in Holland. There was a very great

clamour therefor raised against this new project by the weavers, inso-much that the king was obliged to permit the exportation of a limited quantity of white cloths: and a few years after, (viz. in 1615) for quieting the people, he found himself necessitated to annul Cockayne's patent, and to restore that of the merchant-adventurers, who seem to have gained over the lord chancellor Bacon to their side, who, in a letter to King James (printed in his *Resuscitatio*) concerning Cockayne's new company, complains, 'that they at first undertook to dye and
' dress all the cloths of the realm; yet soon after they wound themselves
' into the trade of whites. This feeding of the foreigner,' (meaning the Dutch) says that great man, 'may be dangerous. For, as we may think
' to hold up our clothing by vent of whites, till we can dye and dress;
' so the Dutch will think to hold up their manufactures of dying and
' dressing upon our whites till they can clothe *! I confess, I did ever
' think, that trading in companies is most agreeable to the English na-
' ture, which wanteth that same general vein of a republic which
' runneth in the Dutch, and serves them instead of a company; and
' therefor I dare not advise to adventure this great trade of the king-
' dom, which hath been so long under government, in a free or loose
' trade.' And thus, merely by proceeding too precipitately, an art, which afterward was gradually brought to absolute perfection in Eng-land, was now deemed impracticable.

King James entered into a new defensive treaty with the states of the United Netherlands; engaging to defend them against all invasions and injuries, and to assist them with twenty ships of war, from 300 to 600 tons burden; and also with 6000 foot and 400 horse; they on the other side engaging to assist him with 4000 foot and 300 horse. But this treaty was not to take place till after the peace now treating of between Spain and the states.

Another treaty of this same date concerns the arrears of debt due to King James by the states, and also concerning commercial privileges.

' I) The states acknowledge L818,408 Sterling to be due to the king, of which sum he will expect nothing for the first two years after the peace, that they may have time to establish their affairs; and afterwards he will be content with annual payments of L60,000 until all be paid off.

' II) The English merchant-adventurers shall enjoy all their wonted privileges in the seven provinces, for the mutual advancement of the commerce of both nations.' [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 667.]

Captain Hudson made fundry discoveries in North-Virginia, as it was then called, where he also gave name to Hudson's river. He is said to have made a formal sale of lands lying on that river in the year 1608,

* In this his lordship was a true prophet, though in what he adds we may somewhat dissent from him.

including therein Martha's vineyard and Elizabeth's island, now part of New-England, to certain Hollanders; who thereupon set about planting and improving very fast. They named the country New-Netherland, and built there the city of New-Amsterdam, (since named New-York,) and the fort of Orange (now Albany) about 150 miles up Hudson's river.

In this manner did the Hollanders go on improving their New-Netherland, without any effectual check from England even until King Charles II's first war with Holland. The states-general, in the placart or patent establishing their West-India company, expressly included New-Netherland therein; which, however, we shall see in its proper place, they were unable to keep.

1609.—Captain Hudson made a third attempt for a north west passage to China; but being again obstructed by ice, fogs, and cross winds, he failed back to the island of Faro, and thence to Newfoundland, &c. and so home.

James was the last king of England who took the benefit of the statute, [25 Edw. III] for levying an aid of 20s on every knight's fee immediately held of the king; and the like sum on every L20 yearly in lands, held immediately of the crown in soccage, for making the king's eldest son a knight: the aid being in favour of Prince Henry, King James's eldest son, not yet created prince of Wales, though fifteen years old. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 678.]

Mr. Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, with sixty persons, settled on the river Weapoco, in Guiana, where Captain Ley had settled in 1605; and, returning to England, he obtained, by Prince Henry's interest, a patent for all that coast, together with the river of Amazons, for him and his heirs. But that colony could not stand it for want of support from home; which had likewise been the case of Captain Ley's settlement four years before. [*Smith's Voyages*, V. ii.]

King James having issued a proclamation, prohibiting all foreigners from fishing on the coasts of Great Britain, the Hollanders were obliged to enter into a treaty to pay an annual sum for leave to fish on his coasts. And when James would afterwards have broke this treaty, they supported it, by convoying and guarding their fishing vessels with ships of war.

After above thirty years war between Spain and the United Netherlands, at length, principally through the mediation of the kings of England and France, a truce was concluded for twelve years, which was highly honourable and advantageous to the states; and though disreputable to Spain, yet it gave that crown a breathing time from a war, which, according to Mezeray, had cost Spain more treasure and the loss of more men than all those provinces were worth, and which, had it continued longer, would have utterly ruined their trade to the East-

Indies, and would also have totally obstructed their flotas from the West-Indies, without which Spain could not subsist. The Hollanders having, in a few years past, taken and destroyed more than thirty of their great galleons; and the Dutch admiral, Heemskirk, having, in 1607, with twenty-six ships of war attacked the Spanish admiral Alvarez d'Avila, though one third part stronger, even under the shelter of the cannon of Gibraltar, destroying thirteen Spanish ships and 2000 men. Spain was also under an apprehension, that, by continuing the war longer, the Hollanders might through necessity give themselves up to France, and thereby, with the loss of seven provinces to France, lose also the rest of the seventeen provinces. For, as Sir William Temple observes, the greatness of the Spanish monarchy, so formidable under Charles V and Philip II, began now to decline by the vast designs and unfortunate events of so many ambitious counsels: as, on the other hand, the affairs of King Henry IV of France were now at the greatest height of felicity.

On the other hand, the Dutch, notwithstanding their continued success, had powerful motives to conclude this truce: 1st, They were greatly in debt. 2dly, The French court became weary of the annual contributions for supporting them in that war. 3dly, King James had well nigh forsaken them, because of his favourite scheme of the Spanish match for his son. 4thly, King Henry IV of France, whose interest it was to disarm Flanders, on which Mezeray owns he intended to seize, made use of both entreaties and menaces to bring the states into this truce.

The greatest difficulty, which Spain the longest stuck at, was the Dutch trade to the East-Indies; which point had broke off a treaty two years before. At length, however, the truce was concluded on the footing of every one keeping what they then possessed.

This year is also very memorable for the foundation of the most famous bank of Amsterdam; a bank, which, as well in contemplation of its never violated credit, of its immense treasure, and its extensive usefulness in commerce, may justly be ranked the first in Europe. The commerce of that famous city was now become so vast, that the merchants found great payments in silver very inconvenient, and gold coins in any quantity hazardous to keep in their possession. It was therefore prudently judged by the magistrates and merchants, that if an office were established for the receipts and payments of all sums of money of 600 guilders and upwards, (afterwards reduced to 300 guilders and upwards) to be duly registered in books kept open at stated hours, it would be a legal proof of all such transactions, whereby many disputes and lawsuits would be prevented; and, 2dly, If all bills of exchange, as well foreign as inland, and limited in quantity as above, were to be paid only in this office, it would prove a great security to both payers and receivers, by preventing many frauds in the payments intrusted to

private persons. 3dly, To save the time, trouble, and hazard attending the frequent carrying of cash to this office of record, they saw it expedient to lodge their main cash in that office altogether; and for this end books were opened, wherein each person had a distinct account, the whole, or any part thereof, to be transferrable to others at pleasure, who thereupon should have accounts in bank opened for them, and they again to have the like liberty of transferring as above. Ricard (in his *Traité general du commerce*, quarto, Amsterdam, 1706, p. 170) says expressly, that the magistrates of Amsterdam, by authority of the states, on the 31st of January 1609, established themselves perpetual cashiers of its inhabitants, and that all wholesale payments in commerce and in bills of exchange should be made in that bank. When the new stadthuys was erected, this bank office was removed into a large vault of that magnificent structure; where (says Sir William Temple in his Observations upon the United provinces, c. ii) is the greatest treasure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the world: and 'whoever is
' carried to see the bank shall never fail to find the appearance of a
' mighty real treasure in bars of gold and silver, plate, and infinite bags
' of metals, which are supposed to be all gold and silver, and may be
' so for ought I know. But the burgo-masters only have the inspection
' of this bank, and no man ever taking any particular account of what
' issues in and out, from age to age, it is impossible to make any calculation or guess what proportion the real treasure may hold to the credit of it. Therefor the security of the bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, but in the credit of the whole town or state of
' Amsterdam, whose stock and revenue is equal to that of some kingdoms, and who are bound to make good all moneys that are brought
' into their bank. This bank (continues Sir William Temple) is properly a general cash, where every man lodges his money, because he
' esteems it safer and easier paid in and out, than if it were in his coffers at home; and the bank is so far from paying any interest for
' what is there brought in, that money in the bank is worth something
' more in common payments than what runs current in coin from hand
' to hand*; no other money passing in the bank but in the species of
' coin the best known, the most ascertained, and the most generally
' current in all parts of the higher as well as of the lower Germany.'

Now, though this great author writes with prudent caution concerning what he could not certainly determine, yet it is generally taken for certain by all others who have written on this bank, that there is either cash, or bullion, and pawned jewels, lodged in the vaults of the stadthuys, equal to the amount of the whole credit of this bank; which

* He might have added, that one stiver is paid to the bank for every payment, or transfer of money, and six stivers for leave to make a transfer under 300 guilders; besides ten guilders paid by every person in opening an account for him.

some will have to amount to thirty-six, others to but thirty millions Sterling. But as they shut their books twice in a year, for a few days, to strike a general balance, their true capital is then certainly known, though probably kept secret by order of the magistrates, for prudential considerations. Ricard, before quoted, (in his second edition, p. 171) is very express in this particular point; and, as a proof of it, says, ‘ that in the very height of the war in 1672, when the French king had already taken the city of Utrecht, (within twenty-one miles of Amsterdam) there was a very great demand (or run, as we term it in London) by the creditors on that bank, to draw out their money; justly fearing, that if the French king should become master of Amsterdam, they should lose all; yet the bank paid all who came for their money.’

The proper definition of this bank, is not a bank of current money, to be received and issued daily, like those of London, Venice, &c. but is purely a deposit of money, the credit whereof passes from hand to hand daily, by signed tickets, carried to the cashiers of the bank, directing them to write off any sum intended to be paid from the account of the owner to that of the receiver. But although it be, doubtless, an excellent institution for safety, ease, dispatch, and record, yet it cannot be said to increase the general quantity or circulation of money, as some other banks certainly do; if it be presumed, as above, that a quantity of treasure equal to the total of their credit ever remains in it; any farther than the value of the uncoined bullion, and of the jewels said to be pawned there (by several princes, nobles, &c.) amounts to. With the above-mentioned dues the expense of the management of this bank is defrayed; and what surplus there may be in any one year, goes to the support of the poor of that city. Bank-money, i. e. credit in the bank's books, is daily bought and sold, by means of brokers, who have their offices near the bank; the money whereof is commonly of late about five per cent better than the real current coin of Holland; which premium is called the *agio*, a term borrowed from the bank of Venice. The rate of *agio* varies according to the demand for bank-money, and also according to the quality or goodness of the coins to be paid for it. And this advance or *agio* in bank-credit will always prevent any from demanding current cash of the bank for it.

By means of this bank, the magistrates of Amsterdam are possessed of the bulk of the property of their inhabitants, and thereby have the strongest security for their fidelity *.

* The best and most copious account of the bank of Amsterdam, ever published in the English language, is that which was communicated by Mr. Hope of Amsterdam to Dr. Smith, who has inserted it in his *Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, V. ii, p. 219, ed. 1793. M.

Sir Robert Cotton, in an essay written in 1609, probably for King James's private information, proposed the coining of £120,000 in copper halfpence and farthings, by which the king would gain £10,000; and by an annual increase of £12,000 of those coins, he would gain yearly £1000. In order to render this profit to the king effectual, he proposed to prohibit retailers of victuals and small wares from using their own tokens, (a practice then universal, especially in London.) 'For (says he) in and about London, there are above three thousand' (persons) 'that, one with another, cast yearly £5 a-piece in leaden tokens, whereof the tenth remaineth not to them at the year's end; and when they renew their store, it amounteth to above £15,000; and all the rest of this realm cannot be inferior to the city in proportion. Hereby, (he observes,) 1st, those retailers made as much advantage of their own tokens as is now proposed for the king to make by the copper coins,' (which he had before observed were already in use in all the monarchies of Christendom.) '2dly, The buyers hereafter shall not be tied to one seller and his bad commodities, as they are still; when his tokens, hereafter made current by authority, shall leave him the choice of any other chapman. Besides, it cannot but prevent much waste of silver, that there will be no occasion hereafter to cut any bullion into proportions so apt for loss: what that hath been may be conjectured, if we mark but of the great quantities, from the penny downward, since Henry VIII's time stamped, how few remain; whereas all the coins, from threepence upward, which are manual, plenty pass still in daily payment.' This scheme soon after put an end, in a great measure, to those private leaden tokens, and introduced the legal copper coins, as at present. It also put an end to the coining of such minute gold and silver pieces, so easily to be lost. But our great author was certainly mistaken in imagining, that, because the leaden tokens of private retailers were mostly lost, that metal being naturally very perishable, the national copper coin would be so likewise; or that so large a new annual coinage thereof would be requisite, or that the public would require so great a sum to be circulated as £120,000 in halfpence.

The suburbs of London daily increasing, and consequently the danger of fire and scarcity of water, notwithstanding the many springs brought in leaden pipes into the city, as well as the many wells with pumps almost every where dug within the city and suburbs; an act of parliament was obtained in the year 1605 for bringing a fresh stream of running water to the north parts of London from the springs of Chadwell and Amwell, &c. in the county of Hertford; giving power to the lord-mayor, &c. of London to lay out such convenient ground for making the trench for the said new river, not to exceed ten feet in breadth, leaving the inheritance in the owners thereof, who are to allow

a free passage through their grounds to and from the new cut at all times, with carts, horses, &c. for making and repairing the same; for which satisfaction shall be made to the owners of the lands, and of the mills standing on the streams from which water shall be taken, to be valued by commissioners, as herein directed. The lord mayor, &c. shall make and keep up convenient bridges over the said new cut, at fit places, for the use of the king's subjects, as well as of the proprietors of the lands on each side, &c. [3 *Jac. I, c. 28.*]

In the year following another act of parliament passed, purporting, 'that since passing the former act, upon view of the grounds through which the waters are to pass by men of skill, it is thought more convenient, and less damage to the ground, that the water be conveyed through a trunk or vault of brick or stone inclosed, and in some places, where need is, raised by arches, than in an open trench or sewer. Power therefor is hereby vested in the lord mayor of London, &c. for that effect.' [4 *Jac. I, c. 12.*] Yet notwithstanding this expensive proposal, and also another act of parliament [7 *Jac. I, c. 9.*] granting to the king's newly-erected divinity college at Chelsea power to bring water in pipes from the river Lea, for supplying London therewith for their benefit (which, with the college itself, came to nothing), the new river was this year brought into the head or reservoir at Clerkenwell near Islington, in the first-designed open trench; and from thence it has been conveyed into all parts of the city and suburbs in elm pipes. The projector and manager of this new river was Mr. Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith of London, who was thereupon knighted by King James; and the proprietors were afterwards incorporated.

Although this article may seem to some not immediately to relate to the history of commerce, yet it in some sense demonstrates the great increase of the wealth of London by commerce, to be able to undertake so vastly expensive a work; a work suitable to the power and grandeur of antient Rome in its zenith of glory. And to complete the whole trench or canal in three years time*, though running the length of about 50 miles in its various windings, from near the town of Ware to Clerkenwell, with above two hundred bridges over it, we could not therefor think this succinct account of it would be unacceptable to the reader.

In this and the three following years Captain Jonas Poole sailed as far north as 78 degrees 43 minutes, on the hope of discovering a north-west passage, but at the same time prudently employed part of his time in killing whales, &c.

In this same year ambassadors are said to have come from Japan into Holland, and concluded a commercial treaty with the Dutch East-India

* The continuation of Stow's Survey of London makes the commencement of the work on the 20th February 1608, and the conclusion of it 29th September 1613. *M.*

company at the Hague. It seems indeed almost incredible to many, 1st, That so small a state should, between the year 1579, when they openly revolted from Spain, and this year 1609, when the famous truce before mentioned was concluded for twelve years with that crown, not only be able to make head against the then mightiest potentate of Europe, and at the same time so enlarge their union, by taking in the two provinces of Overijssel and Groningen, where many strongly fortified places were first to be conquered at a vast expense of blood and treasure. 2dly, To enlarge their frontiers in Flanders by the conquest of the important town and port of Sluyce, as also of Hulst, and several other places in what is since named Dutch Flanders. 3dly, To block up the river Scheldt by the forts of Lillo, &c. whereby the famous commercial city of Antwerp was absolutely barred from all maritime commerce. 4thly, On the frontiers of Brabant to conquer the strong places of Bergen-op-zoom, Breda, Bois-le-duc, &c. and for above three years to hold out the town and port of Ostend against the power of Spain at a great expense. 5thly, To annoy Spain with powerful fleets in her own ports, and to sack some of the Canary isles, and that of St. Thome under the equinoctial line. And yet, during all those prodigious expenses, to grow opulent, and to be courted by the most distant potentates of the known world, as well as by many nearer home. What can more effectually demonstrate the inexpressible advantages of a general and extensive commerce to a nation than these and such like instances? while at the same time they shew the great propensity of those Netherland provinces to trade and industry, while attended with so happy an union of hearts and counsels in those early times; searching every corner of the earth where any commerce could be had; pushing on so immense a fishery also as supplied all Europe, and so great and extensive a commerce, and such numerous conquests in India, as amazed all the world; while at home they wonderfully cultivated all sorts of manufactures: and being situated as it were in the middle of Europe, they very soon made Amsterdam become (what it still in a great measure is) the grand storehouse or magazine of almost all the merchandize of the universe, whither there daily arrived numbers of ships from all parts, and from whence others daily sailed to all parts. Even in this same year 1609 they had about 100 ships employed in the gold-coast trade, at Guinea and the Cape de Verd isles, and were so successful in that commerce that they soon began to think of establishing a West-India company.

The English East-India company now sent out but one ship, first to Bantam, and thence to the isles of Banda, &c.; but the Hollanders being absolute lords there, they were refused admittance to traffic. Yet the Dutch not being as yet masters at the isle of Puloway, this ship obtained there a cargo of mace and nutmegs. They left factors there

for future trade, and returned home after stopping again at Bantam. This is usually called the company's fifth voyage.

1610.—Although the fifteen years exclusive trade granted by Queen Elizabeth's charter to the East-India company was not to expire till 1615, yet King James, on the 31st of May, in the year 1610, was prevailed on to grant that company a renewal of their charter, setting forth the profit and honour which this trade brought to the nation, whereby his majesty was now induced to render this company perpetual, with the usual powers of making bye-laws, of having a common seal, and the other powers in the former charter.

The East-India merchants, encouraged by their new charter, now built the largest merchant ship that had ever been built in England, being of 1100 tons burden, which they named the Trade's Increase, and with her and three others they made their sixth voyage to India.

At the same time the king built a ship of war called the Prince, superior to any ship ever seen in England hitherto, being of 1400 tons burden, and carrying 64 cannon. Thus we see how far short the navy was of its present force and dignity even at this late time. Such a ship at present is the smallest of those which are admitted into the line of battle.

Henry IV, in the midst of his patriotic labours for the improvement of the manufactures and commerce, and promoting the general happiness of France, was assassinated in his capital.

Voltaire, in the introduction to his Essay on the age of Louis XIV, gives us a compendious view of the state of France at the accession of Louis XIII. The king had not one ship of war*. Paris did not contain 400,000 people, and there were not four magnificent edifices in it. The other cities of the kingdom were like the towns beyond the Loire. Every nobleman throughout the provinces lived in a fortified castle surrounded with moats; and oppressed the laborious peasants around him. The roads were almost impracticable, and the towns under no regulation. The state was without money, and the government was as much without credit amongst foreign nations as defective at home. The ordinary revenue did not exceed 45 millions. Silver, it is true, being then valued at but about 26 livres the mark, these 45 millions amounted to about 85 millions of the present money of France.

King James granted many patents for the sole vending or making of certain merchandize and manufactures, whereupon the people became extremely uneasy and loud against all such pernicious grants (which indeed were become very great grievances to the subjects, and obliged the king this year to revoke all his monopolies by proclamation. The re-

* Voltaire sometimes runs too fast. According to Sully's *Memoirs*, France had about sixteen ships of war at Brest and Rochelle, and twenty galleys in the ports on the Mediterranean.

vocation, however, was afterward forgotten, as will be seen, by him and his ministers.

In the early part of this century there was a prevailing spirit of adventuring on new plantations from England. Even the barren and inhospitable island of Newfoundland was represented as proper for plantation in printed accounts, which induced the earl of Northampton, the lord chief baron Tanfield, Sir Francis Bacon solicitor-general, &c. to join with a number of Bristol merchants in obtaining from King James a grant of part of Newfoundland, lying between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. Mary's; which sets forth,

That whereas divers of his subjects were desirous to plant in the southern and eastern parts of Newfoundland, whither the subjects of this realm have for upwards of fifty years past been used annually, in no small numbers, to resort to fish, intending thereby to secure the trade of fishing to our subjects for ever, as also to make some advantage of the lands thereof, which hitherto have remained unprofitable; and the land being at present destitute of inhabitants, whereby the king has an undoubted right to dispose of it, therefor he now grants to Henry earl of Northampton, and 44 others therein named, their heirs and assigns, to be a corporation, with perpetual succession, &c. by the name of the Treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the cities of London and Bristol for the colony or plantation in Newfoundland, from north latitude 46 to 52 degrees, together with the seas and islands lying within ten leagues of any part of the coast, and all mines, &c. saving to all his majesty's subjects the liberty of fishing there, &c.

Mr. Guy of Bristol went thither as conductor of the first colony, who is said to have contracted familiarity and friendship with the natives, who lived at a distance from the southern and eastern coasts; and it is said, that while he remained there, viz. for two years, they went on very well. But the island has never to this day been valuable as a settlement any farther than as a station for the fishery.

This year the gallant Spanish governor of the Philippine isles attacked the Dutch admiral Willart, who had sunk a Spanish galleon richly laden from China, killed him, and took three of his four ships; whereupon the Spaniards retook from the Dutch the islands of Tidore and Banda. This was the last successful struggle of Spain in those parts against the Dutch.

A treaty of commerce, and of a defensive alliance between England and France, and for the confirmation of former treaties, was begun in the lifetime of King Henry IV, and concluded by his son Louis XIII, a minor under the authority of the queen-regent. It is in substance as follows:

1) King James stipulates, in case of France being invaded, to supply 6000 foot-soldiers, armed either with bows, guns, or pikes: and with

eight ships of war, with 1200 fighting men in them; all which to be at the expence of France.

II) On the other hand, France shall supply King James, in the like case, with the like number of soldiers and ships, when demanded.

III) If any potentate shall detain or arrest any ships of England, Scotland, or Ireland; the French king shall in such case arrest and detain the ships of such potentate in his harbours until those of British subjects be released: and King James promises the like for the French king's subjects.

IV) Free liberty to the English subjects in France for the private exercise of the protestant religion.

V) Three months time allowed, in case of a rupture, for the merchants on both sides to bring away their effects.

VI) Security shall be given by the commanders of the ships of both parties setting sail, not to commit piracy or any other violence to the other party. [With sundry other articles against piratical acts.]

VII) The English ships trading to Bourdeaux and into the river Garonne, shall not hereafter be obliged to land and deposit their arms and ammunition there: neither shall the French ships in England be put to the like inconvenience: neither shall these pay the imposition or petty dues in England called head-money, warranted by no law of England.

VIII) Lastly, with respect to all other commercial matters, the treaty of 1606 shall take place. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 694.]

Captain Hudson now made his third and last attempt for the discovery of a north-west passage to China. He entered the straits and bay of his name, and went 100 leagues farther than any before had done, till his progress was obstructed by ice or by shoal-water, giving the English names to many ports, bays, and promontories, which they still retain on all the maps. He traded with the natives, and wintered in the country, in which he found swans, geese, ducks, partridges, &c. But great discord arising between him and the majority of the ship's company, they mutinied, and most cruelly turned him and eight of his men (who were mostly sick) into an open boat, and they were never heard of more. The mutineers returned home with the ship, though in great distress for want of provisions, &c. the ringleaders against Captain Hudson mostly losing their lives in the homeward voyage.

The London adventurers to Virginia (or the first colony) now obtained the king's charter, which incorporated them by the name of the treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London for the first colony of Virginia. This was what was then properly called the Virginia company. They were thereby empowered to grant lands to the adventurers and planters;—to appoint a council resident in Virginia, to place and displace officers, &c. The sanguine hopes entertained of that colony in those times supported their spirits.

under great expenses and many disappointments; and although those first adventurers were far from being gainers, yet the nation has since reaped a noble harvest from their endeavours. In the tenth year of this king's reign, he granted them all the islands on the coast of South Virginia.

1611—The Dutch East-India company's ambassadors to the emperor of Japan are said to have now obtained very advantageous terms of commerce, maugre all the opposition of the Spanish and Portuguese agents there.

Henry prince of Wales now sent out his servant Sir Thomas Button to attempt a discovery of a north-west passage to China. He entered the bay, which bears his name to this day, on the south side of Hudson's bay, where he wintered at a place called Port-Nelson, so named by him from the captain of his ship, whom he buried there. He discovered a great continent to the south and west of that bay, to which he gave the names of New North Wales, and New South Wales, and erected a cross, on which he fixed the arms of England.

In the tenth voyage of the English East-India company, our people had an opportunity of observing the vast commerce of the Portuguese at Surat, where there were no fewer than 240 sail of their merchant ships in one fleet, bound for Cambaya: nevertheless, our two ships soon after fought and defeated four of their great galleons, and 26 frigates from Goa, sent in pursuit of them; which caused great joy to the Indians at Surat, by whom the Portuguese were much hated, who were soon to lose the bulk of this mighty commerce.

About this time Philip III king of Spain, through the instigation of his bigotted clergy, drove out of his dominions the most industrious and valuable part of his subjects. After the former slaughters and expulsions of the Moors and Jews, there were still about 1,200,000* of both those races of people remaining in Spain, under the character of *new Christians*. Philip II could never be prevailed upon to proceed to extremities against these unhappy people, though it had often been proposed to him; but his son Philip III, being a weak prince, and consequently much led by the clergy, was drawn into this cruelty. The Moors and Jews were said to have solicited the protection of France, of England, of the Dutch, of the king of Morocco, and of the grand signior, being apprehensive that their inveterate foes the clergy would sooner or later bring about their destruction. Rumours had also been spread at this time of their intending on a Good Friday to butcher all the old Christians. Upon such surmises and pretences King Philip seized all their estates, and expelled them from his kingdom in the most cruel manner. Priests

* Most of the Spanish authors reckon the number only 6000. Perhaps they think a smaller number some extenuation of the atrocity and frenzy of this signal triumph of superstition. M.

were dragged from the altars, judges from the benches, husbands from the arms of their wives, and wives from their husbands: not sparing even such officers of the crown as were allied to the most antient Christian families. Many of those miserable people were transported to Barbary, where they joined the race of those before expelled, in their revenge for Spanish cruelties. Mezeray says that scarce a fourth part of them were able to preserve their wretched lives; for being looked upon as infidels by the Christians whither they fled, and as Christians amongst the infidels, they encountered cruelties and death in various shapes. Some were drowned by the very mariners who pretended to transport them; others were massacred by the Moors of Barbary. Mr. Cottington, the English ambassador at Madrid, wrote to Mr. Trumbull, the English resident at Brussels, that the Spanish king had made vast preparations for destroying the Moriscoes of the kingdom of Valencia, having for that end assembled 85 galleys, 20 ships, and 70,000 soldiers. At one instant they seized on all the towns and villages of Valencia, proclaiming that within three days, upon pain of death, they should all repair to the sea-side, there to be embarked. Many, fearing what should afterward be done to them, and attempting to fly, were immediately executed. The rest (which they say will be at least 80,000 households) have daily their hands bound, and so put on board. What they will do with them, or whither they will carry them, is yet kept a secret. Some say there is a commission given to put them all on shore in Barbary; and others, (which I rather believe) that it is to cast them all into the sea.

Postscript. I can almost assure you that they have and will throw into the sea, of men, women, and children, above 300,000 persons. A cruelty never before heard of in any age,' says Lord Cottington.

In another letter to the same, he says, 'that three of the best galleons and three smaller ships were lost in a tempest, all fraught with Moors. Our Moriscoes (or Moors) notwithstanding we have embarked at least 80,000 of them, are now above 20,000 strong in the mountains.' In another; 'Our Moors in the mountains are, through famine, forced to come down: their king is hanged in Valencia with some few others, and the rest are embarked for Barbary. We now begin to clear Castile, Estremadura, and Andalusia of Moriscoes also. They are to be gone within thirty days.' In another; 'We here turn out our Moriscoes, without suffering them to carry in specie, or in letters, any kind of gold or silver.' [*Winwood's Memorials*, V. iii.]

This and former expulsions deprived Spain of vast numbers of her most ingenious and industrious people, who (had they been treated with moderation) might have been gradually brought over to their catholic religion. Now if to these losses of people be added those great numbers sent to their vast American colonies, we cannot be surprised that there are now, by some accounts, scarce five millions of people in all the king-

dom of Spain, though about thrice as large as the island of Great Britain, wherein are about twice that number of people. By these depopulations, and by their bigotry, laziness, and pride, that fine country, from being once one of the most populous, as well as best cultivated in all Europe, is become a barren solitude. Mezeray observes that the Moors in Spain had so far improved the lands as to make them yield more by one third part to the landlords than the Spanish tenants could do; wherefor, when King Philip III expelled them, he gave the nobles and gentry one fourth part of the plunder, by way of recompense. The Moors left behind them in Spain very illustrious marks of their long dominion there; seeing most of the eminent cities, castles, and palaces, and also cathedral churches, which formerly were mosques, remaining even to this day, were built by them, who were accounted more ingenious, as well as more industrious in business, than the Spaniards. We thought ourselves obliged to dwell the longer on this article of the expulsion of the Moors and Jews from Spain, that it might prove an useful memento to us and all wise nations never to suffer a bigotted clergy to poison court and country with their persecuting principles: a numerous, frugal, and industrious commonalty being the greatest riches, glory, and strength of a well-ordered state.

In most of the new branches of trade discovered by the English in the later part of the last, and the former part of the present century, we may observe that the Dutch followed close at their heels. This has been seen in the Russia trade, the north-east and north-west attempts for a passage to China, &c. in planting in America, in the circumnavigations of the globe, and in the East-India commerce. It is true De Witt in his Interest of Holland says that the Dutch made early attempts for the whale-fishing at Spitzbergen; yet as the mariners of Hull were long before much in the fishery at the North Cape, it seems probable that the Dutch learned the way to Spitzbergen from them.

The Hollanders, being emboldened by their late truce with Spain, now ventured into the Levant seas, and sent their first ambassador to the grand signior at Constantinople, where he concluded a favourable treaty of commerce.

This year is generally fixed on as the first time that the Dutch gained a footing in Japan; and it is said that by the year 1616 they were the only European people permitted to trade or reside there. The invidious story of their artful answer to the Japanese, upon being asked if they were Christians is much more like a Portuguese calumny than the real truth: for as the Hollanders had entirely driven the Portuguese out of the trade to Japan, it is most probable that their priests invented that detestable calumny to render them odious every where; and we have the greater reason for this supposition, as the Portuguese jesuits (we know) were also very liberal of their false and cruel invectives

against both the English and Dutch, at the great mogul's court, and elsewhere in India, upon a vain presumption that their nation, being the first discoverers of a passage by sea to India, had the sole right to trade thither.

The Russia company having sent a ship in the preceding year to explore the coast of Spitzbergen, now fitted out two ships for the purpose of catching whales, which carried with them six Biscayners, that people being supposed the most expert in such a fishery. Both ships were lost; but the men were saved by a ship belonging to Hull, which was upon the same fishery.

1612.—From the year 1598 the English went on unrivalled with their whale-fishing at Greenland, till 1612, when the Hollanders first resorted thither; whereupon some of the English Russia company's ships, outward-bound, seized the whale-oil, fishing-tackle, &c. of the Dutch, and obliged them to return home, threatening that, if ever they found them in those seas thereafter, they would make prize of ships and cargoes; their master the king of Great Britain having the sole right to that fishery, in virtue of the first discovery thereof, and of Spitzbergen; and in the following year the English actually brought home two Dutch ships as prizes.

The Hollanders now joined the Hanse towns in a complaint to Christiern IV, king of Denmark, of the heavy additional toll which, since the commencement of his war with Sweden, he had imposed on all ships passing the Sound: whereupon the king gave them the choice of a hard alternative, viz. either to pay that new toll, or else to let their merchandize be thenceforth carried up the Baltic in Danish bottoms. The Lubeckers being from their situation peculiarly affected by that toll, loudly complained to the emperor, whose redress (if at all to be hoped for) being likely to be very slow, they made a league with the Hollanders for the mutual protection of their commerce and navigation, determining to send an armed force to the Sound for that end. Seven eighths of the expenses were to be born by Holland, and the other eighth part by Lubeck; and the alliance was to last eleven years, during which the other Hanse towns might come into it. Accordingly afterwards the cities of Magdeburgh, and Brunswick, Rostock, Straelfund, and Lunenburgh, agreed to pay each one per cent, and Wismar, Gripswald, and Anclam, each one half per cent, at their assembly held at Brunswick. Hamburgh and Bremen are also mentioned by Werdenhagen, without ascertaining their quotas. The Lubeckers also complained to the emperor that the Danes had seized and detained their ships and merchandize bound to Sweden: and the king of Denmark replied, that the Lubeckers had had fair notice before-hand, that if they carried on any correspondence with his enemies he would make prize of them. And with respect to the toll which he had laid on ships passing the Sound,

during his war with Sweden, that was no more than what other princes in like cases do: for that he was sovereign lord of the Baltic sea, or Sound, the dominion whereof was transmitted to him by his ancestors, seeing a great part of his territories border on that sea; wherefor he would never suffer his title to his sovereignty in the Baltic to be called in question. Probably, however, he meant only that part of it called the Sound.

The Dutch, having prevailed on King James to join with them and the Hanse towns in the complaint to the states of Denmark, (which then had a free constitution) the toll was reduced to the same rates that were paid before the Swedish war. And, to guard against the repetition of such encroachments, the Dutch contracted an alliance with the Hanse towns in general, in the year 1613, and another with Lubeck and some other of the Hanse towns in 1615, wherein they agreed to stand by each other against all impositions.

By the interest of a Dutchman, who was in great favour with the king of Ceylon, the Dutch East-India company obtained a favourable treaty with that king, who engaged to sell them all the cinnamon of the island, to exempt them from sundry taxes, and to allow free commerce thither to no other European nation without their leave, and also to dispose of all his precious stones to them alone; and lastly, to allow them half the customs of the island, &c. (says Baldæus, a Dutch preacher at Ceylon, who published his Account of Ceylon at Amsterdam, 1672.) Yet the contests of the Dutch for securing the conquest of the Molucca spice islands prevented their being able at this time to improve that treaty so far as to drive the Portuguese out of Ceylon, who were guarded against the encroachments made by the Dutch, and had also violent quarrels with the king of Ceylon.

This effort of the declining Hanse towns to draw the Dutch into a confederacy with them for the freedom of commerce, did, by the powerful conjunction of England, produce the desired effect. Yet, in general, it was unlikely that any durable confederacy (and much less an union, as some then proposed) could take place between the Dutch and so great a number of widely dispersed towns, with interests almost as different as their situations; over-awed too by the greater potentates near them, since they have become strong in shipping. Such an union therefor could not be advantageous to the Dutch, whose aim always was to gain ground every where in commerce, and who now for more than a century have engrossed the greatest part of the commerce of the Baltic, and thereby have rendered most of the Hanseatic ports on that sea as empty of good shipping as their exchanges now are of rich merchants.

About this time also the Swedes treated as enemies all such merchant ships as did not take out licences from their king for liberty to trade thither: so that the easterling Hanse towns, being pressed with difficul-

ties on every side, were obliged to relinquish a great part of their ancient commerce, which gradually brought on their present great declension. [*Werdenbagen, V. ii, p. 105.*]

Ireland having been very much exhausted of people by former wars and rebellions, King James, finding it now in peace, thought it a proper time to improve it: he accordingly divided the whole kingdom into counties, appointed regular circuits of the judges; and (says Sir James Ware in his *Historical relations*) the benefit and protection of the laws of England were communicated to all, as well Irish as English, whereby the Irish were reclaimed from their wildness, cut off their glibs and long hair, converted their mantles into cloaks, and conformed to the manner of England, in all their behaviour and outward forms. The possession and limits of lands were settled, whereby the hearts of the people were also settled, and they were now encouraged to build and plant, and to improve the commodities of the lands; whereby the yearly value thereof is already increased double of what it was within these few years, as is also the crown revenue. Encouragement has been given to the maritime towns and cities, to increase their trade and mechanical arts and sciences. He also granted markets and fairs in all counties, and erected corporate towns among them: so that, until the beginning of his reign, Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under the obedience of the crown of England.

Sir John Davis justly remarks, (in sundry places of his useful treatise on this subject) that it was bad policy in England, that for the space of 350 years, at least, after the conquest, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof extended to them, though they earnestly desired the same: as if it was intended to keep up a separation and enmity between the English and Irish forever; whereby a perpetual war was kept up between them till this happy time that a complete conquest was now made of that entire island.

For the prevention of future rebellions, King James in the year 1609 proposed to the city of London the establishment of an English settlement in a part of the province of Ulster, then much depopulated and deserted; and the city accepted his proposal, and raised the sum of £20,000 for making a new plantation there*, now sent thither about 300 persons of all sorts of handicrafts and occupations, principally intended for repeopling Derry (thenceforth called Londonderry) and Colerain; and 200 houses were built in the former, and 100 in the later. The king also erected Derry into a bishopric, and made Colerain a corporation.

A corporation was accordingly established in London for that end, under the name of the governor and committee of the Irish society, to

* The Irish inhabitants of that part of Ulster were transplanted to Connaught, where their posterity still remain.

be annually elected out of the court of aldermen and common-council, for the management of the lands and fisheries of that part of Ireland. Yet it seems King James thought the magistrates of the city of London were not expeditious enough therein: for in the year 1613 he sent for that newly-erected corporation to Greenwich, and reprimanded them for their dilatoriness, &c. Whereupon the city sent over to Ulster an alderman and a commoner, with some surveyors, who settled the new colony to the king's, as well as the city's satisfaction: and the lands and fisheries there have been since greatly improved, to the considerable benefit of that part of Ireland; it being a very valuable estate possessed to this day by the city of London in its corporate capacity.

King James took the benefit of a statute [25 *Edw. III*] which enabled the king to levy a reasonable aid for the marriage of his eldest daughter, and issued his precepts to the sheriffs of the several counties for the levying thereof, being the same with that he levied in 1609, for making his eldest son a knight, viz. twenty shillings on every knight's fee; and the like on every £20 per annum on all lands held of the crown in soccage. Which aid was also (we conceive) the last of the kind raised by any of our kings. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 724.]

In this same year, or, as some others, two years sooner, the Danes first sailed to East-India, where they have ever since carried on a commerce, and have a good fort and town, built about the year 1617, on the coast of Coromandel, called Tranquebar; though their trade be not very considerable there to this day.

The cluster of small and very rocky islands, situated between Europe and America, and named the Bermuda or Somer isles, in the north latitude of $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees (500 miles directly east from Carolina), was now planted by the English. They had, almost 100 years before, been discovered by one Bermuda, a Spaniard, but were never planted by any before this time. Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, in their voyage to Virginia in 1609, were shipwrecked there, and lived there nine months; and having built a ship of the cedar of the place, they sailed thence to Virginia. They left two men in the largest isle, whom the colonists found there. And from the first-named gentleman they were named the Somers' isles, though the first name of Bermuda is mostly used. Sir George Somers was, it seems, a second time driven on those isles, and died there. But those who were with him, on their arrival in England, made so favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of them, that the Virginia company (who, as first discoverers, claimed the property) sold them to about 120 persons, to whom the king granted a charter. And in this year 160 persons settled on the largest of them, named St. George's island, and afterwards 500 more followed in 1619; whereupon they instituted an assembly, with a governor and

council. Some have reckoned the islands 400 in number; but most of them too small to have any name, they being all circumscribed within the compass of little more than about 47 leagues. St. George's, the largest, is naturally fortified almost quite round by rocks; and where there is any landing place they have forts and batteries; and their only two harbours are also very well fortified. They at first planted some tobacco; but it did not answer expectation. They are said to have the finest oranges in the world, also mulberries, olives, &c. and the noblest of cedar trees. Yet they produce very little staple commodities fit for exportation, excepting their cedar sloops, with which they trade, and sell them at the West-Indies, and some provisions: with the gain of which trade they are enabled to pay Great Britain for all the necessaries they are constantly supplied with. It was afterwards, like Virginia, made a regal government, and so it still continues. As these isles lie so remote from America, there were no people found on them by the English: but they found plenty of hogs, which the Spaniards had left there, as they likewise did on many other uninhabited isles, that they might afterward, in case of shipwreck or storms, find sustenance thereon. The islands labour under a want of fresh water, and the frequent attacks of furious winds, storms, thunder, &c. At the main island of St. George (as well as at the chief town) large ships may safely enter and be secure, both harbours being so well fortified that an enemy may be easily kept out: and this is probably what induces government to keep up those inconsiderable and much worn-out isles, which lie so much in the way of our enemies (in whose power they ought never to be) as well as of our own shipping; there being no productions there but what may be had in our other plantations: and their tobacco is much worse than that of Virginia.

The English East-India company now sent out one ship, carrying Sir Robert Shirley, as ambassador from King James to Persia, and with him Sir Thomas Powell, who obtained of the Persian court certain privileges for the company. This ship returned home with a cargo of pepper, from Sumatra and Bantam, in 1614; and this is usually reckoned the twelfth voyage of this company.

In the same year, James Hall and William Baffin sailed as high in Hudson's bay as 65 degrees 20 minutes of north latitude, searching for a passage to China, in vain. They also made trial of a supposed mine there, which had been digged by some Danes, but found it of no value.

The Spaniards and Portuguese still continuing to insist that none but themselves had any right to sail beyond the equinoctial line, the learned Hugo Grotius, on the part of his own country of Holland, undertook to confute them in his ever-famous small Latin treatise, intituled, *Maré liberum, sive de jure quod Batavis competit ad Indicana com-*

* *merciam, dissertatio* *.' He begins with an address to the princes and free people of Christendom; and in 13 chapters learnedly illustrates the freedom of navigation on the open seas to all mankind. He maintains, that neither the Portuguese nor Spaniards had any kind of exclusive right of dominion in the East-Indies; either by the title of prior discovery, or by virtue of the pope's donation, or by right of war or conquest, or by virtue of any claim of prescription or custom. That by the law of nations, commerce is free to all mankind: and therefore by no equitable rule ought they to restrain the freedom of the Indian commerce, which the Hollanders are determined to maintain, whether in peace or war. He clearly proves that the Portuguese were far from being the original discoverers of the East-India seas, 1st, From Alexander's discoveries thereof, and of the Persian and Arabian gulfs. 2dly, From Caius Cæsar's having found marks in the Red sea of the wrecks of ships, belonging to the Gaditani; who could come no other way thither but by the Cape of Good Hope. He cites Cœlius Antipater's ocular testimony of a maritime commerce in antient times between Spain and Ethiopia; and what Cornelius Nepos writes, viz. that in his time, Eudoxus, flying from Lathyrus, king of Alexandria, took shipping in the Red sea, and sailed round Africa to Gades in Spain. That while Carthage flourished, it is most clear that those people, deeply skilled in maritime affairs, were not ignorant of those seas: particularly, that Hanno sailed from Gades to the farthest parts of Arabia, round by that now called the Cape of Good Hope; and would have gone farther, had not his stores and provisions failed him. Next, the regular annual voyages of the Romans from Egypt to India, by the Red sea, after Augustus had conquered Egypt. And that Strabo asserts, that in his own time a company of merchants of Alexandria traded with ships from the Red sea to the farthest Ethiopia, as well as to India. † Grotius subjoins, that when the Portuguese first sailed to India, the several seas between Europe and India were known, and could not possibly be unpractised by the Moors, Ethiopians, Arabians, Persians, and Indians, people bordering upon them; and that a discovery gives no right to any thing but what belonged to nobody before such discovery. Neither is it certain, that unless the Portuguese had made the discovery (as they term it) of India, none else would have done it. For the time was then come when almost all arts, and particularly the situation of the earth and seas, were much better understood, and daily improving. The Venetians, who had learned much of India, were then upon farther inquiries; the indefatigable industry of the people of Bretagne, and the bold attempts of the English, all plainly show what in time

* The free sea, or a dissertation on the right of the antient intercourse of the Europeans with the Dutch to the commerce of India. the East, will find that Grotius has acted rather as

† The reader, who has attended to the history an advocate than as a critical historian. M.

would have been effected. Among his other reasonings, he quotes Alphonsus Castrensis, a Spanish divine, as inveighing against the absurdity and injustice of those nations who claim an exclusive navigation in certain seas; as the Genoese, in their bay; the Venetians, in their gulf; and principally the Portuguese, in the East-Indian seas; as well as all other nations (Spain itself not excepted) who pretend to such an exclusive right on the sea (which is common to all), contrary to the law of nature, or natural justice, and to that natural and divine rule, of doing to others as we would they should do to us. Towards the conclusion, Grotius, speaking of the necessity of vindicating by all possible means the freedom of navigation and commerce, thus addresses his own nation, viz. 'Go on, thou most invincible nation on the Ocean, in boldly asserting and defending that freedom which is not thine alone, but is equally the right of all mankind.'

In this treatise there is not a word of England's claim to any kind of sea dominion; the author's whole drift seeming professedly to be against Spain and Portugal (then still united). Yet there is one expression in his fifth chapter, which seems to have been pointed at King James obliging the Hollanders to pay a tribute for the liberty of fishing on our coasts, where he asserts, 'that the reasons given for the freedom of navigation hold equally good for that of fishing on the seas, which also ought to remain common or free to all.'

What somewhat confirms this conjecture, was, that William Welwood published a small treatise, in Latin, [28 pp. 4to, 1615] intitled, 'De dominio maris juriisque ad dominium præcipue spectantibus, assertio brevis et methodica. *Cosmopoli. 1615.' As it is an answer to Grotius, we shall here give the substance of it, though three years later in point of time.

He endeavours to prove, that the sea is capable of distinction of property, or of private dominion, as well as the land; contrary to the opinion (he owns) of many antient lawyers, orators, and poets; as Cicero, Seneca, Virgil, Plautus, Ovid, &c. whom he boldly accuses of ignorance of the law of nature. And he fixes that dominion to be one hundred miles every way from the shore of the country adjacent, and claiming the same. But all the rest of the sea beyond that limit, he, and the civilians Bartolus and Cepola (whom he quotes) leave perfectly free to all mankind, to use indifferently without all doubt or controversy. These points he speaks of as the sense of all nations, 'excepting' (says he) only one nation, who, though her native soil abounds with milk, is nevertheless indebted to other countries for all other necessities, and is even enriched and become haughty with the spoils of all

* A brief and methodical vindication of the dominion of the sea, and the principal rights appertaining to it.

“ nations, having despised all distinction in her open or free sea, and has even had the boldness to stile herself invincible !”

In his third chapter, he complains, ‘ that Britain is robbed in her own seas by foreign fishers, who like an inundation crowd her shores with their fishing-vessels ; infomuch, that the fish thereby are so much diminished, that whereas thirty years before they were wont to come in shoals up to our very houses, now it puts our poor fishers to the toil and hazard of going many miles out to sea in quest of them ! That the Scots, formerly observing and considering this damage, obliged the Dutch, by treaty, to keep at eighty miles distance from their shores in their fishery ; and themselves to pay a tribute at the port of Aberdeen ; where a tower was erected for that and other purposes, at which the Dutch paid that tribute even in the memory of our fathers ; although by the distractions, &c. of succeeding times the same be now quite neglected.’

In his 4th and last chapter, he endeavours to prove, by quotations from civilians, &c. that the sea (the passage of strangers within his proposed limits) is tributable, (and that Cepola particularly affirms this of the Venetian gulf), both on account of safeguards from pirates, and of the expense of maintaining beacons, and likewise for leave to fish within such limits.

But as neither he, nor any one else, ever undertook to fix exactly any certain mark whereby to know the limits so claimed in the sea, this occasioned the Hollanders in those days to say scoffingly, that if the English would please to fix palisadoes round the seas they claimed as their property, they would willingly submit to their claim. Otherwise, whilst the sea remained so unfixed, indivisible, and uncertain, they should continue to use it in common with all other nations, both for navigation and fishery. To say the truth, what has been observed by others, carries obvious demonstration and reason with it, viz. that a claim to any uncertain dominion implies a kind of nullity in it ; and would also be productive of an infinity of contentions : seeing it is impossible for the most innocent and intelligent to know exactly the limits of such a claimed dominion ; nor, consequently, can they always be able to avoid encroaching on it, since the claimers themselves are unable to fix any marks to their limits.

Till now the English East-India trade was carried on by fundry separate stocks, making particular running-voyages ; but in this year they united all into one general joint capital stock. Yet it seems to have been a great oversight, that even for some years after this consolidation of stock, they did not (like the Portuguese and Dutch) erect any forts nor permanent settlements in India. They sent but one ship this year on the joint-stock account.

1613.—The consideration of the voyage of Richard Chancellor, &c. in the last century, from Russia, down the great river Volga, and cross the Caspian sea into Persia, where he attempted to trade with English manufactures, &c. for Persian and Indian merchandize, put Sir Henry Nevill upon a scheme of the like nature, for bringing the whole trade of Persia, and the inland parts of India, up the river Hydaspes (a branch of the Indus), and thence over land to the river Oxus, which falls into the Caspian sea, thence cross that sea, and up the Volga to a small land-carriage, which would bring them to the river Dwina, and thence down to Archangel. This project was communicated by John Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, at the Hague, and is printed in his Memorials of affairs of state [V. iii]; but this letter-writer very justly thought it a matter of no small difficulty. The scheme, however, as far as relates to Persia across the Caspian, has in our days been found practicable by the Russia company, for importing raw silks, till the continual troubles in Persia have again interrupted it.

In this year sixty-two persons from England had a grant of lands in Newfoundland: they pretended to have raised wheat, rye, and garden-stuff there; yet it is since found that neither wheat nor any grain will prosper on that island. Those planters, however, soon grew weary of their attempts, which by no means answered their expectations, and therefor transferred their grant to other new adventurers.

In this 10th year of King James's reign, he coined the pound weight of gold into L44 by tale, of the old standard of 23 carrats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, fine. He also coined gold this same year of baser allay, viz. of 22 carrats fine, into L40:18:4, by tale; the pieces being units of 22s, double crowns 11s, Britain crowns 5/6, thistle crowns $4\frac{3}{4}$, half Britain crowns 2/9 each; a very strange fancy, of having gold coins of different fineness! wherein he was followed by his son.

In the treaty of peace and commerce, between King Christiern IV of Denmark, and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, under the mediation of King James I of Great Britain, we find the following articles relating to commerce.

' I) Both nations may freely trade to each other's country, without paying any custom or duty.

' II) The Swedes shall freely pass the Sound with their ships without paying toll there, either for persons or goods; excepting in the case of foreign liquors, for which the Swedes must pay the same toll as Danish subject themselves do.' [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 738.]

The English Russia company having this year obtained of King James a charter, excluding all others (natives as well as foreigners) from sailing to Spitzbergen, they prosecuted the whale-fishery with such resolution, that this year they equipped seven armed ships; wherewith they

drove from those seas, not only fifteen sail of Dutch, French, and Biscayners, but even four English separate fishers, to whom they gave the Dutch appellation of interlopers. They also set up a cross, with the king's arms on it, at Spitzbergen, calling it King James's Newland. And they obliged some French ships, which they had permitted to fish there, to pay them a tribute of eight whales. This was that company's second equipment expressly for whale-fishing there.

This year Captain Saris, in the English East-India company's service, arrived the first of any of our nation at the port of Firando, in the isle of Bungo or Ximo, a part of the empire of Japan, the governor of which received him civilly, and got him introduced to the emperor at Meaco, his capital city, to whom he delivered our king's letter and presents, and who made suitable returns, and gave liberty for the English company to trade to Japan. At Firando Saris settled an English factory, notwithstanding the opposition of the Portuguese jesuits there, and the Dutch, who did him all the ill offices in their power. Our company continued for some years to trade thither; but were afterward excluded, together with all other Europeans, the Dutch only excepted. Saris returned home to Plymouth the following year with a cargo of pepper from Bantam.

Complaints being made of the decrease of the exportation of English woollen cloth, and of the increase of the woollen manufactures of Holland, so far that the Dutch had laid a considerable duty on all foreign woollen cloth imported into Holland, where also great immunities and privileges were granted to foreign manufacturers, a motion was made in the privy-council by the earl of Middlesex, lord high treasurer, and a consequent order of that board was made, that a general state should be taken of the exports and imports of all England for this year, in order to know on which side the balance lay; which stood thus, (as given us in an ingenious treatise, intitled, the Circle of commerce, published in 1623, p. 121, by Edward Misselden, Esq. an eminent merchant, viz.

1. Exports to all the world, between Christmas 1612 and Christmas 1613	- - - - -	L2,090,640	11	8
2. The custom on those goods,	- - -	86,794	16	2
3. The impost paid outwards on woollen goods, tin, lead, and pewter,	- - - - -	10,000	0	0
4. The merchants gains, freight, and other petty charges,	- - - - -	300,000	0	0
Total exports,		L2,487,435	7	10
Imported, during that time, in silks, Venice gold and silver stuffs, Spanish wines, linen, and other merchandize, with all the custom thereon,	-	2,141,151	10	0
Balance gained this year to the nation,	-	L346,283	17	10

We have likewise, from the same very credible author, the total amount of the customs of England for this year 1613, viz.

	<i>London.</i>				<i>Out-ports.</i>				<i>Total.</i>			
Outward,	L61,322	16	7		L25,471	19	7		L86,794	16	2	
Inward,	48,250	1	9		13,030	9	9		61,280	11	6	
	L109,572	18	4		L38,502	9	4		L148,075	7	8	

Thus we see, that London paid then very near thrice as much for customs as all the rest of England together.

1614.—King James commissioned Sir Henry Wootton his ambassador extraordinary to the states of the United provinces and others, to treat with the commissaries of their high mightinesses, concerning the differences between the subjects of the two nations, on account of the free commerce of his subjects to the East-Indies obstructed by the Hollanders, and also on account of the fishery in the North sea, near the shores of Greenland, of right solely belonging to him and his people, but interrupted also by the Hollanders. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 774.]

George Spilbergen now sailed from Holland, with five ships, through the straits of Magellan, and did great mischief to the Spaniards in the South sea, &c. and thence he sailed round the globe, by the way settling a factory at Ternate, the chief of the Molucco isles, and returned home by the Cape of Good Hope in 1617. This is the second voyage round the globe performed by the Hollanders.

This year produced the discovery of a new species of woollen manufacture in England, on the following occasion. The states general of the United Netherlands having issued a placart, prohibiting the importation of any English woollen cloth that was dyed in the cloth, (because it prevented them from dying and dressing them as formerly) upon pain of confiscation of the goods, and of 25 gilders per cloth besides, the English clothiers ingeniously fell upon the way of making mixtures dyed in the wool, rather than lose all the advantages of dying and dressing. This has ever since got the appellation of medley cloth. All woollen cloth before this time being only of one single colour dyed in the cloth, as black, blue, red, &c.

The Russia company now sent thirteen ships to Greenland, and the Dutch eighteen ships, four of which were ships of war of the states, where they fished in spite of the English company's exclusive pretensions.

About this time, the fine island of Barbadoes, in the West-Indies, was said to be discovered and settled on by some English people. Others say, it was before discovered by one of Sir William Courten's ships, but had then no inhabitants, nor any beasts but hogs, left there by the Spaniards as usual, for their own future conveniency: and Courten's heirs

affirm, that he then planted and fortified it, but was dispossessed in the year 1629, by the earl of Carlisle. It is the mother of all our West-India sugar islands, and the chief of the Caribbees; and it has proved of exceeding great consequence to the kingdom by its excellent productions, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.

Lord Napier, a Scottish nobleman, now invented those excellent artificial numbers called logarithms, which are so useful in operations of trigonometry, &c. by performing, in the easiest manner, by addition, the office of multiplication, and by subtraction that of division; whereby they are of great and special utility to mariners at sea, in calculations relating to their course, distance, latitude, longitude, &c.

The famous market for live-cattle, horses, and hay, in London, named West-Smithfield, was become so miry and nasty, that it was now found necessary to pave it for the first time.

The English East-India company sent out, on the joint stock account, four ships, with which they defeated a Portuguese fleet in India, by whom they were attacked: at Surat, they loaded indigo and Cambaya cloths; and at Bantam, mace and silk. Great complaints were made against the Dutch by our people, both at Bantam and Macassar, the particulars whereof are in all our accounts of voyages.

The East-India commerce of England becoming very considerable, King James at the East-India company's request and expense, appointed Sir Thomas Rowe his and the company's ambassador to the great mogul, to treat for a commercial intercourse with East-India. This was the first royal embassy from England to that remote country, and will probably be the last; the company ever since managing their concerns at the eastern courts by their own proper and more private agents*. This able minister, however, sent the company very good intelligence and instructions concerning the mercenary and treacherous temper and disposition of the mogul and his ministers, and for the advancement of their trade; all which are to be found at large in the printed collections of voyages. He remained in India several years; in which time the following European goods were the most acceptable in India, viz. knives of all sorts and fashions, toys of the figures of beasts, rich velvets and sattins, good fowling-pieces, polished coral and amber beads, saddles with rich furniture, swords with fine hilts, inlaid, &c. hats, choice pictures, wines of Alicant, &c. cloth of gold and silver, flowered silks of gold and silver, French shaggs, and fine English Norwich stuffs, fine light armour, emeralds, &c. finely set in enamelled work, fine arras hangings, large looking-glasses, quivers of arrows and fine bows, figures of brass or stone,

* Sir Thomas Rowe freely advised the East-India company to send no more special ambassadors to India, as they could not live in due honour there; and a meaner agent would better effect their business with the haughty Moors.

fine cabinets, embroidered purses, needle-work, French tweezer-cases, table-books, perfumed gloves, belts, girdles, bone-lace, dogs of various natures, plumes of feathers, comb-cases richly embroidered, prints of kings, &c. cases of strong waters, drinking and perspective glasses, fine basons and ewers: in general, any thing curious for workmanship, not then known in India; all which things, says he, will sell for ready money at good prices.

It seems the Portuguese, by their tyranny and cruelty, had by this time rendered themselves extremely odious to all the East-Indian nations, who were well pleased to see the English and Dutch daily gaining ground upon them: yet we also still find complaints against the Hollanders in India by our people.

The English company by this time had factories at Bantam, Jacatra (since called Batavia), Surat, Amadavar, Agra, Asmere, Brampore, Calcut, Masulipatan, Patan, Siam, Benjar, Soccadania, Macassar, Acheen, Jambi, Tecoo, Banda, and at Firando in Japan.—From many of which the company have since withdrawn their factories, and from some others of them the Dutch have long since wormed us out. The four ships of this voyage traded at Bantam and Sumatra, for pepper, &c. and returned in 1617.

Peyton, the historian of this voyage, observes, that our company were only settled on sufferance in some parts of India, while the Portuguese were masters of the following numerous and widely dispersed settlements, viz.

- ‘ On the north-east coast of Africa,
- ‘ They had a trade on the river Quam, in 21 degrees 50 minutes,
- ‘ south latitude, and at Mozambique, for gold, ambergris, ivory, and
- ‘ slaves.
- ‘ At Mombaza, for the same, in barter for Guzarat commodities.
- ‘ At Magadoxa, for the same, and for several sorts of drugs. And from
- ‘ all those places they drove a trade to Cambaya, to the Red sea, and to
- ‘ many other parts.
- ‘ In the gulf of Persia,
- ‘ At Ormus, they make a profitable trade thence to Persia, Arabia,
- ‘ and India. Hither they bring quantities of pearls from Balsora, and
- ‘ with them and other Persian commodities, they send a ship or two an-
- ‘ nually to Diu in India; and next to Goa: this is their best port.
- ‘ In Arabia,
- ‘ At Mascat they have a strong fort, though no great trade: but be-
- ‘ ing domineering masters there, they keep all in servile awe, giving out
- ‘ their licences for the vessels to go from place to place.
- ‘ In Indostan, &c.
- ‘ At Diul, near the mouth of the Indus, and at Diu, in Guzarat,
- ‘ they have very strong castles.

‘ At Daman also they have a strong castle, and entirely inhabit the place, with a territory of 100 villages.

‘ Serra de Bazion, a little south of Daman, they are possessed of; and between it and Chaul, the three ports of Gazien, Banda, and Maia.

‘ They likewise possess the large city and castle of Chaul.

‘ At Daubul, they have a factory, but no fort.

‘ Goa is their Indian metropolis, the seat of their viceroy and of all the gallantry of the nation, and the general rendezvous of all their forces. Goa has also a large share of trade; and, in short, there are the strong sinews that hold together the parts of their eastern empire.

‘ At Onor and Barcelor, they have forts, and trade for pepper, ginger, and drugs. They have also Mangalor and Cananor, fortified and traded to as the former.

‘ And though they are quite shut out from Calecut, and are besieged at Cranganor, yet they have the strong city and castle of Cochin, with a considerable trade and a favourable situation for it.

‘ They have Coulan, Quilaon, and Taccatra, well fortified, and mostly filled with Portuguese, both laity and clergy.

‘ On the great island of Ceylon, the ports and forts of Punta de Galla and Columbo are wholly theirs; and they are daily increasing their dominion in this island, where they have a warm trade for cinnamon and drugs.

‘ On the east side of the continent they have a factory at Negapatan; and Maliapore, (or St. Thomas) a walled city, is their own.

‘ Thence to the Ganges, they have several small residences, good factories in some places, and every where some advantage, that makes it worth their while to settle there.

‘ In the kingdom of Bengal they are possessed of a good town.

‘ In Pegu they have a factory, and also at Aracan, and upon the river of Martaban.

‘ At Junfulao, they have a great factory, from whence they ship vast quantities of tin for the Malabar coast.

‘ At Malacca, they are masters of the city and castle, both very strong; whereby they command the best part of the trade of the adjoining countries.

‘ At Macao, an island on the coast of China, near the mouth of the river of Canton, they have a city and castle, and a great trade with the Chinese.

‘ In Japan, they have no fort nor castle, but only a factory; the wise prince of that country (says our author) keeping them at arms length.’

Of all these possessions, and their prodigious power in India, there remains now scarcely a vestige, except the general use of the Portuguese language in the ports of India. An interesting memento to all other nations.

1615.—We have elsewhere observed, that, from the very commencement of the English commerce to East-India, there was a spirit raised at home against it: that spirit still continued, and a small tract was now published, entitled, the Trade's increase, wherein we meet with the following plausible objections to it, viz.

That to follow the East-India trade, they had neglected that to Russia, in which, last year, there were only two ships employed, instead of seventeen great ships formerly employed by the company, beside those of interlopers: whereas the Dutch, in this year, sent out thirty-five ships thither. To which it was replied, by Sir Dudley Diggs, that the East-India company had spent £120,000 in discoveries only, towards Russia,—and do yet make good a stock not only for defending their fishing of the whale at Greenland, which at their own charge was first discovered, and the Biscayners sent for by them, to teach our nation to kill the whales.

The English Turkey company's complaints against the East-India company seemed to be better, or at least more speciously, grounded, viz. that the trade of the later had lessened theirs to the Levant, to which parts they now sent thirty ships fewer than formerly; whereas the Dutch now employed above one hundred sail to the Levant; though the author of the complaint owns they were principally laden with English lead, tin, Norwich stuffs, &c. He complains of the loss of several East-India ships, and of the death of many of their sailors, whereby (says he) when the royal fleet was to be fitted out for conveying the Lady Elizabeth to her spouse the elector palatine, there was a necessity for a general press.

The above quoted author, in speaking of obsolete restraints on the fishing on the coasts of other nations, observes,

' I) That the antient custom of the Hollanders and Flemings, before they began their fishing for herrings on our coasts, was, to crave leave of the governor of Scarborough castle.

' II) On that part of the coast of Norway called Malstrand, all strangers may fish only till Christmas; after which they must pay a certain tax on every last of herrings to the king of Denmark.

' III) And I can remember, that certain of our merchants of Hull had their ships and goods taken away, and themselves imprisoned, for fishing about the Wardhouse, at the North Cape in Norwegian Lapland.'

To all which Sir Dudley Diggs replied, in a masterly manner, in this same year, in a treatise intitled, the Defence of trade, inscribed to his kinsman Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the East-India company. Wherein (after accounting for the loss of ships and men) he gives a list of all the ships they had employed from the beginning, being only twenty-four in number, four of which had been lost.—That one of

their ships was of 1293 tons burden, one of 1100, one of 1060, one of 900, one of 800, and the rest from 600 down to 150 tons. Their ship of 800 tons was bought of the Levant company: and he conceives the ground for having such large ships in the Levant trade to be, because our royal navy was not as yet considerable enough to protect our trading ships from the Barbary rovers. And the like also may be alleged for the East-India ships. He says, that our East-India company's greatest stock (i. e. the value of goods and money exported), in any one year, was but £36,000, and that the nation saves annually £70,000 in the prices of pepper, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, merely for home-consumption. That of these spices they exported last year to the value of £218,000 beside indigo, calicoes, China silks, benjamin, aloes, &c.* A considerable addition this to the national stock. To which should be added the king's custom, and also the employment given to ships and mariners in the re-exportations.

That, beside cinnamon, the company computed that we annually consumed at home the following quantities of spices, viz.

Pepper (formerly 8/ now but 2/ per lb.),	450,000 pounds weight.
Cloves, - - - - -	50,000
Mace, - - - - -	15,000
Nutmegs, - - - - -	100,000

Total, 615,000 pounds weight.

And that the cloves, mace, and nutmegs, are proportionably reduced in price, since our direct trade to India.

Next, he gives the outset and cargoes of the company's trade for the year 1614, viz.

' In bays, kerfies, and broad-cloths, dyed and dressed, to the king-	
' dom's best advantage, - - - - -	£14,000 0 0
' Lead, iron, and foreign merchandize, - - - - -	10,000 0 0
' Ready money in all the ships (and which was less	
' than is allowed by their charters), - - - - -	12,000 0 0

' Total, £36,000 0 0

' The same year, their shipping and furniture cost	
' them in fitting out, - - - - -	34,000 0 0
' And for victuals and other extraordinary charges, - - - - -	30,000 0 0

' Total outset, anno 1614, £100,000 0 0

The anonymous but acute author, whom Sir Dudley Diggs now answered, gives us a list of our ships employed in other branches of trade.

* There is no mention as yet of porcelain or the cargo of the ship New-Year's-Gift taken in at tea. Bantam in this same year. [*Purchas, L. iv, c. 12,*

Porcelain is mentioned by Elkington as part of § 1.] M.

‘ We trade to Naples, Genoa, Leghorn, Marfeilles, Malaga, &c. with only 20 ships, chiefly with herrings; and 30 fail more laden with pipe-staves from Ireland.

‘ —To Portugal and Andalusia, we send 20 ships for wines, sugar, fruit, and West-India drugs.

‘ —To Bourdeaux, we send 60 ships and barks for wines.

‘ —To Hamburgh and Middleburgh, 35 ships are sent by our merchant-adventurers company.

‘ —To Dantzick, Koningsberg, &c. we send yearly about 30 ships, viz. six from London, six from Ipswich, and the rest from Hull, Lynn, and Newcastle: but the Dutch many more.

‘ —To Norway, we send not above 5 ships; and the Dutch above 40; and great ships too.

‘ —Our Newcastle coal-trade employs 400 fail of ships, viz. 200 for supplying of London, and 200 more for the rest of England.

‘ And besides our own ships,’ (says this author) ‘ hither, even to the mine’s mouth, come all our neighbouring nations with their ships continually, employing their own shipping and mariners. I doubt not,’ (continues he) ‘ whether if they had such a treasure, they would not employ their own shipping solely therein. The French sail thither in whole fleets of 50 fail together; serving all their ports of Picardie, Normandie, Bretagne, &c. even as far as Rochel and Bourdeaux. And the ships of Bremen, Embden, Holland, and Zeeland, supply those of Flanders, &c. whose shipping is not great, with our coals!

‘ —Our Iceland fishery employs 120 ships and barks of our own.

‘ —And the Newfoundland fishery, 150 small ships.’ [Yet Gerard Malynes, in his *Lex Mercatoria* (printed anno 1622, p. 247), says, that this very year there were 250 ships from England at the Newfoundland fishery, the tonnage of which amounted to 15,000 tons. And that the French, Biscayners, and Portuguese, can make two voyages yearly with 400 ships.]

‘ —And our Greenland whale fishery, 14 ships.

‘ As for the Bermudas,’ (says he) ‘ we know not yet what they will do; and for Virginia, we know not what to do with it; the present profit of those two colonies not employing any store of shipping.—The great expence that the nobility and gentry have been at in planting Virginia is no way recompensed by the poor returns from thence*.’

* How much is the case altered since this author wrote? And how great a fund of authentic mercantile history have such old tracts supplied us with, which otherwise might have been lost; many of which have been collected with great labour and expence; and therefor ought to be made a beginning to a public mercantile library, in order to preserve such valuable memoirs from destruction.

Judicious readers need not to be told, that such memoirs as these, concerning the state of trade and shipping, in different periods, drawn from facts, written by such able authors as lived at the respective times, tend most effectually to illustrate the vast increase of, and surprising alterations in, our commerce, colonies, &c. and the like also in those of other nations.

This author finally urges the extension of our fisheries by motives drawn from the prodigious profits of the Dutch from their fishery, in which there have been numbered in eight 2000 sail of busses, employing 37,000 fishermen, going out to sea at once.

The great Henry IV had erected an East-India company in France in the year 1604; and his son Louis XIII gave them a new charter: but they remained inactive till this year, when their ships took possession of the great island of Madagascar, which not answering their expectations, the company and trade were wholly dropt.

This year, Dr. William Vaughan, calling himself a servant of King James, attempted a settlement on Newfoundland, at the expense of his own fortune. He carried thither a number of his countrymen of Wales, and gave his plantation the name of Cambriol, being in the south part of that island. His scheme was for the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland to go hand in hand with his plantation. In a book published by him, intitled, *the Golden fleece*, [4to, 1626] he tells us also, that the Lord Falkland and Sir George Calvert, afterwards created Lord Baltimore, made a settlement on the north end of that island at a great expense in the years 1621 and 1622: yet, as we have elsewhere observed, no permanent plantation has ever been made on that cold and barren island to this day. In the same year, Sir Henry Maynard, with five stout ships, was sent thither for protecting the fishery, which was so considerable that there were 170 English ships there together. According to the acute author of the Trade's increase, published in this year, our trade to Spain and Portugal was very low at this time, scarcely employing 500 seamen; owing, he thinks, to our long wars with that crown in Queen Elizabeth's days.

The Russia company now sent out two ships and two pinnaces to Spitzbergen, still, by our voyagers, called Greenland, and the Dutch sent thither eleven, and also three ships of war to protect them. At the same time, the court of Denmark sent three ships of war thither, being the first Danish ships seen there; yet they also pretended to demand toll of the English ships, but the English refused it, alleging that Greenland (i. e. Spitzbergen) belonged solely to the king of England. This humour of an exclusive claim to that remote, dangerous, and vastly extended sea, where there was no land territory that was habitable, and which therefor could not easily be supported, held on through all King James's reign, and was at least as unreasonable as even the Portuguese exclusive claims southward; in such instances, vainly copied by our own and other nations, at the same time that we condemn both Spain and Portugal for doing the like! So blind are most men whilst their own immediate interest is in question!

1616.—By the dexterity of Pensionary Barnevelt, the Dutch ambassador extraordinary in England, and of Caroon their ambassador in or-

dinary, the cautionary towns of Flushing, Briel, and Rammekins, were, in the year 1616, evacuated by King James's order: the sum due by the states-general to England had been adjusted by Queen Elizabeth to be eight millions of gilders: but King James was prevailed on to accept 2,728,000 gilders, in lieu of the eight millions; and also remitted eighteen years interest on the same. This was a most politic step in the Dutch, since, while England held those fastnesses, the states were very much at the mercy of our nation. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 783.]

King James gave a commission to Sir Walter Raleigh, and such as he should join with him, to undertake a voyage unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere in America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to discover some commodities in those countries that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdoms. We being credibly informed, that there are diverse merchants and owners of ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in his enterprize, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their parts of the profits returned, in respect of the peril of law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth! And we being also informed, that diverse other the kinsmen and friends of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and diverse captains and other commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to venture their lives with him in this journey;—we have granted full power to him, and free liberty to carry and lead out of this realm, or elsewhere, all such of our loving subjects as shall willingly accompany him, together with ships, arms, ammunition, wares, merchandize, &c.: and he to be the sole governor and commander of the said people, with power of martial law, &c.; and also power to appoint under him such captains, officers, &c. as he shall judge proper: and to bring home gold and silver, pretious stones and other merchandize: and to dispose thereof at his and his partners pleasure, paying to us one fifth part of the gold, silver, and pretious stones, and also the usual duties for the other merchandize. And we do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, that these our letters patent shall be firm and sufficient in law, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xvi, p. 789.]

William Baffin sailed for the discovery of a north-west passage to China, as far as the seventy-eighth degree of north latitude, and gave name to a bay in those seas, but he returned home without being able to find any passage. This undertaking was at the charge of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Wolstenholme, &c. directors of the Russia company, &c. In his letter to the last named gentleman, he says, 'that having, in three years time, coasted all, or near all, the circumference of Davis's straits, he found it to be no other than a great bay, and no hopes of a passage. But that some advantage may be made of this voyage, since there are here very great plenty of those whales called by the biscayners, the grand bay whales; the same may

‘ be pursued, and good store of oil may be made between the middle of July and the last day of August.’

Nor were the Hollanders at all behind us in new enterprizes; for this same year William Cornelitz Schouten and James Le Maire, performed the third Dutch circumnavigation of the globe. Such as were not of their East-India company being prohibited to go to India either by the Cape of Good Hope eastward, or westward through the straits of Magellan, some now began to think there might be another passage thither westward, somewhere south of those straits. This was first started by Le Maire, a merchant of Amsterdam, joined by William Cornelitz Schouten, a merchant of Hoorne. In the year 1615 they fitted out two ships, one of which was lost by fire at Port Desire, under the command of the latter. Schouten, who passing on south from the Magellanic straits, found a new and safer strait, which he named after his partner Le Maire, through which he sailed into the South sea, and having sailed almost into the 60th degree of south latitude, he got round the Cape, which he named after his town of Hoorne, on the isle named Terra del Fuego, lying in 57 degrees 48 minutes; thence crossing the great Southern ocean, he came to Jacatra, (since named Batavia,) where, notwithstanding this new and great discovery, the ship and goods were seized by the president of the Dutch East-India company, in the year 1516. Schouten and his men took their passage home in one of that company's ships, having performed their whole circumnavigation in two years and eighteen days.

The Dutch found a shorter passage to India in the year 1623, by the straits of Nassau, north-west of Le Maire's strait; and another still shorter by Brower's straits in 1643. But since the powers of Europe have made treaties about the East-India commerce, that south-west passage is seldom used, unless for illicit commerce with the Spanish territories in the South sea, or by powers at war with Spain.

Very early in the seventeenth century, the Algerines, and by their example those of Tunis and Tripoli, began to use square-rigged ships, and to drop galleys and galliots. [*Morgan's Hist. of Algiers*, V. ii, p. 628.] According to a letter of Sir Francis Cottington, the English minister in Spain, to the duke of Buckingham, the fleet of those corsairs now consisted of forty sail of tall ships, their admiral being of 500 tons burden, with which they struck terror all along the Spanish coasts, dividing their force into two squadrons, with one of which they blocked up the port of Malaga, and with the other they cruised between Lisbon and Seville. Considering the mean state of the naval strength of the christian powers of Europe in those times, this was truly a formidable fleet: but those rovers are scarcely able in our days to send out such a fleet; and, on the other hand, the christian powers are since become much more powerful at sea.

The English East-India company now sent out five ships of 1000, 900, 800, 400, and 150 tons burden: and this was called their fifth voyage on the joint stock; yet we have not yet met with any account of their fourth voyage. In this voyage they took a Portuguese ship loaded with elephants teeth, which they landed at Surat, together with their own cargoes of coral, cloth, tin, wines, strong waters, &c. Thence they went to Jacatra; but the Dutch, having a fort there already, used our factory (settled there by a grant from the king of Bantam) so rudely, that our people were obliged to attack their fleet; and ours being joined by Sir Thomas Dale, with six more ships from England, and other ships of the company's at Bantam, it consisted of thirteen sail of good ships, whereby they beat the Dutch fleet near Jacatra, as they also did in another engagement on the coast of Sumatra: yet, in the end, five of our ships were taken by the Dutch, we having before taken one of theirs. In the mean time a ship from England brought an account of agreement at home between the two companies, which put an end to these hostilities. Afterwards our ships at Firando in Japan joined with the Dutch, who now shewed our people all friendship, in applications to the emperor, who granted all their requests. In their return to Bantam, they found a French ship trading there in the year 1621*; and ours returned that year home, loaded with pepper, silk, cloves, and benjamin. In this voyage, one of our ships sailed to Mocha in the Red sea, and settled a factory there for the first time, by permission of the Turkish aga.

The accounts given by the writers of voyages in those times are often vague and confused. They pretend that the princes and chiefs of the Banda isles, by a solemn writing, resigned those isles, so famous for nutmegs and cloves, in full property to the king of Great Britain for ever; declaring that they never acknowledged the Dutch as their sovereigns; and that, in token of their subjection, they would annually send a branch of nutmegs to our king. Whereupon our people erected forts there, and warned the Dutch to come thither no more; yet the later found means to surprize both our ships at Pooloway; and at Bantam, instead of a friendly accommodation of those differences, the factories of the two companies fell to fighting; and the Dutch insisted on the isle of Poolaroon as the condition of restoring our two ships; and, moreover, in 1618, they took two more of our ships.

This year eight ships from London and Plymouth sailed to the country since called New England, whence they carried great quantities of fish and oil to Spain and Portugal, as they did also in the year 1618: but no settlement was yet made in that country.

* This was apparently the ship commanded by Beaulieu, who in the narrative of his voyage, published in Thevenot's *Relations de voyages*, says, that at different times in the year 1621 he met with two English ships at Acheen. *M.*

1617.—King James, in the year 1604, and again in 1617, gave new charters to the company of merchant-adventurers, confirming all their former powers and privileges in trading to the Netherlands and Germany, with the woollen manufactures of England, exclusive of all who were not free of that company. Both these charters still reserved to the mayor, constables, and fellowship of the merchants of the staple of England, full liberty to trade into the said limits. ‘ Yet (according to ‘ Malynes their professed enemy) the merchant-adventurers company ‘ increased their arbitrary proceedings more and more, and enlarged ‘ the sums to be paid for the freedom thereof, &c. So that the merchants of the staple gradually lost their privileges, and all others were ‘ compelled to conform to the rules and measures of the merchant-adventurers company, whose members were at this time about 4000 ‘ persons,’ i. e. in fact, almost all who traded in the woollen manufacture to Germany and the Netherlands.

King James being on his progress to Scotland, issued out a proclamation which, in our days, would be thought not a little arbitrary, strictly commanding all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who have mansion-houses in the country, to depart within twenty days after the date thereof, with their wives and families, out of the city and suburbs of London, and to return to their several habitations in the country, there to continue and abide until the end of the summer vacation, to perform the duties and charge of their places and service; and likewise by housekeeping, to be a comfort unto their neighbours, in order to renew and revive the laudable custom of hospitality in their respective countries. Excepting however, such as have necessary occasion to attend in London for term business, or other urgent occasions, to be signified to and approved by the privy council.

We may here observe, that Henry IV of France, after the peace of Vervins, issued a similar proclamation (which possibly King James thought a good precedent, having likewise, on sundry other occasions, testified a fondness for imitating that able prince in matters of state policy, perhaps without duly considering the difference of the constitution, temper, &c. of the two kingdoms) commanding his nobility and gentry to retire to their estates, improve their lands, and keep the peace of their respective countries.

The Dutch now fortified the island of Goree near Cape Verde on the African coast. The English, in the year 1663, took it from the Dutch, but restored it in 1664. In the year 1677 the French took it from the Dutch, and held it till the year 1758, when it was retaken by Great Britain. It is a small barren isle, said to be destitute of wood and good water. But having a good harbour, it was convenient to the French, who had factories on the adjacent coast, where they traded for gold,

slaves, hides, ostrich-feathers, bees-wax, gum, fenegal, (a very useful article) millet, ambergris, &c.

This year the quarrels at Spitzbergen about the whale-fishing ran very high between the English and Dutch, the former seizing on part of their oil: and this is the first time we find mention of fins or whalebone being brought home with the blubber or oil; although probably before this time it came into use for women's stays, &c. by means of the Biscay whale-fishers.

1618.—In the next year King James (as king of Scotland) incorporated a number of English, Scots, and Zealanders, to be a new company to fish at Spitzbergen; and much shipping, provisions, &c. were contracted for: yet, after all their preparations, this Scottish patent was annulled; and it was agreed, that the East-India adventurers should still join stock with the Russia company, and be one joint company for the whale-fishery. Thirteen ships were thereupon sent thither; but the Zealanders proving superior there, and being exasperated at the seizure of their oil, &c. last year, and their disappointment by rescinding the Scottish patent, attacked, overpowered, rifled, and dispersed the English ships; most of which returned home empty.

The method of managing the whale-fishing of both nations was then quite different from what it is in our days. The whales in those early times having never been disturbed, (say our voyagers) resorted to the bays near the shore, whereby their blubber was easily landed at Spitzbergen, where they erected cookeries (i. e. coppers, &c.) for boiling their oil, which they left standing from year to year, and only brought home the purified oil and the whalebone. The English having been the first in that fishery, kept possession of the best bays. The Dutch, coming later, were obliged to find bays farther north: yet the Danes, who came later into this trade than the Dutch, got in between the English and Dutch. The Hamburgers came after the Danes; and after them came the French, and also the Biscayners, who, though older whale-fishers than any in Europe, except the Norwegians, had not however fallen into this method, but by the example of England and the rest, and who were forced to set up their cookeries still farther off. But since those times the whales are less frequent in the bays, and are most commonly among the openings of the ice farther from land, which obliges the ships to follow them thither. So that the blubber is now cut from the whales in small pieces at the ship's side, and brought home in casks to be boiled and purified, and the whale fins also to be cleaned. This later method, however, of fishing being often found dangerous and perilous to shipping, discouraged our English adventurers, who then traded in a company, so that they soon after relinquished that fishery, and so it remained till the reign of King Charles II.

The English East-India company, sending out six ships in the year 1618 for India, under the command in chief of Sir Thomas Dale, King James, to add the greater weight to that voyage, granted him a special commission to govern that fleet, as well by common as by martial law. Also to seize on the ships and merchandize of any others of his subjects who should be found navigating within the company's limits without their licence; half the value of such seizures to belong to the crown, and the other half to the company. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 56.]

We have seen King James's commission to Sir Walter Raleigh for the project of finding the supposed rich gold mines of Guiana. In the year following he failed out on that adventure with twelve ships, two of which deserted him before he arrived at Guiana, where, however, he could never find the marks he had left there; although his son and Captain Kemys failed a vast way up the river Oronoco in quest of them to no purpose. But, being narrowly watched by Count Gondemar, the Spanish minister at King James's court, and perhaps, as many think, given up to be a sacrifice to the projected match between Charles prince of Wales and the infanta of Spain; King James was induced this year to issue a proclamation, 'that whereas he had licenced Raleigh and others to undertake a voyage to Guiana, where they pretended great probabilities to make discovery of rich gold mines; in which licence we did, by expresse limitation and caution, restrain them from any act of hostility, wrong, or violence, upon the territories of any princes in amity with us, and more peculiarly of those of our dear brother the king of Spain. All which notwithstanding, we are since informed by common fame, that they have, by an hostile invasion of the town of St. Thome, being under the obedience of our said dear brother the king of Spain, and by killing divers of the inhabitants thereof, his subjects, and after burning and sacking the said town, maliciously broken and infringed the peace and amity which hath been so happily established, and so long inviolably continued, between us and the subjects of both our crowns: we have therefor held it fit, to make a public declaration of our utter dislike and detestation of the said insolencies and excesses. And, for the clearing of the truth of the said common fame, we do hereby strictly charge all our subjects that have any particular understanding and notice thereof, immediately to discover the same to some of our privy council, upon pain of our high displeasure,' &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 90.]

Upon Raleigh's return without gold, King James disavowed his having given him authority to sail to Guiana, although he had privately received of him a scheme of the whole design, with a particular description of the country and the river Oronoco, &c. He could not, however, be put to death on account of this enterprize, because he had the king's commission for it; but as he had been found guilty, in 1603, of a pre-

tended conspiracy with Lord Grey, &c. for dethroning King James, in favour of Lady Arabella Stuart, and kept twelve years in the tower of London, (where he wrote the first part of his History of the world,) to please the court of Spain he was now, in the 77th year of his age, executed on that old sentence, to the no small disreputation of King James, and the infinite regret of all good men.

The king granted an exclusive patent for twenty-one years to John Gilbert, for the sole making and vending of an instrument which he called a water-plough; for taking up sand, gravel, &c. out of rivers and havens *: and of an engine also invented by him, for raising water in greater quantity than heretofore known, and to be moved and driven either by some stream of water, or, for want of that, by strength of horses, for draining coal-pits and other mines. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 102.]

A proclamation was issued, prohibiting buildings on new foundations in London, or within two miles of any of the gates of that city: also, for restraining the immoderate confluence of people thither; wherein the same reasons are assigned as in the restraint published in 1602 by Queen Elizabeth; but which, in modern times, would not be esteemed of sufficient weight to require any such restraints in either case.

The king hereby also prescribes the manner of rebuilding houses in London, in respect to the height of the stories and thickness of the walls; the later to be either of brick or stone; with the form of the windows and shops, &c. He also directs all sheds and other nuisances to be removed. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 107.]

King James issued a special commission to his chancellor, and sundry other lords and gentlemen, 'for the removal of nuisances in the grounds called Lincoln's-inn-fields, situated in a place much planted round about with the dwellings of noblemen and gentlemen of quality; which grounds, if they were reduced into fair and goodly walks, would be a matter of great ornament to the city, also of pleasure and freshness for the health and recreation of the inhabitants thereabout, and for the sight and delight of ambassadors and strangers coming to our court and city. The commissioners are therefor directed to lay out those fields into regular walks, &c. in such form as Inigo Jones, our surveyor-general of our works (and one of the commissioners) shall draw by way of map. The expense thereof to be defrayed by contributions from the most substantial inhabitants of the adjacent parishes of St. Martin's, and St. Giles's in the fields, St. Mary Savoy, St. Clement's, St. Andrew's, St. Dunstan's, and St. Bride's: and a list of such as will not contribute shall be laid before us. A treasurer to be elected out of the contributors. The master of the

* Probably the same now used by the ballast-men.

'rolls is hereby directed to collect the contributions of the two Serjeants-Inns, the four inns of court, and the eight inns of chancery *.' [Fœdera, V. xvii, p. 119.]

The king gave a patent *for thirty-one years* to David Ramsay and Thomas Wildgosse, 'for the sole benefit arising from their inventions, for ploughing land without horses or oxen, for improving barren grounds, for raising water from any low place to the houses of noblemen and gentlemen, and to cities and towns, and to make boats for the carriage of burdens and passengers, to run upon the water as swift in calms, and more safe in storms, than boats full-ailed in great winds.' [Fœdera, V. xvii, p. 121.]

With respect to the whale-fishing of the Hollanders, De Witt quotes Lieven Van Aitzma, who says, 'that the whale-fishery to the northward employs above 12,000 men at sea;' which infers, that the Dutch had probably near 300 sail of ships employed in the whale-fishery about 100 years ago, at a time when England had none at all.

The colony of Virginia went on increasing, and considerable quantities of tobacco were raised there, which now began to be well taken off at home. Sir Samuel Argall, the governor, finding this colony in a thriving way, began to have his eye on the French, who, about the year 1616, had crossed the river of St. Laurence, and made a settlement in the country then named Acadia (now Nova-Scotia), and also on part of what is now called New-England. He drove the French from Port-royal (since named Annapolis-royal), and from another small settlement of theirs, and took a ship riding before it. We are here to observe, that the English, from the very beginning of their planting on the continent of America, had ever deemed Nova-Scotia to be a part of North-Virginia, as Georgia, more lately, and before it took that name, was undoubtedly deemed a part of South-Carolina, though not then planted on. For at this time Virginia, being the mother English colony on that continent, and its patent extending to the northernmost parts of America, all the settlements to the northward of Cape Henry were comprehended under the general appellation of North-Virginia.

Sir Samuel Argall also dislodged some Dutchmen, who, under pretence of a purchase from Captain Hudson, had seated themselves on Hudson's river, in what is now called New-York, and which the Dutch had then named New-Netherlands. Yet they again soon resettled and multiplied there.

Whether the Indians of Virginia had received bad impressions of our first English planters, some of whom through rashness might have

* The houses round Lincoln's-inn-fields, mentioned in this commission, were erected by Inigo Jones; and some of them on the south and west sides of the square, and on the south side of Queen-Street, are still entire. Many people still alive re-

member the adjacent ground plots, then waste, being laid out by the same great architect.

Quere, In what year did Mr. Anderson write that people were alive who had been contemporary with Jones, who died in 1651? *M.*

used violence towards them, is not, at this distance of time, and through partial representations, so easily to be determined; but it is certain that the Indians destroyed many English people in those times; and that they, in retaliation, made great havoc of the Indians, who at first were very numerous along that coast. Certainly, whenever it can be done with safety, it is of vast benefit to any such plantation to live well with the natives, who may be many ways subservient to their interest, more especially by driving a very considerable traffic with them for furs and skins, in exchange for that sort of woollen cloth called duffle, guns, gun-powder, lead-shot, hatchets, knives, scissars, needles and thread, red ocher, for painting their bodies, &c. Also, by engaging their friendship, in opposition to those of the colonies of the other European nations at variance with them; of which our other colonies have since had sufficient experience. We ought however, on this occasion, to do the managers of the Virginia company the justice to observe, that they had already formed a design to erect a college for the conversion of the Indians to christianity, although it proved abortive.

The Dutch went on very successfully in their captures of Spanish and Portuguese shipping; but of all their expeditions (says Voltaire in his General history of Europe, *V. vi. c. 11*) that of Admiral Peter Hen was the most profitable to them; he having this year taken the entire fleet of galleons homeward bound, whereby he carried home no less than twenty millions of livres.

The Dutch fortified the port of Jacatra (now called Batavia), which is capable of containing 1000 ships, in order to exclude the English from it. The Javans opposing it, were assisted by the English from Bantam with cannon and ships, wherewith they drove away the Dutch ships of war; yet, in the end, the Dutch stood their ground, and kept possession of Batavia, and also of their factory at Bantam, after many struggles with the English company's ships, and much slaughter between them, and also with those of Bantam. After which, this new city of Batavia increased very much in people and commerce, although it was attacked by the king of Java by sea and land in the year 1630, and again by the Bantamese in 1655. Hither they import vast quantities of European merchandize for the Javans, and also for the Chinese, who come hither in their large vessels. It is indeed a magazine for all the productions of India, Japan, and the spice-islands: it is the centre of all the Dutch commerce: and its governor-general lives in the state of a sovereign prince, his forces being reckoned 20,000 or more. And in Java, the Moluccoes, Ceylon, and Malacca, some have reckoned half a million of people subject to the Dutch company, who, in India, are strong enough to expell all the other European nations: and they send more European merchandize to India than perhaps all the rest of Europe do together. The Dutch governors of Batavia have from time to

time added many new fortifications and outworks to that city, which is about six miles in circumference, and contains about 80,000 people. They have likewise built many forts and redoubts, at proper distances, for several miles round it, for the safety of their plantations, farms, and pleasure-houses; so as to be deemed long since out of danger from any attack of the natives, according to Nieuhoff's voyages, published in 1676, who then reckoned 6720 fighting men in it, besides the Dutch inhabitants, and the families of great numbers of Chinese, Malaysans, Amboynese, Moors, and Javanese. They have sugar-houses, powder-mills, paper-mills, and all other conveniences, without being obliged to depend on the uncertainty of supplies from Europe. And their coffee is reckoned next to that of Mocha for goodness. They have also pepper, rice, wax, benzoin; magazines of iron, timber, and naval stores; founderies for cannon; docks for ship-building, &c*.

The English Russia company were now disputing with the Hull men their whale-fishing at the isle of Trinity, lying in the north sea towards Spitzbergen, that company claiming an exclusive right to the fishery; yet the Hull ships having first discovered that isle, and very early fished at it, it was this year granted to the corporation of Hull by King James for their whale-fishing.

Although the English (as we have seen) had, so early as the year 1536, resorted for commerce to Guinea or the west coast of Africa, yet, by reason of losses and disappointments in that traffic, they became negligent of it, and even seem to have discontinued it entirely, till now that King James granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich, and other Londoners, for raising a joint stock for a trade to Guinea. Nevertheless, as separate traders would not forbear resorting to that coast, such disputes arose between this company and them as soon ended in the dissolution of the company, the proprietors withdrawing their shares. This occasioned that trade to lie neglected during the rest of this king's reign, and also some part of his son's reign, whilst the Hollanders persisted in improving their own trade on this coast. That short-lived company had soon spent the greatest part of their capital; the gold and drug trade alone not being sufficient to support factories and forts there; there not having as yet been any trade for negro slaves for our own American island plantations, scarcely as yet existing.

1619.—The Russia and East-India companies of England fitted out nine ships and two pinnaces for the whale-fishery at Spitzbergen in the year 1619. But the voyage proving unfortunate, the two companies, after carrying it on jointly for two years without success, agreed to give up that fishery.

* An ample account of this Dutch capital of the East, may be found in the *Voyages of Stavorinus*, a commander in the service of the Dutch East-India company. *M.*

The English silver coins being much melted down and exported at this time, King James issued a proclamation, prohibiting the exchange of silver coins into gold ones, for any manner of profit, or above the rates for which the same coins are current in the realm. And 'where-
' as the drawing of monies into the goldsmiths hands, by turning silver
' into gold upon profit of exchange, doth make it (the silver) the more
' ready to be ingrossed into the merchants hands for transportation to
' mints abroad, and that such profit to be taken upon change of monies
' is prohibited by law,—the king strictly commands that no goldsmith
' nor any other person shall melt down, or make into any kind of ves-
' sel or plate, or other manufacture, any of his coins current in these
' realms; but shall only make the same out of old plate, foreign bul-
' lion, or foreign coin, or of silver burnt out of lace, and the like.

' And, the better to prevent the unnecessary and excessive vent of
' gold and silver foliate (i. e. leaf) within this realm, none such shall
' from henceforth be wrought or used in any building, ceiling, wain-
' scot, bedsteads, chairs, stools, clothes, or any other ornament whatso-
' ever; except it be armour or weapons, or in arms or ensigns of ho-
' nour at funerals, or monuments of the dead.' [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 133.]

In this year there were two proclamations against eating flesh in lent, or on other fast-days. 'None to presume to disobey this order with-
' out a licence from the bishop of the diocese; which licences (says the
' king) should be sparingly granted.' His reasons are, 'the benefit of
' this abstinence, for the increase of flesh-meat all the rest of the year,
' and that the contrary practice is against law.' [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, pp. 131, 134.]

And also a proclamation 'for the builders of new houses in London
' to make their walls of brick, as in a former proclamation*.' [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 143.]

A pacification between the two rival East-India companies of Eng-land and Holland, after many controversies, was effected by the king's interposition, as follows.

After sundry fruitless conferences at London and at the Hague, in the years 1613 and 1615, for accommodating their differences, the king and the states, desiring to cement more and more the bands of friendship between the two nations, were earnest to resume the affair in a third congress, to be held by commissioners from the king and the

* From the preamble it appears, that similar proclamations had been issued in the 2d, 5th, 6th, 9th, and 16th years of his reign as king of Eng-land, besides this one, for regulating new buildings; and directing that they should be sufficiently airy and substantial; no other materials than brick or stone to be employed in the walls, which in houses not exceeding two stories were to have the length of one brick and a half in their thickness, and in

those of greater height to have the length of two bricks up to the top of the first story; that the heads of the windows of shops should be arched with stones or bricks cut in the form of wedges. Uni-formity of building, and regularity in the streets, are likewise recommended. Regulations some-what similar have lately been renewed, and in the present age of slight building, cannot be too strict-ly enforced. M.

states, in the presence of certain deputies from each company: and, after long debates, they have at length come to the following conclusions, viz.

I) 'There shall be, from the date hereof, an amnesty and oblivion of all offences and excesses committed in the East-Indies by either party; and in consequence thereof, the prisoners, ships, and merchandize, of both parties, shall be freely delivered up and restored.

II) 'All the officers and servants of both companies shall afford all possible aid and friendship to each other, as between friends and neighbours so nearly allied; and if any of either party shall happen to be in distress at sea, the people of the other party shall afford them all possible succour.

III) 'Commerce in the East-Indies shall be absolutely free for both companies; who may trade with and employ, on their respective separate accounts, such fund and capital as they shall judge proper.

IV) 'For the common benefit of commerce in India, both companies shall endeavour to bring about a reduction of the duties there, as well as of gifts and presents.

V) 'The like endeavours shall be used by both companies in India to reduce the prices of merchandize there. And as to the sale of India commodities in the countries of both the contracting parties, a certain price shall be mutually agreed on, below which neither company shall sell the same.

VI) 'To prevent all jealousies between the two companies, the commissioners of both companies shall fix a certain moderate price for the purchase of pepper at Bantam, and other places in Java-Major; which shall be equally divided between the two companies.

VII) 'The English East-India company shall freely enjoy the traffic at Palicate; and bear half the expense of the fort and garrison there.

VIII) 'In the Molucco isles, Banda, and Amboyna, commerce shall be so regulated by common consent, that the English company shall enjoy the third part of it, both for import and export; and the Dutch company the other two thirds thereof.

IX) 'And for this purpose the factors of both companies shall buy the merchandize at the current prices there, and shall divide them by lot, in due proportion, between both companies.

X) 'And as so remote and so important a commerce cannot be protected without a strong power, 20 ships of war shall be furnished for that end, ten by each company, and each ship from 600 to 800 tons burden, carrying 150 men, and 30 pieces of cannon each, besides other needful ammunition; which cannon shall carry balls of 8 to 18 pounds weight*.

* This is the first instance (at least in the *Fœdera*) of specifying the number of guns and weight of their shot, as well as the tonnage, which in our times constitute the *rate* of ships of war.

XI) ' Also the council of defence shall consider of the number of galleys, frigates, and other lesser necessary vessels.

XII) ' The forts and garrisons in the Moluccos, Banda, and Amboyna, shall be maintained by the impositions on the products of the said islands, to be settled by the common council of defence.

XIII) ' For the establishment and preservation of order, there shall be erected a council of defence, of each company four persons: being the principal officers of each company, who shall preside in their turns.

XIV) ' The council shall direct all matters relating to the common defence at sea, and shall station the ships of war as they shall judge necessary.

XV) ' They shall also settle the impositions needful for the maintenance of the forts and garrisons.

XVI) ' The ships of war shall remain in the places where stationed, and shall not be employed in carrying goods to Europe, or to the other provinces.

XVII) ' Yet, if the council of defence shall permit it, the said ships of war may be employed sometimes from one place to another in India, for the conveying of merchandize belonging to their respective companies.

XVIII) ' The council may also, in emergencies, employ the merchant ships for defence.

XIX, XX) ' The loss and expense, as well as the profit by captures, &c. shall be equally born and divided between both companies.

XXI, XXII) But ships of war, which may be lost by tempest, &c. shall be made good by the company they belong to.

XXIII) ' The forts shall remain in the possession of that company in whose hands they now are.

XXIV) ' It is agreed, that the erection of some forts, proposed by the English company, shall be postponed for two or three years, after which the number and situation of them can be more conveniently determined.

XXV) ' The forts in the Moluccos, or elsewhere in India, acquired by the joint forces of both companies, shall be equally possessed and garrisoned by both companies, or equally divided between them, as the council of defence shall direct.

XXVI) ' The two companies shall jointly endeavour to open a free trade to China, or other parts of India, under the direction of the council.

XXVII) ' Neither company shall forestall or exclude the other from any part of the Indies, by fortifications, or by contracts hereafter to be made; but all the commerce shall be free and common to both companies in every part of the Indies.

XXVIII) ' No person, not free of either company, shall enjoy the

benefit of this treaty, unless by the consent of both companies. And if any subject of the king, or of the states, shall hereafter invade the privileges of either company, in that case both companies shall jointly and separately oppose all invaders of this trade, and all other companies that may hereafter be set up during the term of this treaty.

XXIX) ' In case of the death of the factors, or other disasters happening to either company, their property shall be carefully preserved by the factors of the other company for the proprietors.

XXX) ' This treaty shall continue for *twenty years*; during which, any disputes which cannot be determined by the council in India, or by the companies in Europe, shall be submitted to his majesty and the states general, who will condescend to settle them.'

The king, in his ratification of the treaty, promises not to erect any other India company during the term of it. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 170.]

This famous treaty, or rather union, between the two companies, was scarcely sooner concluded than it was violated in its most essential points. The English and Dutch writers are so diametrically opposite in their accounts of the transactions which followed, that they agree in nothing but mutual accusations, so that it is apparently impossible to discover the truth. But we may observe, that if the two companies could have preserved the harmony professed in the treaty, they might probably till now have remained sole masters of the entire commerce of Arabia, Persia, India, and China, and have expelled not only the Portuguese, but every other European nation, from trading to those countries. How justly that could have been done, we do not pretend to say.

The king appointed Sir John Ayre his minister at the court of the sultan Osmin Han, at Constantinople, to settle friendship and commerce with Turkey, and to appoint the places of trade, and to nominate consuls. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 178.]

' About this time tapestry work was first brought into England by Sir Francis Crane, for the encouragement whereof King James gave £2000 for the building of a house at Mortlake, on the Thames, where Francis Clein was the first designer.' [*Present state of England*, part iii, p. 93, ed. 1683.]

According to the author of the Happy future state of England [p. 78, ed. 1689] the whole coinage of gold and silver in the mint at the tower of London, between the years 1599 and 1619, was L.4,779,314 : 13 : 4.

The voyagers tell us, that in this year the English, from Japan, attempted to settle a trade with China and Cochin China, though unsuccessfully. In the later country both the English and Dutch factors were massacred; because, as was given out, the Dutch had a little before burnt one of their towns. Letters from the English factory at Firando, in Japan, gave accounts of a great persecution of christians in that country: and they also complained of the cruel treatment by the

Dutch to the English there, whom they would have totally destroyed, but for the interposition of the Japanese.

We have already seen, that the French had found the way to the East-Indies so early as in the year 1601, under the direction of a company of merchants of St. Malo's. In Thevenot's collection of voyages, we find they now sent out three ships thither: and at Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, their admiral Beaulieu delivered to the king of that place the French king's letters and presents. Beaulieu complained of obstructions from the English, but more especially from the Dutch (that obstruction being quite consistent with the before-recited treaty); and, upon the whole, he seems to have made but an indifferent voyage*.

In this same year the voyage writers tell us, that the Dutch possessed the principal ports of trade in the great island of Borneo: its chief productions being the best camphire in the world, frankincense, cassia, musk, agaric, aloes, various gums, wax, mastic, cotton, cinnamon, pepper, honey, diamonds, gold-dust, bezoar-stones, loadstones, iron, tin, brafil-wood, &c.

Captain Moncke, by order of the court of Denmark, now wintered in the country usually called Old Greenland, near Hudson's bay: but, out of 64 men, only himself and two more survived to the next summer; and they, with the utmost difficulty, brought home their ship to Denmark. Yet in that country of Greenland, properly so called, he found fresh raspberries under the snow, many trees, salmon in the rivers, deer, hares, wild fowl, &c. and very good talc, of which he brought home many tons: but the natives all the while would not come near him. This was an attempt of the court of Denmark to re-people Greenland, formerly occupied by a colony from Norway, which had been unaccountably lost. In our own days the Danes have re-colonized some small part of that coast, though to very little purpose.

1620.—By this time the voyages by sea to the East-Indies had so greatly lowered the prices of Indian merchandize, that the trade between India and Turkey, by the old way, viz. by the Persian gulf and up the river Tigris, and also by the Red sea, was much decayed; whereby the grand signior's customs were very much lessened. The ingenious Mr. Munn, in the year 1621, published a treatise in favour of the East-India trade; wherein he gives the quantities of Indian merchandize consumed annually in Christendom, with their prime cost, and all charges till onboard, by the old way from Aleppo, and also the new way by long sea; whence, he thinks, will be seen the great benefit of our own East-India commerce, viz.

* Besides the misfortunes brought upon him by his second voyage to India, and that the St. Malo the confederates, he suffered much from not knowing the proper stations and seasons for the trade. company had a factory at Bantam in the year 1621. [Relations de voyages par Thevenot, partie ii, pp. 10, 41, 88, 90, 128. M.]

	Cost at Aleppo.	Cost in India.
6,000,000 lb of pepper, 2/ per lb	600,000 0 0	2½d £62,500 0 0
450,000 lb cloves, 4/9 per lb	106,875 0 0	9d 16,875 0 0
150,000 lb mace, 4/9 per lb	35,625 0 0	8d 5000 0 0
400,000 lb nutmegs, 2/4 per lb	46,666 13 4	4d 6666 13 4
350,000 lb indigo, 4/4 per lb	75,833 6 8	1½ 20,416 13 4
1,000,000 lb raw silk, 12/ per lb	600,000 0 0	8f 400,000 0 0
	<u>Li,465,000 0 0</u>	<u>£511,458 6 8</u>

‘ Thus (continues Mr. Munn) for a little above a third part of the price of the wares shipped from Turkey, we have them shipped from India; and adding one sixth part more for the expense of the voyage homeward, beyond that of the Turkey one, the said wares by the Cape of Good Hope will cost us but about half the price which they will cost from Turkey: besides, that the greater part of the East-India cost is paid to our own people, and centers at home; as the freight, insurance, supercargoes, wages, much of the provisions, &c *.

* Munn also estimates the annual importation cost onboard the ships in India, and those they sell of the following India goods, with the prices they for in England, thus:

Cost on board the ships in India.	Selling prices in England.
250,000 lb pepper 2½d -	1/8 £208,333 6 8
150,000 lb cloves 9d -	6f 45,000 0 0
150,000 lb nutmegs 4d -	2/6 18,750 0 0
50,000 lb mace 8d -	6f 15,000 0 0
200,000 lb indigo 1½ -	5f 50,000 0 0
107,140 lb China raw silk 7f	20f 107,140 0 0
50,000 pieces calico 7f	20f 50,000 0 0
	<u>£494,223 6 8</u>
<u>Li100,000 0 0</u>	

And he considers the whole of the great difference, which consists of freight, duties, charges, and profits, as clear gain to the nation.

He afterwards estimates the annual consumption of the following India goods in England, and

gives a comparative view of the lowest prices of them, when got from Turkey or Lisbon, before England imported any from India, and the common prices in his own time, thus:

The lowest ancient prices.	The common modern prices.
400,000 lb pepper 3/6 -	1/8 £33,333 6 8
40,000 lb cloves 8f -	6f 12,000 0 0
20,000 lb mace 9f -	6f 6000 0 0
160,000 lb nutmegs 4/6 -	2/6 20,000 0 0
150,000 lb indigo 7f -	5f 37,000 0 0
	<u>£108,333 6 8</u>
<u>£183,500 0 0</u>	

The difference of these sums is a saving in the expenditure of England in consequence of the direct importation from India.

It is proper to observe, that a review of the Dutch India trade was published about this same time, the author of which states the returns from the year 1596 to 1601, all charges deducted, to be 230 tons of gold; and he proceeds reckoning the company's and the nation's profits by the trade, and all in tons of gold. The profits or di-

vidends made in sixteen years, reckoning from the year 1605, were 200 gilders on each share of 100; and the value or market-price of each share was 230 gilders. [See the extract in Purchas's Pilgrimes, L. v, c. 15.]

We must remember that this work was written by a partner of the Dutch company, who, like Mr. Munn, was desirous of exhibiting the affairs of his company in the most advantageous light. M.

Now, on supposition, that near the same proportion holds in our days, then it will follow, upon Mr. Munn's plan, that a more considerable national benefit will arise from our modern East-India trade, the imports whereof are now so greatly increased; more especially in the article of Bengal and China raw silk. Moreover, it is questionable, whether, if the trade were turned into the old channel again, the Turks could take off much more of our produce and manufactures than they do at present: so that most of the balance must, in that case, be paid to Turkey in ready money by all Christendom. Yet an objection may be started on the other side, viz. whether that balance would be so considerable as that which we, in particular, and the rest of Europe, send yearly in silver to India, more especially since the vast increase of the consumption of tea from China, then unknown to Europe. Mr. Munn says, ' that in his time the Turks sent annually from Aleppo and Constantinople L500,000 Sterling in money, merely for Persian raw silk; and L600,000 more from Mocha, for calicoes, drugs, sugar, rice, &c. the Indians taking very little of the Turks in merchandize, but almost the whole in money. That the Venetians, Florentines, and Marseillians export much bullion; but it is in order to import much more: and this he thinks to be the case of our English East-India company; which, however, had only exported, from its first establishment in the year 1601 to July 1620, L548,090 in Spanish silver; whereas they might by licence within that time have exported L720,000. And in the said nineteen years, they have exported, in woollen cloths, tin, lead, and other English and foreign wares, to the value of L292,286, being on an average L15,383 per annum. Upon the whole, our author thinks the trade to India ought to be considered as exporting annually in goods, &c. L480,000, and importing only L120,000, whereby there is an annual balance in our favour of L360,000, which is either received in money, or its equivalent, from Turkey, Genoa, Leghorn, Marseilles, the Netherlands, &c. whither we send our Indian wares. He says, the French and Venetians export annually to Turkey L600,000 in bullion, for the purchase of Persian raw silk, &c. which they afterwards in part manufacture and export, and partly re-export raw to all parts of Europe; from whence they bring home much more bullion than they before exported to Turkey; which is also a parallel case to that of our company's exportation of bullion to India. That in the company's late quarrels with the Dutch, twelve of our ships were surprised and taken by them, which has been a great loss to the company; yet they had still twenty-one good ships in India, and L400,000 of good estate; this trade employing 10,000 tons of shipping, 2500 mariners, 500 ship-carpenters, and about 120 factors. That with regard to the present complaints of the scarcity of money amongst us, our laying aside the East-India trade, instead of a remedy, would make the matter

still worse, unless we could likewise suppress the commerce of all the other nations of Europe to India; and especially that of the Dutch, to whom, in such case, we should be obliged to pay such prices as they should please to impose for their Indian wares.' As Mr. Munn was an eminent merchant, and seems perfectly master of his subject, we thought such a brief view of the East-India trade at that time would be curious and acceptable.

In all the accounts hitherto published of our East-India commerce, there is no mention of cinnamon; because the Portuguese being still possessed of the isle of Ceylon, where alone the best is produced, that spice was to be had only from Lisbon.

King James, in some of his speeches, and the people of England in general, duely considering the great advantages reaped by other European nations from their silk manufactures, about this time testified much earnestness for the propagation of silk worms, and of white mulberry trees, for feeding the silk worms; which however has hitherto not succeeded, perhaps owing to the coldness of our climate. But with respect to the manufacture of raw silk into broad silk fabrics, they began about this time to set about it in earnest. For which end, one Mr. Burlamach, a merchant, by the direction of the king, brought from beyond sea silk-throwsters, silk-dyers, and broad-weavers; and the manufacture has in process of time proved so extremely advantageous to the nation, and is so very considerable in our days, as to be thought to employ no fewer than at least fifty thousand people in all its branches, and some think half as many more. Mr. Munn, in his treatise, says, that even then many hundreds of people were continually employed in winding, twisting, and weaving silk in London. The anonymous author of an ingenious pamphlet, in 4to, published in 1681 (said to have been Sir Josiah Child), gives it as his opinion, that throughout Christendom, generally speaking, there are more men and women employed in silk manufactures than in the woollen; in which we must beg leave to differ from him; as also in another assertion in that piece, viz. that the number of families already [i. e. 1681] employed therein in England amounted to above 40,000. Nevertheless, there are abundance of very just reflections in the pamphlet, which is entitled, *A treatise, wherein is demonstrated that the East-India trade is the most national of all trades.*

King James commissioned certain physicians, merchants, grocers, and apothecaries, to direct the garbling of the drug called tobacco, and to separate the good from the unwholesome parts thereof. The king, in his commission, complains that the duty he had laid on tobacco was not well paid: and the commission was probably intended for the better ascertaining that duty. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 190.]

King James issued his proclamation, importing, that whereas Roger North, Esq. and others, adventurers for an intended plantation and set-

tlement of a trade and commerce in those parts of the continent of America near the river of Amazons, which were presupposed not to be under the obedience and government of any other prince or state, hath secretly conveyed himself away, and disloyally precipitated and embarked himself and followers on this design, contrary to our royal pleasure and commandment expressly signified to him by one of our principal secretaries; our admiral of England having also refused him leave to go: We then, out of weighty considerations and reasons of state, and upon the deliberate advice of our privy-council, have resolved to suspend and restrain the said plantation and voyage for a time; and have thereupon straightly commanded the said North and associates for a while to surcease their said design, till our farther pleasure be known. We have therefor held it fit hereby to make a public declaration of our dislike and disavowment of this their rash, undutiful, and insolent attempt: and do hereby revoke and disannull all power, authority, and commission, which they may pretend to derive from us. And we do hereby charge them immediately to make their speedy return home, with all their shipping, &c. and forthwith to present themselves to some of our privy-council. And we do hereby strictly require, as well the governors as all other the partners and adventurers interested as members of the company and incorporation intended for that plantation; as all other merchants, captains, mariners, &c. not to aid, abet, or comfort, the said North and his associates, with any shipping, men, money, ammunition, provisions, &c. And our admirals, captains, &c. of any of our subjects ships, if they meet them at sea, or in harbour, shall attack, seize, and summon them to return home, and shall bring them back, and commit them to the charge of some of our officers, &c. till we give farther order concerning them. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 215.]

Sir Henry Savill made a noble establishment for two professors of mathematics in the university of Oxford; one of which was for geometry, and the other for astronomy: the salaries of each being £160 per annum. Both these branches of mathematics are well known to be greatly beneficial to navigation and commerce. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 217.]

King James I. is universally known to have had a mortal aversion to tobacco; of which we have the following evidence in the preamble to a proclamation.

‘Whereas we, out of the dislike we had of the use of tobacco, tending to a general and new corruption both of mens bodies and manners; and yet, nevertheless, holding it of the two, more tolerable that the same should be imported, amongst many other vanities and superfluities which come from beyond seas, than be permitted to be planted here within this realm, thereby to abuse and misemploy the soil of this fruitful kingdom; and whereas we have taken into our

‘ royal consideration, as well the great waste and consumption of the
 ‘ wealth of our kingdoms, as the endangering and impairing the
 ‘ health of our subjects, by the immoderate liberty and abuse of tobac-
 ‘ co, being a weed of no necessary use, and but of late years brought
 ‘ into our dominions ; we therefor strictly charge and command, that
 ‘ our proclamation of December last, restraining the planting of tobac-
 ‘ co, be observed.’ [That proclamation is not in the *Fœdera*, but the
 octavo history of Virginia has given us its substance ; viz. ‘ that the
 ‘ people of Virginia growing numerous, they made so much tobacco as
 ‘ overstocked the market ; wherefor the king, out of pity to the coun-
 ‘ try, commanded that the planters should not make above one hun-
 ‘ dred weight of tobacco per man : for the market was so low that he
 ‘ could not afford to give them above three shillings the pound for it.
 ‘ The king advised them rather to turn their spare time towards pro-
 ‘ viding corn and stock, and towards the making of potash, or other
 ‘ manufactures.’] This king had assumed the pre-emption of all to-
 bacco imported, which he again sold out at much higher prices. This
 record continues, ‘ and that no person or persons, other than such as
 ‘ shall be authorised by our letters-patents, do import into England any
 ‘ tobacco from beyond sea, upon pain of forfeiting the said tobacco,
 ‘ and such farther penalties as we shall judge proper to inflict. And, to
 ‘ prevent frauds, all tobacco shall be marked or sealed that shall hence-
 ‘ forth be imported.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 233.]

Some light is thrown upon the diversions and amusements of Lon-
 don and its vicinity, and the general customs of the age, by a grant
 from King James to Clement Cottrell, Esq. groom-porter of the house-
 hold, to licence a limited number of places, for the use of cards, dice,
 bowling-allies, tennis-courts, and such like diversions ; viz. within Lon-
 don and Westminster, and the suburbs of the same, 24 bowling-allies ;
 in Southwark, 4 ; in St. Catherine’s, 1 ; in the towns of Lambeth and
 South-Lambeth, 2 ; in Shoreditch, 1 ; and in every other burgh, town,
 village, or hamlet, within two miles of the cities of London and West-
 minster, one bowling-alley. Also within the said cities of London and
 Westminster, and within two miles thereof, 14 tennis-courts. And to
 keep play at dice and cards, 40 taverns or ordinaries within the said li-
 mits, ‘ for the honest and reasonable recreation of good and civill
 ‘ people, whoe, for their quallitie and abilitie, may lawfully use the
 ‘ games of bowling, tennis, dice, cardes, tables, nineholes, or any other
 ‘ game hereafter to be invented.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 236.]

The pirates of the Barbary shores having at this time greatly disturb-
 ed the commerce of England, the king ordered Sir Robert Maunsell,
 vice-admiral of England, to sail with certain ships of the king’s, jointly
 with other ships of his subjects, to destroy the pirates. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii,
 p. 245.]

King James borrowed 200,000 imperial dollars of his brother-in-law King Christian IV of Denmark, for the succour of the palatinate, &c. for which he was to pay the usual and legal interest of 6 per cent, being 12,000 dollars yearly. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 255.]

It is here to be noted, that the rate of interest by law in England was at this time 10 per cent, and was not reduced to 8 per cent till the year 1624.

King James, in his commission to Sir John Merrick, to be his ambassador to the great duke of Russia, observes, 'that whereas our subjects trading to Russia, by virtue of treaties, have long enjoyed sundry privileges and immunities there, which now, by occasion of the late troubles happening in that state, have received some interruption; and the said great duke and lord of Russia having, by an honourable embassy to us, moved to us a continuance of amity, and some other things concerning our welfare: For renewing the league and amity between him and us, and the privileges of our subjects in his dominions, and likewise for the re-demanding of a great sum of money, which at his request we were pleased to furnish him withal, we have constituted Sir John Merrick,' &c. And in the same year he gave the like commission and powers to Sir Dudley Diggs, for the same errand to Russia. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, pp. 256, 257.]

About this time the English company trading to the East-Indies obtained leave of the king of Golconda to settle at Madras-patan, on the coast of Coromandel, where they were permitted to build the fort called St. George; which has ever since been the company's general factory for their trade to all parts east of Cape Comorin. The principal staple wares there, are calicoes of various kinds, and muslins; although they likewise trade in all other Indian merchandize, and to all parts. At Madras (as they commonly call that place) and the adjacent villages, the company has been said to have 100,000 persons subject to them, from whom they receive considerable sums in duties and customs. Fort St. George, however, is far from being a happy situation, being situated on a barren soil, and a tempestuous shore, having no kind of harbour, nor even a convenient landing-place for boats: it has no fresh water nearer than a mile distant; yet the company find their conveniency in it in other respects, especially as to their trade in diamonds, muslins, chintz, &c. and in putting off their European wares most in request there, viz. stockings, haberdashery, gold and silver-lace, looking-glasses, and drinking-glasses, lead, wines, cyder, cheese, hats, stuffs, ribands, &c.

The Danes having resorted to East-India ever since the year 1612, and having erected a company for that commerce, now formed a scheme for possessing themselves of the cinnamon trade at Ceylon, and for that end sent out five ships, escorted by two men of war: but the Portuguese there obliged them to return home unsuccessful.

And for preventing the Hollanders from settling effectually, as they imagined, on Ceylon, on which they had for some years cast a longing eye (having in 1612 made a treaty for that end with the king of Ceylon), the Portuguese at this time increased the number and strength of their forts along the coasts of that island, whereby they so much hemmed in the king of that country, that without their permission he could not hold correspondence with any foreign nation : of which violence they afterwards found the bad effects themselves.

Our voyage-writers give accounts of fundry abortive attempts to make settlements in the country since called New-England ; as, first, at the charge of the lord chief-justice Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, in the year 1606, who had obtained of King James a grant, enabling them to plant between the degrees of 38 and 45 north latitude ; and a second time in 1608. Another in 1611, a fourth in 1612, a fifth in 1615 by the Virginia company, a sixth in 1616, and also again in 1618 and 1619 : though indeed some of them were rather trading voyages for fish, train-oil, and furs, than actual attempts for planting. They, however, made many occasional discoveries and surveys of rivers, bays, &c. preparatory to such a plantation. At first, it was called by some of the old geographers Norumbega, or more properly North-Virginia. But the first permanent plantation, which remains to this time, was not made till this year, at a place named Plymouth, in New-England ; after having gained over some of the sachems or chiefs of the Indians, and dispossessed others of them, who made opposition thereto. And Captain John Smith, having surveyed the inland country, and presented a map of it to Charles prince of Wales, the prince gave the country the name of New-England.

This year four of the English East-India ships, outward bound, made solemn publication in Saldania bay, near the Cape of Good Hope, of the possession of the adjacent country for King James, and erected a mount in token of it. They thence sailed to India, where they fought successfully with the Portuguese fleet, and took several prizes. They likewise took some of the mogul's own ships called junks, and some of the king of Decan's likewise, who had used our people ill ; and they returned home in 1622.

Giles Hobbs, one of our Russia company's factors, made a journey from Moscow to Ispahan, by the way of Astracan, and across the Caspian sea, as the company's agents had done in Queen Elizabeth's time. In his letter he gives an account of a great trade for raw silk at fundry ports on the Caspian sea ; and insinuates how easily the company might carry on that silk trade, by transporting it to Russia. He says, that at Astracan the Persian vessels bring in their dyed silks, calicoes, and Persian stuffs ; and, in return, carry home cloth, fables, martens, red leather, and old Russia money : but that the Turks, Arabs, Armenians, and

Portuguese, were severally plotting against our Persian trade. The Portuguese more especially were our company's greatest enemies on all occasions.

The Russia and East-India companies having (as related under the year 1619) laid down their whale fishery, four members of the Russia company now sent out seven ships to Spitzbergen, on their own private account; but they proved unsuccessful.

1621.—In the next year they sent the same number of ships thither again, with better success. In both these voyages, and others also prior to these, mention is made of the quantity of oil brought home; but not the least mention of whalebone or fins. They succeeded very badly in 1622; but in 1623, the last year of their union, they had good success; though they were not able to drive the Dutch away, who were superior in number of ships, and had the prince of Orange's commission.

The truce between Spain and Holland expiring this year, the later began hostilities, by taking the town and port of St. Salvador in Brasil; and in their homeward voyage they took several Spanish ships.

The English at the Banda isles were so ill supported by their friends at Bantam, that the Hollanders, collecting all their force, attacked them in the several islands, seizing on their forts, artillery, and other effects; burning such towns as made resistance, and putting many of the natives to the sword. They are said also to have imprisoned and otherwise cruelly used our company's people; and, in short, after acting other barbarities, they drove the English absolutely from thence, compelling the natives to make a solemn surrender of their country to them.

This is our English company's account.

But the Dutch, in their own vindication (printed at Amsterdam 1622) allege, that as early as 1609, the natives, by a special treaty, put themselves under the protection of the states-general; who agreed to defend them against the Portuguese and their other enemies, on condition of receiving all their spices at stated prices: but that afterwards the Bandanese broke these engagements, and committed several violences against the Dutch, till the years 1616 and 1617, when this agreement was renewed; but was again soon after broken, by the instigation of the English, who furnished them with provisions, ammunition, and ships, till the year 1620, when peace between the English and Dutch companies united their councils, for reducing the Bandanese into terms of trade, for the common benefit of both companies. For, it seems, the people of Banda had re-admitted some Portuguese to trade there: and when the Dutch came to attack the Bandanese on that account, they were underhand supported by the English, contrary to the agreement between the English and Dutch; whereby the later alone undertook the reduction of those isles, for their common benefit. So that the

Dutch met with much difficulty in subduing the Bandanese, which at last was effected; and they were obliged to acknowledge the states-general for their sovereigns, as before mentioned.

The English company replied to this, by recriminations, &c. Certainly at this distance of time it is by no means likely we should be able to clear up the truth; neither is it indeed worth our while to attempt it.

The judicious Mr. Munn [Discourse of Trade from England to East-India, p. 17] says, 'that of all Europe this nation drove the most profitable trade to Turkey, by reason of the vast quantities of broad cloth, tin, &c. which we exported thither; enough to purchase all the wares we wanted in Turkey; and in particular 300 great bales of Persian raw silk yearly: whereas a balance in money is paid by the other nations trading thither. Marseilles sends yearly to Aleppo and Alexandria at least £500,000 Sterling, and little or no wares*. Venice sends about £400,000 Sterling yearly in money, and a great value in wares beside. The Low Countries send about £50,000, and but little wares. And Messina £25,000 in ready money. Besides great quantities of gold and dollars from Germany, Poland, Hungary, &c. And all these nations take of the Turks, in return, great quantities of camblets, grograms, raw silk, cotton wool and yarn, galls, flax, hemp, rice, hides, sheeps wool, wax, corn,' &c.

What a fine account have we here of the English trade to Turkey, in those days, and how different from the present time, when the French so much go beyond us therein, and the Dutch have so much improved their own manufactures sent thither? We would, however, hope that our trade thither is still profitable to us; at least, it is become now absolutely necessary for our silk manufacture†, and for its drugs, dyeing stuffs, &c. for our other manufactures.

A very impolitic and unjustifiable persecution of the puritans or protestant dissenters at this time brought on the effectual settlement of New-England, much sooner and completer than otherwise could have been effected. Robinson, a Brownist minister, and his congregation, had retired into Holland, to avoid the persecution of the high commission courts, and other spiritual judicatures; but, not liking their residence there, they fixed their thoughts on a settlement in that new colony, which they reasonably hoped might also prove an asylum for all other persecuted protestants. Among those adventurers there were sundry gentlemen of good families, who, upon the same motives, sold their estates in England, to enable them to settle in America; such as William Bradford, Esq. of Yorkshire; Captain Standish of Lancashire; Edward Winslow, Esq. of Worcestershire, &c. Sir Robert Naunton, one of the

* France had not then entered into the woollen manufacture.

† The importation of raw silk from the British

territories in India has now rendered this country in a great measure independent of the Turkish dominions for the supply of that raw material. *M.*

secretaries of state, being a favourer of the puritans, was very assisting herein, by obtaining the king's patent for planting there: and accordingly, this year, they settled at a place near Cape Cod, which they named New Plymouth, and by a formal instrument declared themselves subjects of the crown of England, and solemnly engaged themselves to an absolute submission to such laws and rules as should be established for the good of the colony; and they elected their own governor, for one year only.

For some years, however, they underwent considerable hardships, and lost half of their number by sickness; yet, receiving annual supplies of people from England, thereby, and by exchanging knives, scissars, needles, &c. with the Indians for corn, and for furs, fish, and skins, which they sent home to England, they were enabled in five years time to clear and cultivate as much land as produced corn enough, and to spare, of their own growth. And the mad persecution of the puritans in England by the spiritual courts continuing, numbers of them, with their families and fortunes, from time to time, increased this colony. Thus, out of the great evil of persecution and ill-judged restraints for conscience sake, have sprung up much good to the British empire in America. For by the great numbers of honest and industrious people driven into that wilderness, with their effects, they were enabled to clear and cultivate a noble province in a short space, which otherwise might possibly have remained to this day thin, weak, and defenceless against the Indians and the French of Canada. Those new-comers obtained two patents of the Plymouth council, for possessing the country of the Massachusetts Bay, granted in 1627 and 1628, to Sir John Roswell, Sir John Young, and sundry other gentlemen of character: in the year following, six ships went thither, carrying 350 passengers and 115 head of cattle, besides goats, rabbits, &c. And these last were sent by those called the London adventurers; who, in the year 1630, sent ten ships for the Massachusetts colony, with 200 passengers, many of whom were persons of considerable fashion; who, to avoid persecution at home, chose to settle in that wilderness: and yet, to their everlasting reproach, they were scarcely warm in that asylum, before they ran madly into the crime, with which they had before justly upbraided the prelatical party, by setting on foot a cruel persecution of their protestant brethren and fellow planters, for mere speculative, and mostly unintelligible, points; whereby, and by their nonsensical and barbarous treatment of poor old women, under the denomination of witches, they greatly obstructed the growth of a colony so well begun, by cruelly putting to death some, and by driving out others, of the soberest and best of their people! But, to the honour of the present generation be it recorded, that they are of a much more moderate and charitable disposition, and are universally ashamed of that violent spirit of their forefathers. The

colony is at this day the noblest of all our North American continental provinces. And, by their late agent Mr. Dummer's account (in his Defence of the New England charters) they take off from Great Britain to the value of £300,000 annually in British product and manufactures; and by this time, very probably, our exports thither may be considerably increased; and will more especially greatly increase by our possession of the vast country of Canada, and in consequence thereof, by our colony's freedom from the alarms and encroachments of the French behind them.

The Virginia company went on sending supplies of people and necessaries thither from time to time, and now they sent no fewer than 1300 persons. Laws began to be regularly enacted, and the country laid out in plantations: churches were built; and the face of a well regulated colony began to appear. Yet, in this same year, in time of profound peace, the Indian natives had contrived a general massacre, and put it partly in execution, by murdering near 400 of the English; which barbarity was sufficiently revenged next year; after which the colony recovered itself: and the king sent thither stores of artillery and ammunition from the tower of London.

Petitions were presented to parliament against monopolies and projects, particularly against the patents for licencing inns and public-houses.—For the sole making of gold and silver lace; a grievance the more intolerable, as the patentees, Sir Giles Mompesson, &c. made it (says Wilfon) of copper and other sophisticated materials.—For licencing pedlars and petty chapmen.—For the sole dressing of arms.—For the sole making of playing cards, and tobacco pipes.—The sole exportation of lists and shreds, &c.

At the expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, the latter, this year, erected a West-India company; who, by patent, were empowered to form colonies, erect forts, and make alliances, on the continent and islands of America. Their first capital stock was 7,200,000 guilders. This company began with two most towering projects, both which miscarried, viz. 1st, to drive the Portuguese out of Brasil; and, 2dly, to attack Peru.

Spain being unable to crush the Algerines, who at this time were formidable in shipping, and greatly infested the Spanish coasts, Count Gondemar, ambassador from Spain to King James, found means to cajole him into an undertaking for that purpose, having before gained the lord admiral (the earl of Nottingham) and next the duke of Buckingham, his successor. They flattered that king with the mighty glory of such a conquest, and the benefits which the taking of that piratical place would bring to the commerce of England. Sir Robert Maunsell was therefor sent out with four ships, of 40 cannon each; 1 of 36, 1 of 34, 1 of 20, and 1 of 18, all brass cannon (says Sir William Monson, in

his Naval tracts) the biggest ships being of 600 tons, and the smallest of 160 tons, manned with 1500 men, besides 12 armed merchant ships, carrying in all 243 cannon and 1170 men, viz. 3 of 300 tons, 2 of 280, 2 of 260, 2 of 200, 1 of 180, 1 of 130, and 1 of 100 tons, from 12 to 26 guns, and from 50 to 120 men, per ship.

A slender armament for so great an undertaking; which also was badly executed. It seems they feasted and banqueted in harbour instead of scouring the seas; whereby (says Monson) they lost the opportunity of destroying the pirates. They however attempted to burn the ships in the mole of Algiers; but it proved impracticable. And Mr. Burchet, in his Naval history, observes that in return for our visit, our admiral's back was scarcely turned when those corsairs picked up near forty good ships of ours, and infested the Spanish coasts with greater fury than ever: wherefor (adds Sir William Monson) 'if those christian countries which lie opposite to Algiers (viz. France and Spain) could never prevail in their sundry attempts against it, although their greater vicinity, and their having the conveniency to embark and transport an army without suspicion or rumour, and of being succoured by the isles of Majorca and Minorca; what hope have we to prevail, who cannot so secretly furnish an army and fleet but all the world must ring of it? And the warning given will be sufficient for a garrisoned town of less force and fewer men than Algiers to prevent a surprize!' To say the truth, we are now wiser by experience, and are not unacquainted with the substantial benefits we receive in our commerce, from those corsairs keeping peace with us, whilst they make war on other nations. And our possession of Gibraltar, with our ships of war stationed there, will probably be ever sufficient to keep those of Algiers, Sallee, Tunis, and Tripoli, in constant awe of us.

In this same year a sumptuary law passed in the parliament of Scotland, whereby no persons were to wear cloth of gold or silver, nor gold and silver lace on their clothes, nor velvets, satins, or other silk stuffs, except noblemen, their wives and children, lords of parliament, prelates, privy-counsellors, lords of manors, judges, magistrates of principal towns, such as have 6000 marks (i. e. somewhat more than £330 sterling) of yearly rent in money, or else fourscore chalder of victual yearly, heralds, trumpeters, and minstrels. And it was by this law farther enacted, that even those hereby permitted to wear silk apparel should have no embroidering nor lace on their clothes, except a plain lace of silk on the seams and edges, with belts and hatbands embroidered with silk; and the said silk apparel to be no way cut out upon other stuffs of silk, except upon a single taffety. Foreign damask, table-linen, cambrics, lawns, and tiffanies, were limited to the above qualified persons, as were also pearls and pretious stones. Also the number of mourning suits in great families was hereby limited: moreover, the fashion of clothes

was not to be altered. Servants to have no filk on their clothes, excepting buttons and garters; and to wear only cloth, fustians, and canvas, and stuffs of Scottish manufacture. Husbandmen and labourers of the ground to wear none but gray, blue, white, and self-black cloth of Scottish manufacture. Neither wet nor dry confections were to be used at weddings, christenings, nor feasts, except they be made of Scottish fruits. Also no clothes shall be gilded with gold. [*Act 25 of 23 parl. Ja. VI.*] This is probably the last sumptuary law that ever will be made in Great Britain. Such restraints do not so well suit a free, and more especially a commercial, country, wherein certain private follies and extravagances prove often national advantages.

This year Sir William Alexander, secretary of state for Scotland, (afterwards created earl of Stirling) obtained from King James a grant of a district in America, between the 42d and 46th degrees of north latitude, to which the king had given the name of Nova Scotia, to be held of the crown of Scotland: and in the year following, he and his partners sent out a number of people from Scotland with an intent to settle there. It seems Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who then had the direction of the New-England colonies, had advised Sir William to this undertaking. But the Scottish embarkation went no farther that year than Newfoundland, where they wintered: and next year (1623) they did no more than survey the coasts of Nova Scotia*, and returned home without forming any settlement.

The exclusive jurisdiction on the river Elbe, claimed by Hamburg, induced King Christern IV of Denmark, to place some ships of war in that river: yet the emperor, having granted a charter to that city confirming their claim, the court of Denmark erected a toll-house at Glückstadt, where, by way of reprisal, they made all Hamburg ships pay the toll. This brought on open hostilities, whereby that city was a great sufferer; and was, in the end, obliged to submit to King Christiern, to pay him 1,120,000 livres, and to drop their pretensions.

A treaty of hereditary league was concluded between James I, king of Great Britain, and his brother-in-law Christiern IV, king of Denmark; the commercial and nautical articles of which are the following:

Article IV) In case either prince be invaded, the other shall supply him with eight ships of war, four of which to be of 150 or 200 tons (*‘lastarum nauticarum’*), and to have 150 or 200 men, with 20 cannon in

* They gave the name of *Nova Caledonia* to the peninsula on the south-east side of the bay of Fundy, and that of *Nova Alexandria* to the northern part. [*Heylin's Cosmography, p. 1024.*] As an assistance to Sir William Alexander in the settlement of his colony, King James gave him a Scottish patent for advancing a number of gentlemen to the hereditary dignity of *baronets of Nova Sco-*

tia, which, however, was not perfected till the year 1625. And so soon as that year the names of Nova Caledonia and Nova Alexandria seem to have been forgotten; at least they are not once mentioned in the very prolix charter of King Charles I in that year to Sir Robert Gordon, the first of the baronets of ‘the kingdom and dominion of Nova Scotia. *M.*

each ship: the other four to be of 100 to 120 tons, with each 100 to 120 men, and 16 pieces of cannon.

XIII) The subjects of both contracting parties may freely resort with their merchandize to each others dominions, paying the usual duties.

XIV) Yet British subjects shall not resort to such parts of the Danish dominions as are prohibited by former treaties, (meaning Iceland, Westmomy, and Wardhuys for fishing) without the special licence of his Danish majesty.

XV) For ships wrecked in either country liberty is granted to recover what they can thereof; and they may demand the assistance of the other party, paying for it. [*Fœdera, V. xvii, p. 305.*]

King James obtained from the king of Denmark a further loan of 100,000 dollars, at the low interest of six per cent. [*Fœdera, V. xvii, p. 315.*]

King James issued a new proclamation against eating flesh in lent, or on other fish-days. The reasons now assigned for this injunction are, 'for the maintenance of our navy and shipping, a principal strength of this island, and for the sparing and increase of flesh victuals.' The magistrates of London to examine upon oath the servants of all innholders, victuallers, cooks, alehouse-keepers, taverners, &c. who sell victuals, concerning what flesh has been sold by them in lent, &c. and shall oblige the masters of those houses to give security not to sell flesh-meat in lent, &c. And he strictly commands that none, of what quality soever, shall eat flesh in lent, or on fish-days, without a licence from the bishop of the diocese, or other persons empowered to licence; and the like rules shall be observed by magistrates in other cities, and in the country. [*Fœdera, V. xvii, p. 349.*] Whether there was a real scarcity of flesh-meat, or it was only the humour of the king and his council, is not perhaps easy to be determined; though from other parts of his conduct the later should seem most probable, together with his laudable zeal for promoting the fishery.

1622.—In the following year King James commissioned the lord keeper and others to collect annually the names, qualities, and professions of all strangers-born (denizens or not denizens) now residing in England. And as there be sundry laws in force for preventing aliens and strangers-born from the use of handicrafts, and the making of manufactures in England, and from the liberty of selling by retail, and of buying and selling native commodities, the said laws are to be put in execution. And our will is, that such strangers as use the trade of merchandize, and do not sell by retail, nor employ themselves in buying and selling the native commodities of this kingdom, may, notwithstanding this our commission, continue to enjoy such liberties and freedoms as formerly they have enjoyed by the permission of us and our predecessors. Only, we will that every such merchant shall pay to our use such annual acknowledgement, by way of quarterage, as by a schedule

under our hand we shall direct, or as our commissioners shall set down under their hands; that so it may appear that they enjoy this freedom, not by right, but of our mere grace and favour. Also that no stranger-born, or born in England of parents-strangers, who have not served an apprenticeship of at least seven years, shall hereafter sell any wares by retail, but only in gross: nor shall sell even in gross at fairs or markets, or out of the city or town where they dwell. And that such strangers, at present settled with their families in England, and who use any manual trade, or the making of our new draperies*, and who desire to continue here, may quietly so do, provided they put themselves under our royal protection: and whereas by the laws of this realm they ought not to work at all or use such trades, but, as servants to the English, they shall now inrol themselves as servants to ourselves, our heirs, and successors; whereby they may by law be freed and discharged from the danger and penalty of our laws. Yet, for the encouragement of all strangers to bring new and profitable trades and manufactures into use here, every such stranger instructing any of our natural-born subjects therein, may use such trade for the space of ten years: but they shall not at any one time keep above two foreign journeymen, nor retain any apprentice but by indenture for seven years. Yet our will is, that such of the French nation, who, by reason of the late troubles in that kingdom, have taken refuge here, shall be shewn such favour, beyond the proportion of other strangers, as our commissioners shall think fit; if within a convenient time after those troubles shall be overblown, they shall return into their own country again. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 372.]

This commission was immediately followed by a proclamation against the exportation of any gold or silver, either in coin or plate, jewels, goldsmiths work, bullion, or other mass. And 'for avoiding of all unnecessary consumption of silver and gold within this realm, much practised of late by some goldsmiths and refiners, and by the manufacturers of gold and silver thread, no finer of gold and silver, nor part thereof by fire or water, shall allay any fine silver or gold, nor sell the same to any but to the mint and to goldsmiths. And all gold and silver thread is hereby prohibited to be made in this realm, of what kind soever: nor shall any person either buy or sell any such gold and silver thread made in this realm. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 376.]

Had the king absolutely prohibited the importation and use of that manufacture in England, there would have been some more consistency in his conduct. Probably his aim was to increase his revenue by the custom on imported gold and silver thread, though to the ruin of so many of his own people: besides, goldsmiths work and jewels are as

* This exemption was in favour of the Walloons, who had introduced the new drapery in the preceding reign. But the chief object of the commission was evidently to collect a tax from foreign merchants and workmen; a measure equally arbitrary and impolitic in a commercial country.

much merchandize as any other commodity whatever, and therefor ought not to have been restrained; and so indeed are gold and silver in coin or bullion, in the judgment of the men in our days, though our laws prohibit the exportation of our own coin.

King James granted a commission to Sir William Heydon and Charles Glemham, Esq. to the following effect, viz. that he has been moved by sundry letters and messages from the great mogul, to gratify him with some choice arts and rarities which his dominions afford. Wherefor, he commissions them to sail thither with two ships, to advance the trade of his subjects, as their own occasions shall permit, or as they shall be desired by the company of merchants of London trading to the East-Indies, their factors or ministers; to govern the said ships, and the men therein; and to carry out and bring back such merchandize as shall be judged proper, and be licenced; also to trade with the great mogul, or any other prince or potentate, between the Cape of Good Hope and the straits of Le Maire, &c. The said two gentlemen are therein stiled servants of his son the prince of Wales, and specially recommended by him as properly qualified for this purpose. [*Fœdera, V. xvii, p. 407.*]

King James, in a special commission to many lords and gentlemen, concerning the decay of trade in England, represents that from the general complaints of our subjects at home, as also by information from our ministers employed in parts beyond sea, it appears that the cloth of this kingdom hath of late years wanted that estimation and vent in foreign parts which formerly it had; and that the wools of the kingdom are fallen much from their wonted values; and trade in general so far out of frame that the merchants and clothiers are greatly discouraged; so that great numbers of people depending on them want work; the landlords fail in their rents, and farmers have not so good means to pay their rents as heretofore they had; ourselves also find the defects thereof, by the decay of our customs and other duties; and in general the whole commonwealth suffereth: so, as it is high time to look into the cause of this great decay of trade, and of the commodities of this our kingdom, and how to have fit remedies, &c.: wherefor the king directs them to inquire into the following points, viz.

I) Why wool is fallen in price? What are the proper means to restore it?

II) How to prevent the exportation of wool and woollen yarn, fullers earth, and wood-ashes? How Irish wool, not used at home, may be brought into England; and the like of Scottish wool?

III) How to reduce the many laws in being concerning the making of cloth (some of which contradict each other) into one good general law?

IV) To inquire into the prices of dying stuffs.

V) Whether, by any of the orders, restrictions, &c. of the company of merchant-adventurers of England, the prices of woollen cloth are too highly raised beyond sea?

VI) How far companies or societies of merchants may, or may not be, a cramp on trade, as many do allege? And how far joint-stock companies are beneficial or otherwise?

VII) How to remedy the present unusual scarcity of money?

VIII) To inquire whether the balance of trade in general be not against our nation, by the imports of merchandize exceeding our exports; and how to remedy such an evil? Also to consider the gain or loss that comes to our kingdom by the course of exchange now used by our merchants.

IX) How we may improve our native commodities to the best advantage.

X) To avoid vain and unprofitable returns (i. e. imports) of the commodities of foreign countries in superfluities.

XI) For the better increase of the wealth of the kingdom, and of the importation of coin and bullion from foreign parts, we would have you to consider what native commodities of this kingdom are of that necessary usefulness to our neighbour nations that they may fitly return home a proportion of coin and bullion for a supply of treasure.

XII) And, above other things, seriously and carefully consider by what good means our navy and the shipping of this kingdom may be best maintained and enlarged, and mariners bred up and increased.

And to this end, we require you to take into your mature consideration and judgements these things following, which ourselves conceive to be very good means to attain the end we especially aim at, as aforesaid, viz.

First, and principally, that the herring fishery upon the seas and coasts appertaining to our own realms may be undertaken by our people for the common good: for the encouragement whereof we shall be always ready to yield our best assistance.

And to the end that the shipping of other nations may not be employed for importing foreign commodities whilst our own shipping want employment, consider how our laws now stand in force for prohibiting merchandize to be imported in foreign bottoms.

And farther, advise if it be not behoveful to put in execution the laws still in force, which enjoin merchant-strangers (as well denizens as not denizens) to employ the proceeds of the merchandize they import on the native commodities of this realm, to be exported by them.

And because our merchants trading into the Eastland countries (i. e. all the south shores of the Baltic sea) were wont to make good returns by corn, which they have neglected of late, to their own hurt and the hurt of the kingdom, consider how to give them encouragement, so as

our own dominions may be supplied in time of want, and yet, in time of plenty, the husbandry of this realm may not be discouraged.

Consider also, that whereas our Eastland merchants did formerly load their ships with undressed hemp and flax in great quantities, which set great numbers of our people on work in dressing the same, and converting them into linen cloth; which kind of trade we understand is of late almost given over, by bringing in hemp and flax ready dressed, and that, for the most part, by strangers. How may this be redressed?

And because the East-India company have been much taxed by many for exporting the coin and treasure of this realm, to furnish their trade withal, or that which would otherwise have come in hither, for the use of our subjects; and that they do not return such merchandize from India as doth recompense that loss unto our kingdom; we authorize you to inquire and search whether that company do truly and justly perform their contract with us concerning the exportation of money? And by what means that trade, which is specious in shew, may really be made profitable to the public.

And as much treasure is yearly spent in linen cloth imported at dear rates; and for that, if the fishery, so much desired by us, be thoroughly undertaken and our shipping increased, it will require a much greater production of hemp for cordage, &c. in the fishery, which would set an infinite number of our people on work. Consider how the sowing of hemp and flax may be encouraged.

Also how the cloth and stuffs made of our own wools may be more generally worn by our own subjects.

All which you shall report and certify to the body of our privy council as soon as the several points shall be duly considered by you. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 410.]

With respect to the merits of this commission of inquiry, it may be proper to remark, that though in every age there have been, and probably ever will be, causeless and groundless complaints of the decay of commerce, yet there seems at this time to have been some real grounds for complaint: for, 1st, the Hollanders had greatly improved their woollen manufactures, which now considerably interfered with ours in foreign parts; 2dly, the hot disputes between the merchant-adventurers company and our separate traders and exporters of woollen cloth ran high at this time, and did real hurt also to the sale of that manufacture; 3dly, as we shall presently see that the general balance of foreign trade went this year against us, it is no wonder that there were complaints of the scarcity of money; 4thly, the Dutch had also at this time (as we have seen) vastly increased their herring and cod fishery, whilst our own people neglected it too much: no marvel therefore that our navy or shipping was at this time so much short of theirs. But with respect to the exportation of wool and yarn from Ireland in article 2d,

we have not been able to prevent it effectually, even to this day, notwithstanding the several much severer laws made against that pernicious practice since those times. As for the query in article 1st, why the price of wool is fallen? that is answered already by the king's complaint in his preamble, that our cloth is not so much demanded beyond sea as formerly: and surely the importing and using of Irish and Scottish wool was not likely to make it rise in price! What relates to dying stuffs in article 4th seems a groundless, or at least a trifling, complaint; and to the third we need say nothing. As for the 6th, we have in the series of our work sufficiently enlarged on companies, with and without joint stocks, and more especially on our East-India company, whose advocates in those times (as we have seen) seem to us sufficiently to have answered the main objections of their enemies; which is all that needs to be said by way of answer to that article. The 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th articles require no particular remark. The king's desire to revive the obsolete and impracticable law concerning merchant-strangers laying out all their money on our own merchandize was injudicious: but our importing all our hemp and flax rough is very right; and is since his time almost always practised. In all our researches we could never come at the report made by those commissioners to the privy-council*.

The general balance of the commerce of England for the year ending at Christmas 1622, as exhibited by Mr. Miffelden, [*Circle of commerce*, p. 121, ed. 1623] was as follows.

‘ The total amount of exportations (including therein the custom at	
‘ 5 per cent on such goods as pay poundage, the imposts on bays, tin,	
‘ lead, and pewter, and the merchant's profit of 15 per cent, together	
‘ with freight and petty charges) was	
	L2,320,436 12 10
‘ The total imports, (including L91,059 : 11 : 7 cus-	
‘ toms, and L100,000 for fine run goods, &c.)	
	2,619,315 0 0
‘ Balance lost to England this year by foreign com-	
‘ merce	
	298,878 7 2†

This accurate author gives us also the total amount of the customs of England, outward and inward, for the year 1622, viz. L168,222 15/11 †.

De Witt (in his Interest of Holland) acquaints us, that the Dutch, for preventing disturbance in their whale fishery, now erected an exclu-

* As the king expresses his intention that this should be a standing commission, [*see p. 411, col. 2*] it may be considered as the first rudiments of the board of trade. *M.*

† The rule for computing the amount of the exports and imports was then to multiply the customs paid on either by twenty; which must have been very inaccurate, as probably every method will ever prove whereby any one may pretend to

ascertain the *exact* balance of the national commerce. As the customs of England in the year 1613, (already inserted, also from Miffelden) were L20,147 under the collection of this year, it was certainly not on a comparison of those two years that King James, in the preamble to his commission of inquiry, founded his complaint of the decay of his customs.

five company for it; who, by their own power and strength, might protect their fishery; which, however, was laid open to all the inhabitants of the seven provinces in the year 1643, when neither the English (who were engaged in a civil war) nor the Danes, by reason of the increasing power of the Swedes, were able to hurt them. But upon the breaking out of the second war with England, the Dutch could neither spare their ships of war nor mariners to protect the great number of their Greenland ships; and therefor the states prohibited their subjects from fishing there at all.

King James, who still had the propagation of the silk worm much at heart, now earnestly exhorted the Virginia company to set about the cultivation of mulberry trees for that purpose, and also the planting of vineyards, sending thither printed instructions for those ends. The earl of Southampton also, as president of that company, requested the governor and council to distribute copies of those instructions all over the colony.

The English East-India company now assisted Schah Abbas, king of Persia, to take the famous town and island of Ormus from the Portuguese; for which great service they had half the booty, and had certain immunities also granted to them, as particularly, to keep the castle of Ormus, soon after broken through, and to enjoy half the customs of Gombroon, to which the commerce of Ormus was removed, though till then only an inconsiderable village; which benefits, valued at £40,000 a-year, some say, the company enjoyed for fifty years following, and relinquished upon the commencement of war between Persia and the mogul, for a certain allowance of £3000 yearly; long since probably in disuse. The Portuguese removed thereupon to Moschat, in the Persian gulf, on the east coast of Arabia, which they fortified and soon brought to be a place of great traffic, till they were driven thence by the princes of that country; so that Moschat is now a decayed place.

King James again commanded all lords spiritual and temporal, (privy counsellors, and the servants of the king's and prince's households excepted) and all gentlemen who have seats in the country, forthwith to leave London, and to attend their service in the several counties, to celebrate the approaching feast of Christmas, and keep hospitality there; which, adds this arbitrary king, is now the more needful, as this is a time of scarcity and dearth. And in a second proclamation he enjoins them not only to remain at their seats in the Christmas time, but always, till his further pleasure be known: also that widows of distinction be included in this order; and that such lords and gentlemen as may have law business in London do leave their families in the country. [*Fædera*, V. xvii, pp. 417, 428, and also 466.]

The English East-India company had at this time possession of none of the spice islands, excepting Amboyna, where they had been settled for about two years past. It had been agreed between the two com-

panies, that the Dutch should have two thirds, and the English company one third part of its cloves, it being almost the only island producing that sort of spice. But at the close of this year our people were driven from this island in a most tragical manner. Whether Captain Towerfon, and the rest of our factory there, had really formed a conspiracy, as the Dutch allege, to seize the castle, and to expell the Dutch from the island, does not at all appear certain from the evidences produced. And even granting that it had been plainly made out, yet their barbarous racking and tormenting our people to extort a confession of it, was most inhuman, and rather argued a settled design to get rid of the English at any rate! It is, however, a most disagreeable subject to dwell on; let it therefor suffice briefly to observe, that ten of our people lost their lives thereby, and the rest were sent away to the next English settlement. So the Dutch had now the sole possession of all the spice islands. Our company made heavy and just complaints of that barbarity, yet no violence was offered to the Dutch company on that account, nor any reparation made to our company till the year 1654.

In an agreement between King James and two contractors for victualling the royal navy, we see the kind of provisions allowed to the sailors, viz.

Every man's dayly allowance was one pound of biscuit, one gallon of beer, two pounds of beef with salt four days in the week; or else instead of beef for two of those four days, one pound of bacon or pork, and one pint of pease, 'as heretofore hath been used and accustomed:' and for the other three days of the week, one quarter of a stockfish, half a quarter of a pound of butter, and a quarter of a pound of cheese. Saving for the Friday, to have the quantity of fish, butter, and cheese, but for one meal; or else, instead of stockfish, such quantity of other fish or herrings as the time of the year shall afford.

The purfers to be paid by the contractors for necessaries, as wood, candles, dishes, cans, lanthorns, &c. viz. in service, at sea, 6*d* for every man per month, and, in harbour, 12*d*; and 2*s* to every ship for lading charges by the month.

The contractors to have the use of all his majesty's brew-houses, bake-houses, mills, and other store-houses, as well at Towerhill as at Dover, Portsmouth, and Rochester*, paying the same rent as former contractors paid.

The allowance to the contractors was, for every man's victuals in harbour 7½*d*, and at sea 8*d* per day.

Sir Allen Apsley and Sir Sampson Darrell, the contractors, were hereby to enjoy during life the title and office of general purveyors of the victuals of his majesty's navy. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 441.]

* These were probably all the ports for victualling the navy at that time.

In this year Gerard Malynes published his book intituled, *Lex mercatoria*, in folio. He states the quantity of woollen goods of all sorts, broad and narrow, long and short, made yearly in all England, to be 250,000 pieces or cloths, beside the new draperies called perpetuanas, &c. Yet he is so incorrect and so wide from probability in other matters, that there is no depending on him; for instance, he reckons the number of people in England to be 16,800,000, and in Scotland 9,000,000; in Ireland 5,500 parishes; and in France 22,000,000 of people.

At this time a controversy arose, in print, between Malynes (who was a Netherlander, and had been much employed by King James in mercantile and money matters, and Edward Miffelden, Esq. an eminent merchant of London, concerning the balance of commerce running against us, as before stated, and for redressing the scarcity of money, then much complained of.

Malynes proposed, as the means of keeping our money at home, to alter the course of exchange by authority; a wild and injudicious fancy: as if foreigners beyond sea would be directed, against their own interest, to regard any such laws made in England. This was in his work intituled, the Canker of England's commonwealth, dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil secretary of state; and in his treatise which he called his Little fish and great whale. Mr. Miffelden, in a piece intituled Free trade, or the means to make trade flourish, [12mo, 1622] displayed the folly of compulsion in such matters; and more fully in a quarto treatise in 1623, which he called the Circle of commerce; wherein, and in another intituled Free trade, he explained the business of mercantile exchange as it is understood at this day, and the weakness of attempting to regulate by public authority what is governed by our imports and exports, by the greater or less demand for money at home and beyond sea, by wars, famines, pestilences, and by other accidental causes; all which render it impossible to regulate exchanges by authoritative means in dealings with other nations. For though it may be true (as Malynes alleged) that the undervaluing of our own monies, in comparison with the monies of foreign nations, may contribute somewhat to the overbalance, or to the exchange going against us, yet the principal cause will ever be found to be, the greater value of our importation of foreign goods than of our own merchandize exported. This Malynes would not admit, but obstinately insisted that exchange absolutely over-rules all money and merchandize; and that a royal proclamation for raising the value of our money equal to, or rather higher than, foreign monies, would effectually turn the exchange, and also the balance of trade, in our favour. Malynes also furiously attacked Mr. Miffelden's last treatise in one he named the Centre of the circle of commerce. Miffelden, upon the whole, has plainly the advantage of his conceited antagonist; and judiciously treats of the true causes of the general balance of trade, then supposed to be run-

ning against us, viz. the consumption of unnecessary foreign wares, for mere luxury; the loss of our East-India stock by the violences of the Dutch company, piracies of the Barbary rovers; the wars of Europe; the neglect of the fishery; the new improvements of other nations in manufactures; the decay of our own draperies, &c. His Free trade was reprinted in 1651, and is well worth a perusal even at this day*. The judicious Mr. Munn, in his treatise intitled England's treasure by foreign trade, in 1664, (p. 103) has the following just remark, viz. 'in vain therefor has Gerard Malynes laboured so long, and in so many printed books, to make the world believe that the undervaluing of our money in exchange does exhaust our treasure, which is a mere fallacy of the cause, attributing that to a secondary means whose effects are wrought by another principal efficient, and would also come to pass although the said secondary means were not at all. As vainly also hath he propounded a remedy, by keeping the price of exchange by bills at the *par pro pari*, by public authority, which were a new found office, without example in any part of the world, being not only fruitless but also hurtful.' These treatises are long since out of print, and are become scarce, which has made the particular mention of them the more necessary.

We shall close this year with observing, that, by the industry of the English Russia, East-India, and merchant-adventurers, companies, and their building many stout ships, the commerce of the Hanse towns was now greatly decayed, more especially those ports on the south shores of the Baltic sea; and their antient splendour and influence much abated. The French kings, Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, had bestowed great privileges on them. The Emperor Charles V had great loans of money from them; and King Henry III of England incorporated them at London as a trading gild, in acknowledgement of their assistance in his naval wars, and also for money they had lent him. But what availed all these considerations under their now general declension?

1623.—A new proclamation by King James, in the stile of his former ones, prohibited eating flesh in lent, and on other fish days; 'for the maintenance of the navy and shipping, a principal strength of this island; and for the sparing and increase of flesh victuals.' [*Fædera*, V. xvii, p. 447.]

The king gave a grant to the East-India company, empowering their presidents and councils in India, or their council of defence there, to punish all crimes committed on land in India, either by martial or by

* Much acrimony appeared in this dispute, and also an affectation, in imitation of the king's pe-
dantry, of giving quotations from Greek and Ro-
man authors upon points utterly unknown to the
Greeks and Romans, with now and then an He-
brew sentence, for the greater edification of their
readers.

common law, as the several cases may require; so as every criminal be tried by a jury of twelve men. In this grant the king recites one, of the 13th year of his reign, which impowered this company to punish offences committed in their ships whilst at sea. [*Fædera*, V. xvii, p. 450.]

The king, by a new proclamation, obliged persons of quality and land estates to withdraw to their country seats, in order to promote hospitality, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xvii, p. 466.]

Complaints being made by foreign princes, as well as by the merchants of England, that sundry of our merchants, for their particular profit, supplied the rovers of Algiers and Tunis with ammunition and military weapons, and also with provisions, whereby they were enabled to disturb our own commerce, as well as that of other christian nations, King James strictly prohibited his subjects from supplying those rovers with any of the 'said particulars.' [*Fædera*, V. xvii, p. 483.]

The adventurers in the Virginia and Somer-isles companies, by petition to the king, represented the mismanagements of the said two colonies, whereby their prosperity was retarded; the king thereupon issued a commission to the lord chief-justice Jones, and others, for taking into their consideration all letters-patent, commissions, orders, &c. relating to those two colonies. They were also impowered to inquire into all sums of money, levied either by the contributions of adventurers, or by voluntary gifts, bequests, lotteries, collections, and adventures, or in magazines, &c. for the furtherance of the said plantations; and how the same have been expended: also what laws and orders the said colonies have made, contrary to the royal charters; and into any frauds and other mismanagements which may have caused the hinderance of their prosperity. And, lastly, to lay down methods for redressing such grievances, and restoring the prosperity of the colonies. [*Fædera*, V. xvii, p. 490.]

The first exclusive term of the Dutch East-India company expiring in March 1623, the states-general granted a farther term of twenty-one years longer, after which, their commerce flourished and increased so much that they enlarged the number of their ships every year.

In a treaty between King James and Michael Feodorowitz, czar of Muscovy, the articles relating to commerce are in substance as follows, viz.

If, under colour of commerce, any merchants or others shall carry warlike ammunition to the enemy of either party, it shall not be imputed to the princes of either side as any breach of friendship; but the party offending shall take the peril upon his own head.

All such privileges and grants for freedom of commerce, as by treaties have been granted to the English merchants by his renowned majesty of all Russia, and his noble progenitors, shall remain in full force. And, by virtue of this alliance, the subjects of both princes may, by sea and

land, freely traffic to each others countries in all kind of merchandize ; and may buy up, and freely transport away all kinds of jewels, pretious stones, and whatsoever else fitting for both the princes treasuries, as freely as if they were the natives of the self-same country.

Provided, that this freedom of commerce be understood on the part of Great Britain for all such merchants only, and none other, as are allowed to trade into the dominions of Russia, by the licence of their sovereign, and according to the gracious letters and privileges granted, and to be granted hereafter, to the English merchants by his renowned majesty of all Russia, and the right reverend great lord and holy patriarch of all Russia ; and on the part of the subjects of the czar of Russia, for all such of his merchants as shall be by him allowed to trade into Great Britain, and none other.

And such English subjects trading to Russia, and Russia subjects trading to England, without such licences from their respective sovereigns, shall be seized and delivered up to the respective agents of each nation.

The merchants in both countries shall be protected from all injuries, and have equal justice done them as the native subjects have.

Persons guilty of death shall not suffer death, nor be put to the torture, till an answer from their respective sovereigns shall be received concerning them.

The merchants in either country shall not be disturbed on account of difference in religion.

Ambassadors, messengers, and posts, and merchants going along with them, of both the contracting parties, shall freely and safely pass and repass in all parts of both countries, with their attendants, goods, &c. And if either prince shall have occasion to send such into other countries, through the countries of the other contracting parties, viz. into Germany, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and Netherland, or unto and from Persia, Turkey, and other parts of the East not in open hostility with either party ; they shall freely pass, with all their goods and people, and have due convoy by land and water. And in case of death on their journey, their goods shall be safely kept for those who shall have a right to them.

In case of shipwreck on the coasts of either prince, the goods shall be saved for the benefit of the owners. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 504.]

King James now issued a proclamation, wherein he observes, that in times of dearth, the poorer sort of his people are pinched with the great want and dear prices of corn. That the treasure of the kingdom also, in those times, is much exhausted, in providing corn from foreign parts. And, on the contrary, in times of plenty, the farmers, by the low prices of corn, are hardly able to support their necessary charge, and pay their rents. And foreseeing, as well by reason as by example of foreign

nations, that such things may not only in some good measure be remedied, but also the increase of tillage may be procured, and the better vending of our native commodities, strength to our shipping, and the breeding of many mariners, by erecting magazines of corn, which, in times of scarcity, may serve to keep down the price of foreign corn, and in times of plenty may keep up the price of our home corn, at such reasonable rates as will well maintain the husbandman's labour and hold up the gentlemen's rents,—upon deliberate advice with the privy council, he ordained,

That magazines of corn might be erected by such merchants and others as should be willing to adventure therein, in London, Dover, Portsmouth, Southampton, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, Ipswich, Lynn, Yarmouth, Hull, York, Newcastle, Chester, Liverpool, and Haverfordwest, and in all the shire towns of this realm.

And to the intent that those magazines might be stored with corn, he declared, that any of his subjects might import corn for them from foreign parts, in such quantities as they should think fit, paying only the customs and subsidies of the present book of rates. And any person might buy and store up in the magazines whatever quantity of English corn he thought proper, when the average price of English wheat was under 23^s/per quarter, English rye under 18^s, and English barley under 16^s, in the counties where the same should be bought.

And for the better encouragement of such as should adventure in the magazines, such foreign corn as should be thither brought, might be freely re-exported into foreign parts beyond the sea in amity with us, so as at the time of such transportation the usual price of English corn in the three next adjacent counties to the magazines whence such transportation should be, did not exceed 40^s the quarter for wheat, 26^s/8 for rye, and 20^s for barley. But when the prices for English corn were higher, then all foreign corn should be kept in the magazines, to be sold only within this realm, for the provision of the same.

And when English corn should be under 32^s the quarter of wheat, 18^s rye, and 16^s barley, then no foreign corn should be sold within this realm for any other purpose but to be stored in the magazines, or to be transported beyond sea, paying the due customs and subsidies for the English corn; that the price of English corn might be held up for the benefit of the farmer, and that such corn so to be transported might return a proportion of coin, for replenishing the treasure of this kingdom.

Upon re-exportation of the foreign corn no duties were to be paid, and the exporter of such foreign corn was to make oath that it did not grow in this realm. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 526.]

This plausible scheme however did not take place.

Magazines of corn at Dantzick and Amsterdam have been found extremely useful and profitable to those two cities; though perhaps they might not answer so well in England. At least such a scheme as that we have just been reciting must undergo a stricter examination, and receive many improvements, before it could be reduced to practice in our days.

In this year Malynes (in his Centre of the circle of commerce, written by way of answer to Misselden's Circle of commerce) gives us the prices of East-India merchandize both there and here, viz.

In India, Pepper per pound weight,	$2\frac{1}{2}d.$	In England, 20d or 8 to 1
Cloves,	9d.	5s or $6\frac{2}{3}$ to 1
Nutmegs,	4d.	3s or 9 to 1
Mace,	8d.	6s or 9 to 1
Indigo,	1s 2.	5s or $4\frac{2}{3}$ to 1
Raw silk,	8s.	20s or $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1

The Dutch West-India company now met with so much good luck in taking Spanish prizes, that they rashly made a dividend of 25 per cent to their proprietors. Puffendorf justly observes, that they ruined themselves by making such large dividends, and by being more eager for conquests than for commerce.

1624.—Though the great complaints against monopolies had obliged King James to revoke them all by proclamation in the year 1610, that king and his ministers, ever in want of money, suffered themselves to be drawn into new ones afterwards. But in the year 1624, much louder complaints were made against them than ever, which produced an act of parliament, 'whereby all monopolies, and all commissions, grants, licences, and charters, formerly made or granted, or which should hereafter be granted, either to persons or corporations, for the sole buying, selling, making, working, or using of any thing, were made void. And also the power to dispense with any others; or to give leave to exercise or use any thing, against the tenor or purport of any law or statute; or to compound with any others for any penalty or forfeitures limited by any statute: also, all proclamations, inhibitions, restraints, warrants of assistance, or other matters whatever, any way tending to institute, further, or countenance the same, were declared to be altogether contrary to the laws of this realm, void and of none effect. All such monopolies were henceforth to be tried and determined by the common law of this realm, and not otherwise. And all persons were disabled to use any monopoly; and persons aggrieved thereby might recover triple damages and double costs. Excepting however patents which the king might still grant for 14 years and no more, for new invented manufactures or arts, never practised before, and not being mischievous to the state, by raising the prices of com-

modities at home, or the hurt of trade. Saving also to the city of London, and other cities and towns corporate, their charters concerning any customs used within them, or to any corporations, companies, or fellowships of any art, or of any company of merchants erected for the maintenance and enlargement of commerce. Nor did this act extend to charters for printing; or for making saltpetre, gunpowder, cannon, cannon-bullets, or alum; nor to Sir Robert Maunsell's patent for making glass; nor to a patent for making smalt; nor to another for smelting iron with pit-coal, granted to Edward Lord Digby.' [21 *Jac. I.*, c. 3.]

By another statute, it was enacted, that whereas the price of the value of lands and of other commodities of England was much abated; and that notwithstanding the interest on the loan of money continued at so high a rate as ten pounds in the hundred pounds for a year, no person after the 24th of June 1625, should directly or indirectly take for the loan of any monies, wares, or merchandize, &c. above the value of L8 for the forbearance of L100 for a year. And all bonds, contracts, and assurances, made *after* the time aforesaid, for any usury above the rates of L8 per cent, were declared void. And whoever should take more, by means of any corrupt bargain, loan, exchange, chevifance, shift, or interest of any wares, merchandize, &c. or by any covin, engine, or deceitful conveyance, for the forbearing of money, or other thing whatsoever, than eight per cent, should forfeit triple the value of the money, &c. so lent. Scriveners, brokers, solicitors, and drivers of bargains for contracts and loans, who should directly or indirectly take for negotiating any such loan, over and above the rate of five shillings for ever L100, or above tweldepence for making the bond, shall forfeit L20, and be imprisoned for six months. This act to continue for seven years. (Now follows what is shameful to appear in any statute-book, after what has been just enacted.) Provided, that no words in this law contained shall be construed or expounded to allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience! [21 *Jac. I.*, c. 17.]

Sir Thomas Culpeper, a member of parliament, was greatly instrumental in obtaining this reduction: he laid before the house of commons a treatise, which he published in the year 1623, against the high rate of interest, which his son Sir Thomas reprinted in 1668, with intent to get interest brought lower, after being reduced to 6 per cent. The later observes that this act passed with all opposition imaginable; it being an untrodden path, and therefore to be hewn out by dint of reason. At its passing, a zealous opposer of it desired it might be remembered that he had foretold the inconveniencies that would ensue. In answer to which, Sir Thomas Culpeper also desired it might be remembered that he had prophesied many happy effects from it; to the king, in the improvement of his customs; to the landlord, in the advance of

his rents, and value of his inheritance; to the merchant, in the quickness of his trade and benefit of his returns; to the borrower, in the ease of his condition, &c. Hereupon Sir Josiah Child, in his Discourse on trade (published in 1670), remarks, that in the year 1635, which was but ten years after passing this law, there were more merchants to be found on the exchange, worth £1000 and upwards, than were before the year 1600 to be found worth £100. That before this reduction of interest, the current price of lands was 12 years purchase, which soon after rose considerably higher. That the lowering of interest enables the landlord to improve his estate, and thereby raise his rents: that it enables merchants to increase foreign trade, whereby home manufacturers and artificers will be increased, as also our stock of other useful people; and the poor will be employed*.

In the book, intitled, Cabala, or Mysteries of state, we find a letter from Sir Walter Aston, then the English ambassador in Spain, to Lord Conway, secretary of state, giving advice that three Scottish ships with their cargoes, were confiscated at Malaga, for bringing thither certain Dutch commodities. Which we here take notice of, as such a precedent may possibly be of use hereafter, in disputes concerning contraband merchandize; and to show that the Scots had some commerce in the Mediterranean.

As the making of rivers navigable is of great benefit to commerce, we must note, that an act of parliament was now passed for making the Thames navigable for barges, lighters, and boats, from the village of Bercot, seven miles below Oxford, up to that city, for the conveyance of Oxford freestone by water to London, and of coals and other necessaries from London to Oxford, now coming at a dear rate, only by land-carriage; whereby the roads were become exceeding bad. [21 Jac. I, c. 32.] It is somewhat remarkable, that the preamble of this act takes notice, that the river Thames, for many miles beyond the city of Oxford, was already navigable for such barges, lighters, &c. and also from Bercot to London. So here was only seven miles of that river to be made navigable. And that whereas a former act [3 Jac. I, c. 20] did not answer the end, viz. for clearing the passage by water from London to Oxford, and beyond, it was therefor hereby repealed.

By an act of parliament for granting the king three entire subsidies, and three fifteenths, and three tenths, for making war against Spain, there was a reserve of £18,000 out of this grant for the relief of decayed cities and towns. [21 Jac. I, c. 34.]

This old way of granting supplies to the crown by fifteenths and tenths, has puzzled our modern antiquaries, who seem utterly at a loss

* In this act the word *interest* is for the first time used for the forbearance of money, though the word *usury* is also therein retained as a synonymous term.

at this day to ascertain the exact manner of levying them, though so late as this year. And this is the last time that we find mention of that way of granting aids to the crown. This we also conceive to be the last time that money was in this manner bestowed on decayed cities and towns.

Cardinal Richlieu entered this year upon his ministry in France, and succeeded but too well in his great projects of depressing the grandees and the protestants at home; of reducing the superiority of the two branches of the house of Austria, and of advancing the commerce, manufactures, and maritime strength of France; whilst he lulled asleep the only two potentates of Europe who had it in their power to put a check to such towering and dangerous schemes.

It was now that the Dutch first invaded Brazil, of which we shall see they held a considerable part for 30 years after.

It was now enacted [21 *Jac. I.*, c. 28] that when wheat is not above L1:12 per quarter, rye 20^s, pease, beans, barley, and malt, 16^s, at the port whither they are brought to be exported, they may then be exported.

The English East-India company having loaded four ships and two pinnaces for India, the duke of Buckingham, lord high admiral, knowing that they must lose their voyage unless they sailed by a certain time, extorted from the company L10,000 for liberty to sail for India. This was one of the articles of his impeachment, in the year 1626. The duke, in his defence, alleged, that as the company had taken many rich prizes from the Portuguese in India, and particularly at Ormus, a large part thereof was legally due to the king, and also to himself as lord-admiral; and that the said L10,000 was the company's composition and agreement, instead of L15,000, which the law would have given against them: and that, moreover, the whole sum, excepting only L200, was applied by the king for the service of the navy.

It was in the reign of King James I, that the Dutch began the manufacture of fine woollen cloths, and thereby interfered with the English cloth trade in the Netherlands and elsewhere, insomuch, that in the last year of this king's reign, a certificate was given into the parliament of 25,000 cloths having in that year been manufactured in Holland. Whereupon the house of commons resolved, that the merchant-adventurers company's setting imposts upon our cloths was a grievance, and ought not to be continued; and that all other merchants, as well as that company, might transport every where northern and western dozens, kerfies, and new draperies: also that other merchants, beside the merchant-adventurers company, might freely trade with dyed and dressed cloths, and all sorts of coloured cloths, into Germany and the Low countries.

The king renewed his prohibition of the manufacture of gold and silver thread, gold and silver foliate (leaf), purples, oes, spangles, &c. as tending to the consumption of the coin and bullion of this kingdom. And having granted a charter of incorporation to the governors, assistants, and commonalty of gold-wire drawers of London, he had hoped, by reducing those trades under order and government, to avoid the unnecessary waste of coin and bullion. But having now fully understood, as well by the complaint of his commons in the late session of parliament, as upon examination by the lords of the council, that not only the said corporation (which was thereupon revoked and declared to be void), but also the said manufactures, are unfit to be continued, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 605.]

King James, by proclamation, once more confirmed all his former injunctions against erecting buildings on new foundations in London and its suburbs. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 608.]

We have a pretty distinct view of the condition of the colony of Virginia, in a commission from King James to many lords and gentlemen, as follows, viz. we having, by letters-patent, of the fourth year of our reign, granted power to divers knights, gentlemen, and others, for the more speedy accomplishment of the plantation of Virginia, that they should divide themselves into two colonies: the one to consist of Londoners, called the first colony; and the other of those of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, called the second colony. And we did, by several letters under our privy-seal, prescribe orders and constitutions for directing the affairs of the said colony.

And whereas, afterward, upon the petition of divers adventurers and planters of the London colony, we, by letters-patent, in the 7th year of our reign, incorporated divers noblemen, knights, &c. by the name of the treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London, for the first colony in Virginia; granting them divers lands, territories, &c. to be conveyed by them to the adventurers and planters; with power to have a council there resident for the affairs of the colony; and also to place and displace officers.

And afterward, in the 9th year of our reign, we, by letters-patent, did farther mention to give that company divers isles on that coast.

And whereas, we, finding the courses taken for settling the colony have not taken the good effect we intended, did, by a late commission to sundry persons of quality and trust, cause the state of it to be examined into; who, after much pains taken, reported, that most of our people sent thither had died by sickness and famine, and by massacres by the natives; and that such as are still living were in lamentable necessity and want; though they (the commissioners) conceived the country to be both fruitful and healthful, and that, if industry were used, it would produce many good staple commodities. But, by neglect of

the governors and managers here, it had as yet produced few or none. That the said plantations are of great importance; and would, as they hoped, remain a lasting monument of our most gracious and happy government to all posterity, if the same were prosecuted to those ends for which they were first undertaken. Whereupon we, entering into mature consideration of the premises, did, by advice of our privy-council, resolve to alter the charters of the said company as to points of government: but the said treasurer and company not submitting thereto, the said charters are now avoided by a *quo warranto*. Wherefor, we direct you to consider the state of the said colony, and what points are fitting to be inserted in the intended new charter, and to report to us. And, in the mean time, to take care to supply the planters there with necessaries, and to do all other acts needful for maintaining the colony. The king soon after appointed Sir Francis Wyatt governor of Virginia, with eleven counsellors, residing in the colony. [*Fædera*, V. xvii, pp. 609, 616.]

King James once more displayed his aversion to tobacco, by the following proclamation, viz.

‘Whereas our commons, in their last session of parliament, became humble petitioners unto us, that, for many weighty reasons, much concerning the interest of our kingdom, and the trade thereof, we would, by our royal power, utterly prohibit the use of all foreign tobacco, which is not of the growth of our own dominions: and whereas we have upon all occasions made known our dislike we have ever had of the use of tobacco in general, as tending to the corruption both of the health and manners of our people: nevertheless, because we have been often and earnestly importuned by many of our loving subjects, planters and adventurers in Virginia and the Somer isles, that as those colonies are yet but in their infancy, and cannot be brought to maturity, unless we will be pleased for a time to tolerate the planting and vending the tobacco of their growth, we have condescended to their desires: and do therefor hereby strictly prohibit the importation of any tobacco from beyond sea, or from Scotland, into England or Ireland, other than from our colonies before named: Moreover, we strictly prohibit the planting of any tobacco either in England or Ireland.’ The rest of this proclamation relates to searching for and burning foreign tobacco, and marking and sealing the legal tobacco of our colonies. On the 2d of March 1624-5 he issued another proclamation to the same effect. [*Fædera*, V. xvii, pp. 621, 668.]

1625.—In February 1624-5, King James issued a fresh proclamation against eating flesh in lent, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xvii, p. 661.]

In that same month he issued his warrant to the duke of Buckingham, as high-admiral, that whereas many of his subjects had suffered great wrongs and damages, as well at sea as otherwise; not only by the

subjects of our brother the king of Spain, and of the Low countries, but also by those under the states of the United Netherlands; and all fair courses and due proceedings have been in vain used, in demanding restitution or reparation thereof; and that thereupon our said subjects have made humble suit unto us for letters of reprisal: we therefor will, require, and authorize you to grant your commission for apprehending and taking the goods, ships, and merchandize of the king of Spain's subjects of the Low countries, as also those of the subjects of the United Netherlands, for the satisfaction of our loving subjects so damnified; and in such manner and form as shall be agreed on by our privy-council, or any six of them, in writing under their hands. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 667 *.]

King James died 27th March 1625. His lofty ideas of his prerogative are displayed in numerous proclamations and injunctions, commanding and prohibiting such things as in later times would not be submitted to under any other authority than that of parliament. His getting his attorney-general, Sir John Davis, to write, and dedicate to him, a treatise in favour of his prerogative of levying the tonnage and poundage-duty by his sole authority, encouraged his son and successor to levy ship-money in the same manner; which proved his ruin. Such doctrines, which Davis endeavoured to support by quoting precedents, did virtually destroy all the essential rights of parliament; and particularly that of giving money for the public service. Davis's book (the title whereof was, the Question concerning impositions, tonnage, poundage, prizage, customs, &c. fully stated and argued from reason, law, and policy) was reprinted in the year 1656, probably by connivance of the government, for exposing the arbitrary tempers of both father and son. Its conclusion runs thus: 'that by virtue of an antient prerogative inherent to his crown, the king of England may justly and lawfully set impositions upon merchandize, and may limit and rate the quantity and proportion thereof, by his own wisdom and discretion, without an act of parliament.'

On the 30th of March 1625, Charles I king of England ratified the contract, which his father King James had made just before his death, for his marriage with the princess Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII king of France. Her portion was 800,000 crowns of 3 livres each (or £240,000 sterling); half to be paid down, the other half in one year after. She was to have £18,000 sterling (or 60,000 French crowns) yearly, for her separate use. So that $3\frac{1}{3}$ French crowns, or 10 livres,

* We see a like warrant for reprisals a few months after by his son King Charles I. against both the said nations, exactly in the stile and form hereof; and another again in the same year. Yet, in neither of those warrants are the particular damages complained of at all specified. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, pp. 12, 188.]

were then equal to one pound sterling. She was also to have the value of 50,000 crowns in rings. [*Fœdera*, V. xvii, p. 673.]

The author of an history of the Caribbee isles (published at Paris in 1658, and at London, in English, in 1666), relates, that the English and French colonies in those isles had their beginning in the same year (1625): that Monf. Desnambuc, a sea captain in the service of France, and Sir Thomas Warner, an English gentleman, jointly took possession of the isle of St. Christophers on the very same day, with about 300 persons of each nation, in behalf of their respective kings; in order that they might have a place of safe retreat for the reception of the ships of both nations at any time bound for America. In those first times, the English, it seems, were wiser than the French, in building good houses there, and having wives and children; whereas the French contented themselves with such huts as the Caribbean natives had, few of them being married. The first English planters employed themselves in raising tobacco; but afterward, in imitation of Barbadoes, they fell into sugar, indigo, cotton, and ginger, whereby they soon became rich. That island had been discovered long before by Columbus, though never planted till this year by any nation. It was, however, found to possess several natural advantages, which induced the Spaniards frequently to stop at it in their American voyages. But this French author frankly owns, that, for preventing any secret intelligence between the native Caribs of the island and the Spaniards, (who were at this time the common enemy of both nations in America) the English and French, in one night, dispatched all the most factious of the Caribs; and, not long after, forced all the rest to quit the island. In the following year the French king incorporated a number of gentlemen for planting the American isles. This, therefor, according to this author, was the first of all the West-India isles planted by either England or France*; the bold claims of Spain to the sole property of all those islands having deterred other nations till now from settling thereon: but, as the power of Spain was now visibly declining, those nations justly thought they had a good right to take possession of such isles as Spain had never yet planted on; as we shall see they gradually did on many others of them.

Our historiographers of the city of London relate, that it was in this year that hackney coaches first began to ply in London streets, or rather at the inns, to be called for as they were wanted; and they were at this time only twenty in number. In ten years time they were increased so much in number that King Charles then thought it worth his while to issue an order of council for restraining their increase.

King Charles now renewed his father's commission to twelve commissioners of the navy. These seem to have been mostly stationed, as at

* The English colony of Barbadoes was settled in the year 1614.

present, in distinct branches; such as a comptroller, a surveyor, a clerk of the navy, &c. The first of that number was Sir Richard Weston, chancellor of the exchequer, and another of them was Sir William Russell, who was also treasurer of the navy. They were, as at present, subordinate to the lord high admiral, or the admiralty-board, from whom they were to receive directions in maritime affairs.

The protestant boors of Austria now took up arms, to recover the free exercise of their religion, and they became masters of some places; but, not being supported by any foreign potentate, they were reduced to subjection in the following year, and severely punished. Hereupon the emperor Ferdinand II compelled all the protestant gentry, clergy, and schoolmasters, to leave Austria; many of whom were kindly and wisely received by the Swedes and other protestant states, to the increase of their wealth and people.

King Charles by proclamation, prohibited the importation of any tobacco not of the growth of Virginia, or of the Somer isles. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 19.]

King Charles issued a proclamation setting forth, 'that whereas the making of alum was discovered not many years since in Yorkshire, and brought to such perfection, as there is no doubt but sufficient quantities may be made, as well for home use as for exportation: which being a work of so great honour to this kingdom, and of such use and consequence; whereby many families are kept at work, much treasure saved at home, which heretofore was exported for alum, and some increase also to the revenue; he therefor strictly commanded, that no foreign alum should be imported, and that no English alum, once exported, should be re-imported, or used in England.' [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 21.]

It was upon the farm of this alum duty, jointly with that on sugar, and other branches of the revenue, that the famous merchant Sir Paul Pindar advanced to this king so large a sum as £130,000, on account of which he and his creditors were great sufferers, by reason of the civil wars which ensued.

Another of King Charles's proclamations this year was, for maintaining and increasing the saltpetre mines of England, for the necessary and important manufacture of gunpowder. The king observes, 'that our realm naturally yields sufficient mines of saltpetre, without depending on foreign parts: wherefor, for the future, no dove-house shall be paved with stone, bricks, nor boards, lime, sand, nor gravel, nor any other thing whereby the growth and increase of the mine of saltpetre may be hindered or impaired; but the proprietors shall suffer the floors or ground thereof, as also all stables where horses stand, to lie open with good and mellow earth, apt to breed increase of the said mine of saltpetre. And that none hinder or deny any saltpetre-

‘ man, lawfully deputed thereto, from digging, taking, or working any
 ‘ ground which by commiffion may be taken and wrought for faltpetre.
 ‘ Neither fhall any conftable, or other officer, neglect to furnifh any fuch
 ‘ faltpetre-men with convenient carriages, that the king’s fervice fuffer
 ‘ not. None fhall bribe any faltpetre-man for the fparing or forbearing
 ‘ of any ground fit to be wrought for faltpetre. That all dovehoufes,
 ‘ and other places digged for faltpetre, be, when the earth thereof is
 ‘ wrought over, laid fmooth and flat again as before. That no faltpetre
 ‘ be exported, neither fold at home to any but the king’s powder-maker,
 ‘ who fhall not receive for any gunpowder fold by him to any of the
 ‘ king’s fubjects above 10*d* the pound weight.’ The proclamation proceeds to direct the trial of the goodnefs of gunpowder before it is fold. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 23.] The faltpetre and gunpowder bufinefs was one of that king’s greateft monopoly-projects; and his manner of directing it was far from fuiting the genius of a free people.

Charles was fo much a tranfcript of his father that we are not to wonder at their proclamations having fo great a refemblance. His proclamation againft new foundations in and near London, and for rebuilding the houfes either with brick or ftone, is exactly in the ftile and form of his father’s. He alfo therein gives directions for the dimenfions, true making, and price of bricks, viz. that the fize of them be, in length 9 inches, in breadth $4\frac{3}{8}$, and in thicknefs $2\frac{1}{4}$; and that the price of one thoufand fuch bricks at the kiln fhall not exceed 8*s*. No bricks fhall be made within one mile of any of the gates of London, or of the palace of Weftminfter. Cottages, fheds, and other nuiſances, to be removed from the city and fuburbs: with other commendable regulations for its beauty and uniformity. A fecond alfo, of the very fame tenor, came out in this fame year. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, pp. 33, 97.]

King Charles granted to Sir Francis Crane L2000 yearly, for ten years: the one half of which fum was what he had formerly engaged to allow him for that term, for the fupport of the tapeſtry manufacture at Mortlake in Surry: the other half was in lieu of paying him L6000 due to him for three fuits of gold tapeſtries, delivered for the king’s ufe. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 60.]

Another proclamation grants a commiffion to many lords and gentlemen, for certain regulations in ſearching for mines of gold, ſilver, or copper, or of lead holding ſilver, as alfo for quickſilver in Cardiganſhire; of which mines the king had granted a leafe for 31 years to Sir Hugh Middleton. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 66.]

After the Virginia company had, at fundry times, raifed by ſubſcriptions from their adventurers a capital of no lefs than L200,000, ftill, in vain, hoping for gold and ſilver mines, and other very rich productions, many of them at length became weary of the charge, as not finding the profit by any means to anfwer expectation, and fold out their ſhares; and

such as continued in it had perpetual wranglings. So valuable a country and colony was, however, by no means to be abandoned; more especially as the planters there were now well able to subsist independently of their mother country. Several gentlemen, therefor, about this time, with their effects and with many servants, went thither on a separate bottom. Whereupon the king issued the following proclamation, which first established the prudent form of government, in which this and the other regal colonies have remained till now (1762), viz. that whereas, in his father's time, the charter of the Virginia company was, by a *quo warranto*, annulled; and whereas his father was, and he himself also is, of opinion, that the government of that colony by a company incorporated, consisting of a multitude of persons, of various dispositions, amongst whom affairs of the greatest moment are ruled by a majority of votes, was not so proper for carrying on the affairs of the colony: wherefor, to reduce the government thereof to such a course as might best agree with that form which was held in our royal monarchy; and considering also, that we hold those territories of Virginia and the Somer isles, as also that of New-England, (lately planted) with the limits thereof, to be a part of our royal empire; we ordain, that the government of the colony of Virginia shall immediately depend on ourselves, and not be committed to any company or corporation, to whom it may be proper to trust matters of trade and commerce, but not the ordering of state affairs. Wherefor our commissioners for those affairs shall proceed as directed, till we establish a council here for that colony, to be subordinate to our privy-council. And we will also establish another council, to be resident in Virginia, who shall be subordinate to our council here for that colony. And at our own charge we will maintain those public officers and ministers, and such strength of men, munition, and fortification, as shall be necessary for the defence of that plantation. And we will also settle and assure the particular rights and interests of every planter and adventurer. Lastly, whereas the tobacco of those plantations (the only present means of their subsisting) cannot be managed for the good of the plantations, unless it be brought into one hand, whereby the foreign tobacco may be carefully kept out, and the tobacco of those plantations may yield a certain and ready price to the owners thereof; to avoid all differences between the planters and adventurers themselves, we resolve to take the same into our own hands, and to give such prices for the same as may give reasonable satisfaction; whereof we will determine at better leisure. [*Fædera, V. xviii, p. 72.*]

Had tobacco been then as much in use as at present, this monopoly of it, so early begun by King Charles, would have enabled him to raise much money, without depending on parliament. And it was certainly a good scheme to enhance the price of it at his pleasure! From this time forward, assemblies of the representatives of the planters in Vir-

ginia regularly met by authority of the crown, to enact laws, with the consent of the king's governor and council, the last having ever since acted separately as an upper house: but the dernier resort in all law proceedings is in the assembly. A patent-office was now also established, not only for offices in Virginia, but for disposing of vacated grants of new lands, on the easy terms of 2*s* sterling per annum quit-rent to the crown for ever, for each hundred acres to be granted. And this encouraged many persons of substance to go from England and settle there, whereby the country soon became populous; and the Indians decreasing even faster than the English increased, thereby the latter have enjoyed peace and tranquillity.

King Charles appointed commissioners for inquiring into and removing the causes of the low price of wool, and of the exportation thereof; as also for regulating the making of cloth, stuffs, &c.; concerning the fishery also; and the hemp, flax, and corn trade of Eastland; the East-India trade; the bringing in of bullion; the linen cloth trade, &c. exactly in the form of the late king's proclamations for those ends, as already noted. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 81.]

We find now the first authentic record of copper coins being used in England by royal authority; the king reciting, that whereas his late royal father took order, that instead of unwarranted farthing tokens, till then used by vintners, chandlers, tapsters, and other retailers, to the loss of his loving subjects, there should be others made by his own warrant*, under his own royal name and inscription, and a constant rechange settled, whereby the subject might have the lawful use of them, with much ease and without loss. Which copper money having since had general circulation through our kingdoms of England and Ireland, has brought a general benefit. We do therefor hereby command, that no farthing or other tokens shall be made or used but those of our royal father, by his letters-patent, and of us, by like letters-patent, granted this same year to the duchess dowager of Richmond and Lenox, and Sir Francis Crane, for which they are to pay us one hundred marks per annum for seventeen years. The said copper farthings (or farthing tokens) to have thereon, on one side, two sceptres crossing under a crown; on the other side, a harp crowned, with the king's name and

* This warrant does not appear (See above under the year 1609). It was probably soon after the time that King James was so earnest for an union of the two kingdoms; for Ruddiman (quoting a manuscript work of Thomas Craig upon the proposed union) observes, that one of the objections made by the Scots to the union was, that, as the English had no copper money, if the money of Scotland was thenceforth to be regulated entirely by the English standard, the poor must suffer greatly by the want of copper money. [*Ruddi-*

manni præfatio ad Anderfoni Diplomata, p. 66, not. f.]

Ruddiman, immediately after the passage now quoted, says, that James I coined copper money in England. So it may be considered as certain, that there was copper money in England before the reign of Charles, as the accuracy and integrity of Ruddiman are sufficient to establish the truth of it; and he may have seen the copper pieces of James's coin, though not to be found now. *M.*

titles. The patentees were thereby bound to deliver out 21*s* in tale of farthings for every 20*s* of silver, and to pay back 20*s* in silver for every 21*s* by tale in copper farthings, whenever demanded. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, pp. 108, 143.]

King Charles, like his father, was generally much indebted to the merchants, goldsmiths, &c. of London, who advanced money from time to time to the crown, by way of anticipation on the public revenues. The king acknowledges his debt of £27,000 of this sort to the famous merchant Sir William Courten; the half of which sum had been lent to King James, the other half to himself. For which loan interest was allowed at the rate of 8 per cent. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 156.]

King Charles granted an exclusive patent for fourteen years to a goldsmith of London, for the sole making and practice of certain compound stuffs and waters, extracted out of certain minerals, &c. of this realm, called by the name of cement, or dressing for ships, to prevent them from burning in fights at sea; and also to preserve them from the sea-worm or bernacle: for which grant this projector was to pay forty shillings per annum into the exchequer. This seemed to be but a trifling matter; yet, as we shall see a great number of such from time to time authorized by this king, it seems to have been from the beginning, his intention thereby to accumulate a new revenue, without depending on parliamentary grants.

King Charles made a grant of one of his pinnaces to his high admiral the duke of Buckingham, in consideration of his undertaking to adventure for a discovery of the north-west passage to China, &c. An action (says this grant) of great importance to trade and navigation, and in sundry respects of singular benefit to all our realms and dominions. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 166.]

The king appointed his lord high admiral, the duke of Buckingham, to command in chief, both by sea and land, on an intended expedition against Spain. His instructions were, to annoy that crown by all ways possible, either by plundering the towns, or by taking the plate fleet, or other shipping, &c. He was also to detach some of his ships to the port of Salée, in Barbary, to treat for redeeming the English captives there, and for securing trade from the piracies; as also for procuring provisions for his fleet, which had 10,000 land forces on board. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 171.] But, missing the plate fleet, Sir John Burroughs landed in the bay of Cadiz, burnt a few villages in that neighbourhood, and then returned home, without having done any effectual service with so great an armament.

A league offensive and defensive was concluded at the Hague, on the 2d of August, between King Charles and the states of the United Netherlands, against Spain. The states-general were to join twenty of their ships of war to the English fleet, which is said to have consisted of eighty-

two ships of war, for a joint attack upon Cadiz: the Dutch to have one fifth part of the spoil: which design, however, was never put in execution; any more than another, of the same year, and against Spain too, dated Southampton, 17th September 1625, consisting of forty articles. [*Collection of treaties*, V. ii, ed. 1732.]

We must here do King Charles the justice to remark, that in this year we find three different applications from him to his brother-in-law Louis XIII of France, for sending back the ships he had lent him; and insisting on their not being employed against his protestant subjects, (meaning the Rochellers.)

Queen Henrietta Maria's marriage portion of 800,000 French crowns, was in this same year brought into England, all in silver money, intended to be recoined at the tower; but a plague raging in London, which had infected some of the coiners, the king postponed the recoinage; and for the more easily paying the soldiers and sailors wages of the fleet then fitting out, he declared the French coin to be current for a time. It was all of one sort, called a quart d'ecu, (i. e. a quarter crown) worth $19\frac{1}{2}d$. Yet, by an inundation of base and light ones, the king was quickly obliged to annul the currency of that coin.

King Charles being in great difficulties for money to carry on his war against Spain, employed the duke of Buckingham to borrow £300,000 sterling of the states-general of the United Netherlands, or their subjects, upon the pledge of a great number of incomparably rich and noble crown jewels and vessels of gold, adorned with precious stones, which were delivered to that duke out of the king's jewel house. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 246.]

King Charles issued a proclamation prohibiting all commerce with Spain and the Spanish Netherlands; and commanding that no ship of 60 tons or upwards be set to sea, unless she be furnished with muskets and bandeliers, because of the danger of his subjects venturing to sea in these perilous times, ill furnished with arms and weakly manned. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 251.]

He again issued a proclamation, exactly in the usual form, against eating flesh in lent, or on other fish days; and for the same reasons. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 268.]

This king being to be crowned on Candlemas day, issued out writs to the sheriffs, to oblige all who held lands of the crown of the value of £40 yearly, or upward, who were not already knights, to come and take that order upon them. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 278.]

The reader needs not be acquainted, that this was an usual practice of our kings in elder times to raise money on urgent occasions.

1626.—The author of the *Golden fleece*, [4to, 1626] a judicious treatise on commerce, gives a succinct view of the East-India commerce, &c. as it then stood with respect to Europe, viz.

‘ Before the Londoners and Hollanders failed thither, the Turks used to share with the Portuguese in those commodities which now the protestants trade for. Heretofore they paid at Lisbon, Aleppo, or Alexandria,

‘ For every lb. weight of pepper,	2s;	now it costs us in India but	3d
‘ _____ mace,	4/6	_____	9d
‘ _____ cloves,	4/6	_____	10d
‘ _____ nutmegs,	2s	_____	4d
‘ _____ indigo,	4s	_____	1s

‘ Persian raw silk, per pound 12s. now from the Persian gulf under 8s

‘ And if we transport none of our corn, but only that of foreign nations, carrying also some of our tin, lead, and woollen cloths, to the Persian gulf, where they are best vendible, there is no question but this kingdom will be much enriched: for the Sound of Denmark, the Hanse towns, and France, will return us more money than we need to send into India.’

King Charles by proclamation ordered that the medium allowance for every sailor should be 20s per month, which till now was but 14s, by which means there will accrue to every ordinary sailor 14s (net money) per month, besides an allowance out of it of 4d to a preacher, 2d to a barber, and 6d per month to the chest at Chatham: whereas the ordinary men have now but 9/4 (net) per month, and no allowance at all given to a preacher. Out of the surplussage of which (addition) all officers wages were likewise respectively raised; and an allowance also for a lieutenant and a corporal.

‘ And whereas Queen Elizabeth for the encouragement of ship-building, gave a premium of 5s per ton for every ship built above the burden of one hundred tons, which was revived by King James; King Charles now allowed 5s per ton for every ship that should be built of 200 tons and upwards.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 679.]

The author of the Golden fleece gives us a sketch of the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, in which he says, the ports of Devonshire annually employed 150 ships, and carried (as at this day) their fish to Spain and Italy. It seems in those days, that fishery was grievously disturbed by pirates, who had, in a few years before, pillaged them to the damage of £40,000, besides the loss of 100 pieces of ordnance, and of above 1500 mariners, to the great hinderance of navigation. In another place he says, that this fishery maintained 8000 persons for six months in Newfoundland, and supported many thousands of families at home, as well their own families as those employed in preparing nets, casks, victuals, &c. and in repairing the ships for that voyage*.

* The judicious Mr. Wood, the present secretary of the board of customs, in his *Essay on trade* (1718) thinks, that one hundred years before (i. e. about 1618) England had above 200 sail of ships employed in this fishery, and furnished all Europe with fish.

In this same year, the famous Sir Thomas Herbert sailed with six ships for East-India, of which, and of Persia, Japan, and the Moluccos, he gives a judicious account, for the time he lived in. At Casbin, in Persia, Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Dudmore Cotton, the two English ambassadors (with whom he had travelled) both died; and he returned home over land through Persia.

Howell, in his life of King Louis XIII of France, published in the year 1646, gives us an edict of that king, in this year, which prohibits all commerce with England; and that no kind of grain, wines, or pulse, should be exported to England; nor from England to France; nor any cloths, ferges, wools, lead, tin, stuffs, silk stockings, &c. By this (says Howell) one may observe the advantage that England hath of France, in variety and substance of merchandize. This we here take notice of the rather, because, were we ever so much at peace with that nation in our days, the case is so widely different from what it was then, that they would take none of those particulars from us but lead and tobacco; and they now know better than to prohibit the importation of our wool. So fluctuating is the course of trade in this and many more instances which might be produced. For Cardinal Richlieu, after reducing the power of the great nobility of France, earnestly promoted manufactures and maritime commerce, for the enriching of that kingdom; which Morisot (in his *Orbis maritimus*) justly calls the splendour of kingdoms whilst in peace, and their main support in wars. To this end he incorporated a society of one hundred merchants for traffic, both to the east and west, by sea and land, with a capital of 600,000 livres; who also engaged to lay out as much more in building stout ships at Morbihan, near Vannes, in Bretagne, where they erected warehouses, offices; and docks, and so many dwelling houses as made a good town. To that company also he committed the sole trade to Canada, which they very soon greatly improved. That cardinal, indeed, highly merited the dignity conferred on him of superintendant-general of the commerce and navigation, and high-admiral of France. He persuaded Louis XIII to lay out a vast sum in the purchase of ships in Holland, Denmark, and the Hanse towns, for the protection of the coasts, the rovers of Barbary having taken or destroyed above one hundred French ships, and made slaves of some thousands of their people, whereby many families were undone: which improvements, though not effected so early as this year, we judged might come in properly enough in this place.

The king having suddenly dissolved the parliament, because they refused to settle the duty of tonnage and poundage on him, till their grievances should be redressed, by his own authority directed the customs, subsidies, and imposts on merchandize, exported and imported, to be collected as usual in the manner they were collected at his father's death. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 737.]

The king directed a commission to the officers of his mint, for his money to be coined of the same fineness as before, viz. silver, of 11 oz. 2 pwt. fine; crown gold of 22 carats fine; and angel gold to be, as already it is, of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine: also that a pound weight of silver shall make in current money L3 : 10 : 6. And that the pound weight of crown gold shall make in current money L44 by tale, of such pieces of gold as are now usually coined of that fineness. [*Fædera*, V. xviii, p. 741.] This was an unaccountable direction, to have two sets of gold coins of different fineness and purity, (in which he imitated his father) and also to coin his silver money lighter than before; of which we shall presently treat more fully.

King Charles being determined to raise what money he wanted, without being beholden for it to a parliament, granted a commission to the lord-treasurer and other great officers of state, to sell or grant in fee-farm, or for term of lives or years, in possession or in reversion, all or any of his honours, manors, old castles, forests, chaces, parks, lands, tenements, woods, &c. both in the survey of the exchequer, and in the duchy of Lancaster; as well such as were held by copy as by lease, custody, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xviii, p. 771.] The king had run himself deeply in arrear, for fitting out his late fleets with land forces, &c. against Spain: there was also a considerable debt at his father's death; and he had already mortgaged to the city of London, in its corporate capacity, divers manors, lands, tenements, &c. Thus did this king most improvidently for himself, and his successors, though perhaps not inauspiciously for the liberties of the people, divest himself of a most royal estate and revenue in lands: an estate which had ever been the principal independent support of the yearly expense of his predecessors, and their household in times of peace.

The king, in two separate commissions, appointed an envoy to the piratical states of Barbary, and to the town of Salée, to treat of the redemption of English captives, and also of peace and commerce with them; for which purposes the envoy carried with him all the Moors who had been made prisoners by the English, as also four brass and two iron cannons, with ammunition, &c. as presents: a method early practised by all other christian states in treating with those people, to supply them with weapons for their own destruction! [*Fædera*, V. xviii, pp. 793, 807.]

It being near Christmas, King Charles again enjoined the nobility, &c. to withdraw from London, to exercise hospitality at their seats in the country. [*Fædera*, V. xviii, p. 798.]

The French having this year seized on the English merchant ships in divers ports of France, by way of reprisal for three French ships lately taken by the English ships of war, and likewise on account of certain older pretended claims on England, amounting in all to L25,000 ster-

ling, King Charles granted a commission for seizing on all the French effects in the English ports, by way of counter-reprisal. [*Fædera, V. xviii, p. 802.*]

1627.—A proclamation of King Charles came out, importing, that the practice of making saltpetre in England, by digging up the floors of dwelling-houses, dove-houses, stables, &c. tended too much to the grievance of his subjects: and that, notwithstanding all the trouble and charge attending this method, the undertakers could never yet furnish this realm with one third part of the saltpetre requisite, especially in time of war, when most wanted; the earth of itself not being able to engender the matter whereof saltpetre is made, in many years, without the aid of artificial means for enriching the earth: and yet the necessity of the present times requires so much to be made, as would so impoverish the earth, that in a short time we should be utterly destitute of that inestimable treasure. Whereupon Sir John Brooke, and Thomas Russell, Esq. have proposed to us, to make such quantities of saltpetre as our realms shall want; and also to supply foreign nations therewith, by a new invention of their own, of which they have given demonstrative proof, and for which we had already granted them an exclusive patent: and as those patentees now want nothing but leave to collect a sufficient quantity of urine for their manufacture of saltpetre, at their own charge; the king therefor commands all his subjects of London, Westminster, &c. near to the place where the said patentees have already erected a work for the making of saltpetre, that, after notice given to them respectively, they carefully keep in proper vessels all human urine, throughout the whole year, and also as much of that of beasts as can be saved, for the patentees to carry away from time to time. [*Fædera, V. xviii, p. 813.*]

Another proclamation came out against eating flesh in lent, and on other fish days. [*Fædera, V. xviii, p. 822.*]

The king also now issued a commission of inquiry into nuisances in and near London; such as stalls, slaughter-houses, brew-houses, smiths forges, brick kilns, coach-houses, tallow-chandlers, sinks, vaults, dung-hills, laystalls, garbage, broken pavements, inmates in houses crowding the same, &c. and for redressing of all such like disorders. [*Fædera, V. xviii, p. 827.*]

He also commissioned certain aldermen, &c. of London to seize all foreign tobacco, not of the growth of Virginia or Bermudas, for his benefit, agreeable to a former commission: also to buy up, for his use, all the tobacco coming from those plantations, and to sell the same again for his benefit. [*Fædera, V. xviii, p. 831.*]

The king, notwithstanding this order, in the same month published a permission to import 50,000 pounds of Spanish tobacco; but then it was to be all bought by himself, and again sold out to his subjects. He

directed that the Spanish tobacco, and also all the Virginia and Somers Isles tobacco, should be imported into London only, and marked likewise with three different seals or stamps. Moreover, as great quantities of tobacco were still sown in England, contrary to law, he now renewed the former prohibition of planting it in England. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 818.]

King Charles granted a commission to captain John Hall, to command four ships and a pinnace for next year's voyage to East-India, under the direction of the English company of merchants of London trading to the East-Indies. This was only a piece of form: but he farther earnestly prohibits all his other subjects, excepting the company, from resorting to India, under the penalty of forfeiting ships and cargoes; half to the king, the other half to the company, pursuant to King James's charter to them, dated the 31st of May, in the 7th year of his reign.

And King James having, in the year 1617, granted letters-patent to the English East-India company, to export to India all such foreign coin and bullion as they should first import from beyond sea, so as the same should not exceed the sum of £100,000 in any one year, King Charles now licenced them, in consideration of the prohibition of commerce with Spain, whereby they were disabled from procuring the quantity of silver they yearly wanted, to export, in their next voyage only, £30,000 in foreign gold, in lieu of so much silver. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 853.]

The king issued a proclamation against furnishing Spain with provisions, ammunition, or materials for shipping of any kind; the king of Spain and the archduke (says he) having previously issued like orders on their part with respect to our dominions.

King Charles granted fresh letters of reprisal in behalf of such of his subjects as have had their ships and merchandize taken by the French: no redress having been obtained, though often demanded; and the like reprisals were again granted on the 20th of April following. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, pp. 861, 887.]

King Charles appointed Sir Peter Wyche to be his ambassador to the grand signior Sultan Moratt, with the customary powers of appointing consuls in the several ports of Turkey, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 862.]

To what we have this year exhibited from the *Fœdera* concerning King Charles's quarrel with his brother-in-law King Louis XIII, we shall here add, that Louis's not only detaining the seven English ships lent to him, but also employing them against his protestant subjects, raised a great clamour in England: thereupon King Charles seized on several French ships in English ports; and Louis, on the other side, seized on no fewer than 120 English ships in his ports. King Charles also now sent home all his queen's French servants; and, in fine, published a de-

claration of war against France, wherein he accused Louis of breach of articles with his protestant subjects, and of blocking up their towns and ports; for whose relief at Rochelle he, this same year, had sent out the Earl of Denbigh with thirty ships of war; but, being too late in the year, he was driven back by stormy weather.

We have before noted, that King Charles was so ill advised, as, for his private gain, to raise the nominal value of his coin above its intrinsic value, by coining the pound weight of silver into L3:10:6 by tale, whereby he was to gain $\frac{8}{6}$ on every pound weight of silver. His privy-council, however, were somewhat doubtful of the prudence of this measure: whereupon the famous Sir Robert Cotton, being excellently well skilled in such matters, and the precedents of former reigns, was ordered to lay his opinion before the board; which was greatly to his reputation. For, in a set speech at that board, (afterward printed with his other posthumous pieces in 1651) he most judiciously displayed the great discredit as well as real loss which would thereby redound to the king himself, as well as to the whole realm. He shewed, that the Roman empire kept up the purity of the standard of the coin until the loose times of Commodus, when excess of expense introduced necessity, and that brought on an alteration of the standard: and that the majesty of that empire gradually declined with the gradual alteration of their coin. So that there is no surer symptom of a consumption in any state than the corruption of their money.

Coming, in the next place, to speak of our own princes, he shews the disreputation which fell on King Henry VI, by not only abating the quantity of bullion in his coins, (though still preserving the nominal value) but likewise debasing them, by directing the practice of alchymy (as they term it) in his mint! That King Henry VIII fell into the same bad measures. And that his daughter Queen Elizabeth was most wisely advised by her treasurer Burleigh, and by Sir Thomas Smith, that it would be for the honour of the crown and the true wealth of herself and people, to bring back the standard of the coins to the antient parity and purity of her great-grandfather King Edward IV. Next, he judiciously shews, that as coin or money was devised as a rate and measure of merchandize and manufacture, if that measure be rendered mutable, no man can tell what he hath or what he oweth; and no contract can be certain. That princes are guarantees to their people for the justness of their coin, and must not suffer their faces to warrant falsehood. That this proposal now on the anvil would take away the tenth part of every man's due debt in rent. That, by coining the shilling with less silver in it than before, a proportionably less quantity of any goods or merchandize will be sold for it. That the Netherlanders will, with our present good coins, recoin with the king's stamp, and import on us the newly enhanced coin. That if men shall receive in the proposed no-

minal shillings and pounds a less proportion of silver and gold than they did before this projected alteration, and, at the same time, pay for what they buy at a rate enhanced, it must cast upon all a double loss. What the king will suffer by it in the rents of his lands is demonstrated by the alterations since the 18th year of King Edward III, (anno 1344) when all the revenue came into the receipt, *ponderé et numero*, at the rate of five groats per ounce; which, since that time, by the several changes of the standard, is come to five shillings, whereby the king hath lost two thirds of his revenue; and the like in his customs and other receipts. And, as the king will lose a fourteenth part in all the silver, and a twenty-fifth part in all the gold he shall receive, so likewise will the nobility and gentry in all their former settled rents, annuities, pensions, and loans. The like also will fall upon the labourers and workmen in their statute wages: and as their receipts will hereby be lessened, so their issues will be increased by raising the prices of all things. It will lay the loss upon ourselves and the profit on our enemies: since all our present good money will hereby be exported for bullion, our own goldsmiths being their brokers. This enfeebling of the coin is but a short-lived shift, like drink to one in a dropsy, to make him swell the more. But the state was never thoroughly cured, as we saw by King Henry the VIIIth's time, and the late queen's, until the coin was made up again. This most judicious and seasonable remonstrance was so well approved of, that the project was entirely set aside. We shall, nevertheless, seventy years later than this time, see so pernicious a proposal again started to King William's ministers; and had it not been for the remonstrance of another great man, the famous John Locke, (who possibly was indebted for the same just notions to this speech of Sir Robert Cotton's) seemed in a fair way to be accepted of.

In this second year, therefor, of King Charles I, a pound weight of gold, of the old standard of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, fine, and half a grain alloy, was coined into L44 : 10 by tale, viz. into rose-rials of thirty shillings, spur-rials of fifteen shillings, and angels of ten shillings: and a pound weight of another standard, viz. of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats alloy, (called crown gold) into L41 by tale, viz. into units of twenty shillings, double crowns, ten shillings, and British crowns, five shillings. And a pound weight of silver, of the old standard of 11 ounces, 2 pennyweight, fine, into 62 shillings, by tale; namely, into crowns, half crowns, shillings, sixpences, twopences, pence, and halfpence.

We find the following catalogue of exclusive patents for new projects in this year, all for fourteen years.

1) ' A patent to Lord D'Acre, and two others, for the sole making of steel, according to the invention of Thomas Letsome, one of the said patentees.'

II) ‘ To Sir John Hacket and Octavius de Strada, for rendering sea-coal and pit-coal as useful as charcoal, for burning in houses, without offence by the smell or smoke, according to their invention.’

III) ‘ To Thomas Rouse and Abraham Cullyn, for the sole making of stone pots, jugs, and bottles, according to their new invention.’

Also IV and V) ‘ One for draining water out of mines, &c. and another for making guns, great and small.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 870.]

About this time, (according to the ingenious author* of *Caribbeana*, 2 V. 4to, 1741) the sugar trade of England had its rise in the first settlement of the island of Barbados†, the mother of all the sugar colonies. Yet, till several years after this time, the Portuguese supplied most parts of Europe with Brazil sugars.

At this time, according to a French pamphlet on the East-India trade, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, issued his letters-patent, inviting his people to form a Swedish East-India company: but the war in Germany and that great king’s death a few years after prevented the accomplishment of that design.

The following proclamation from King Charles I will partly shew the nature of the London goldsmiths business, and the state of the English silver and gold coins at the time.

‘ Whereas the exchange of all manner of gold and silver, current in monies, or otherwise, as the buying, selling, and exchanging of all manner of bullion in species of foreign coins, billets, ingots, &c. fine, refined, or allayed, howsoever, being fit for our mint, hath ever been, and ought to be, our sole right, as part of our prerogative royal, and antient revenue; wherein none of our subjects, of what trade or quality soever, ought at all, without our special licence, to intermeddle, the same being prohibited by divers acts of parliament and proclamations, both antient and modern: and whereas ourself and divers of our royal predecessors have for some time past tolerated a promiscuous kind of liberty to all, but especially to some of the mystery and trade of goldsmiths in London and elsewhere, not only to make the said exchanges, but to buy and sell all manner of bullion: and from thence some of them have grown to that licentiousness, that they have for divers years presumed, for their private gain, to sort and weigh all sorts of money current within our realm, to the end to cull out the old and new monies, which, either by not wearing, or by any other accident, are weightier than the rest; which weightiest monies have not only been molten down for the making of plate, &c. but even traded in and sold to merchant strangers, &c. who have exported the same; whereby

* Late attorney general of Barbados.

† Others, as we have already seen, dated the first settlement of Barbados twelve years earlier. Li-

gon, the author of the History of Barbados, has left a blank for the date of the discovery of the island by Sir William Courten.

‘ the consumption of our coins has been greatly occasioned, as also the
 ‘ raising of the silver even of our own monies to a rate above what they
 ‘ are truly current for ; by reason whereof no silver can be brought to our
 ‘ mint, but to the loss of the bringers, &c. For the reforming of all
 ‘ which abuses, we have, by the advice of our privy-council, determined
 ‘ to resume our said right, for our own profit and the good of the realm :
 ‘ and for this end we do now appoint Henry earl of Holland and his
 ‘ deputies to have the office of our changes, exchanges, and out-changes
 ‘ whatsoever, in England, Wales, and Ireland. And we do hereby
 ‘ strictly charge and command that no goldsmith nor other person what-
 ‘ soever, other than the said earl of Holland, do presume to change, &c.
 ‘ (as above) and as the following articles do more fully direct in sub-
 ‘ stance, viz.

‘ I and II) ‘ None (without our special licence) shall transport to fo-
 ‘ reign parts any gold or silver, in coin, plate, or bullion, as by statute,
 ‘ 9 *Edw. III.*, and 2 *Hen. IV.*

III) ‘ None shall presume to melt down the current coins of our king-
 ‘ doms, nor to cull and sort from the rest any of the weightier mo-
 ‘ nies.

IV) ‘ None but our said changer, and his deputies, shall receive or take,
 ‘ by way of payment, or exchange, directly or indirectly, for any species
 ‘ of foreign coin, or other gold or silver, more than the rates which now
 ‘ are or hereafter may be given or allowed for the same at our mint or
 ‘ exchange.

V) ‘ To prevent the frauds of goldsmiths against the statute of the
 ‘ 18th of Queen Elizabeth, every goldsmith, on the sale of any plate,
 ‘ shall deliver a ticket, with his name or mark, to the buyer, expressing
 ‘ the day of sale, the weight of such plate, and the value or rate of the
 ‘ gold or silver apart, and also the value and rate of the fashion apart,
 ‘ by which may appear at what rate the one or the other was valued,
 ‘ &c.

VI) ‘ In every piece of gold current for 30s, 20s, 15s, 10s, 5s, and
 ‘ 2/6, the abatement shall not exceed four grains and an half for 30s
 ‘ pieces, three grains, two grains and a half, two grains, one grain, and
 ‘ half a grain, for the other respective pieces ; which several gold coins
 ‘ wanting no more shall pass current, as if of full weight and value : but
 ‘ if they want respectively more in weight than the said several respect-
 ‘ ive abatements, then they shall not be current ; but shall be brought
 ‘ to our exchanges or mint, to be melted down and made into new
 ‘ coin.

VII) ‘ No false or deceitful stuff or manufacture of gold or silver,
 ‘ less in fineness than our money of gold or silver, shall be made, sold,
 ‘ or imported. Yet this order shall not restrain any subject from im-
 ‘ porting of bullion from beyond sea, to be carried to our mint to be

‘coined. Goldsmiths, however, may continue, agreeable to the franchises, &c. granted to them by charters from us and our predecessors, to buy any gold or silver in plate or other manufacture, as heretofore, so as the same may be bought or exchanged only to make plate or other manufacture; and they do not give a higher rate for the same than the rate of our mint; and that, under colour thereof, they do not buy, exchange, or intermeddle with any foreign species of money or other bullion, either foreign or of our own produce; all which ought to be carried to, and coined at, our mint.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xviii, p. 896.]

In the same year King Charles directed a special commission of lords and gentlemen, ‘for six ships of war to be fitted out, viz. three of 300 tons each, and three of 200 tons burden, for the guard of the northern sea coasts of England from foreign enemies, whereby trade was much interrupted, and the city of London and other parts of the kingdom much damaged for want of coals and other commodities, usually transported from Newcastle upon Tyne and Sunderland, both to London and parts adjacent, and to most other parts of our dominions. And, for bearing the expense of this armament, the king (beside the forfeitures of recusants convicted) hereby appropriates a voluntary offer made by the owners of coal-pits and the sellers of coals, to be carried from those two towns, either by sea or land, of sixpence on every chaldron of coals.’

Here we may observe, 1st, what a poor armament this was for the king to appoint a special commission of lords and gentlemen to get it ready; 2dly, there is no other place therein named but Newcastle and Sunderland for the coal-trade; 3dly, that this new town of Sunderland was by this time grown up to be somewhat, although in Camden’s Britannia, written but twenty years before, it was not deemed worthy of a bare mention; 4thly, that by this time the coal-trade from those parts to London and other southern parts was become very considerable; lastly, that though the king had many good ships of his own (for those times) yet they were all laid up at Chatham and Portsmouth; he having no funds for employing them against his foreign enemies, who were probably privateers from the Spanish Netherlands.

Notwithstanding the patent of the preceding year for the new way of making saltpetre from urine, for which an office had been erected in Southwark; and notwithstanding King Charles’s declaration that the former way of keeping floors digged up, &c. was so troublesome to his subjects, yet so unstable was he, that we find him now renewing his former orders and directions of the year 1625 for keeping the floors of dove-houses, stables, &c. free from sand, gravel, &c. for the growth of the mine or material of saltpetre, as before. And he gives a commission to the duke of Buckingham, &c. that, by reason of the extraordinary need there then was of saltpetre for gunpowder, they cause enter,

break open, and work for saltpetre, as well within houses, lands, &c. of us, as of our subjects; and to use all such ground, earth, walls, and water, as shall be requisite for that purpose. And also to take carriages and carts for the same, at the price of fourpence per mile per cart; the empty vessel to be recarried gratis, as formerly. Also to take sea-coal and wood-ashes, at reasonable prices; as also work-houses, barns, yards, &c. for working the mine of saltpetre at reasonable rates, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xviii, pp. 915, 918.]

The king issued a new proclamation concerning tobacco, much in the stile of his own and his father's former ones, and for the sole monopoly thereof.

I) He enjoins the plucking up of all tobacco growing in England and Ireland, and strictly forbids the planting any more.

II) None shall hereafter import any Spanish or other foreign tobacco without the king's special commission.

III) And because such foreign tobacco should not be uttered under pretence of being the tobacco of Virginia and the Somer isles, and other English colonies; and that the planters in his said colonies may not give themselves over to the planting of tobacco only, and neglect to apply themselves to solid commodities fit for the establishing of colonies (which will utterly destroy these and all other plantations); from henceforth no tobacco, even of our own colonies, shall be imported, without our own special licence: and what shall be so imported shall be delivered to our use, upon such reasonable price as shall be agreed on.

IV) No person shall henceforth buy any tobacco here, but from our commissioners: which tobacco shall be sealed or stamped; and when sold again, a note shall be made, expressing the time when bought, and the quantity and quality thereof. [*Fædera*, V. xviii, p. 920.]

King Charles issued the following declaration, viz.

‘Whereas the kingdom of Ireland, by reason of the peace and plenty it hath of late enjoyed, is so stored with profitable commodities and merchandizes, that they have not only enough for their own use, but also for exportation:

‘And whereas the said Irish exported commodities are such as are usually or mostly carried to countries not in league or friendship with us, (meaning Spain and Portugal) for the increase therefor of our revenue we have thought fit to raise a higher and greater imposition or increase of subsidy on the goods therein specified; whereby our said enemies, or those not in league with us, who stand in need of those commodities, must pay higher rates for the same than heretofore.

‘The commodities herein specified were pilchards, herrings, salmon, butter, salted flesh of all kinds, sheep and calves skins, ox hides, tallow candles, iron, wool, yarn, ruggs, blankets, wax, goat and deer skins,

‘ live bulls, oxen, cows, horses, pipe-staves, corn and pulse of all kinds :
 ‘ but the additional duties thereon shall not take place for any import-
 ‘ ations into England. No pipe-staves, or wool, or sheep-skins with the
 ‘ wool, shall be exported from Ireland without a special licence : and
 ‘ merchants-strangers shall pay one fourth part more than natives at
 ‘ such exportations.’ [*Fædera*, V. xviii, p. 932.]

The king again issued the usual proclamations enjoining the nobility and gentry to withdraw to their country seats for the keeping of hospitality, and against eating flesh in lent and on other fish days ; for the seemingly idle reasons already so often assigned. [*Fædera*, V. xviii, pp. 950, 961.]

The king renewed his commission for the better execution of his former proclamation touching the office of his changer and re-changer of gold and silver, and for restraining goldsmiths from culling and melting down of the coin. [*Fædera*, V. xviii, p. 970.]

In a long list of dignities and offices created in this year, there is one
 ‘ for the sole making and registering of all manner of assurances, inti-
 ‘ mations, and renunciations, made upon any ship or ships, goods, or
 ‘ merchandize, in the royal exchange, or other places within the city of
 ‘ London, for thirty-one years.’ [*Fædera*, V. xviii, p. 987.]

Other projected monopolies of this year for the term of fourteen years, were,

I) ‘ A charter to three persons for the sole practice of their new in-
 ‘ vention for melting iron ore, and making the same into cast works and
 ‘ bars, with sea-coal and pit-coal only.

‘ II) ‘ A device for plowing of land without either horses or oxen.

‘ III) ‘ For the sole use of a new-invented engine to make all kinds
 ‘ of mills to grind and perform their wonted labour without the help
 ‘ either of horses, wind, or water, under the yearly rent of £100 to the
 ‘ exchequer.’

In the same year King Charles is said to have made a grant to James Hay earl of Carlisle of the fine island of Barbados, and also of all the other English Caribbee islands. Yet the earl of Clarendon, in one of his tracts, testifies that James Ley, earl of Marlborough and lord treasurer, had a prior grant thereof in this same year, and that he afterwards in 1629, (as shall be shewn from the *Fædera*) consented to have those islands granted to the earl of Carlisle, upon payment of £300 per annum: although the planters themselves then insisted on the king’s taking them under his own immediate protection, and on the revocation of the charter to Lord Carlisle ; and with good reason, as they alone had been at the expense of planting the same. Sir William Courten, who first planted Barbados in the reign of King James I, is said by his son to have been three years in quiet possession of it, and to have expended £30,000 in forts, buildings, and plantations there. How he came now to lose it,

or whether he sold it in parcels to the planters, or if his right was disputable, does not clearly appear. In a printed account of his great losses sustained in his trade to the East-Indies, his son positively affirms that his father first discovered, planted, and fortified, the island of Barbados, and afterward had a grant of it from King Charles I, in the third year of his reign, by a patent; and that the earl of Carlisle, in virtue of his grant the following year, intruded, and took forcible possession thereof; for which injury Sir William's representatives never had any compensation. These West-India islands, before they fell into the planting of sugar canes, were in those early times thought of very little worth, otherwise the grant above-named would not have been so readily made. The planters, however, went on in improving them during all the civil war and the usurpation; but at the restoration of King Charles II it was determined by the king and council that out of the revenue of Barbados, then greatly improved, the £300 per annum should be allowed to the earl of Marlborough for his life; and that, once for all, £1000 should be paid to the earl of Kinnoul, who claimed under the earl of Carlisle's grant, so as he surrendered Lord Carlisle's charter: and thus Barbados and all the other Caribbee isles (Barbuda excepted*) thenceforward came under the immediate government of the crown, as they have ever since remained.

This year a solemn agreement was executed between the English and French planters for dividing the island of St. Christophers between them, and proper boundaries were fixed, which (says our French author) remain to this day (viz. anno 1658): but there was a special proviso that fishing, hunting, the salt ponds, the most pretious kind of wood for dyers and joiners work, and the havens and mines, should all be common to both nations: they also made a mutual covenant for their defence against the common enemy (meaning Spain.) The same author adds, that a company in London supplied the English there with every thing very well; and that the English, being better acquainted with the sea and with colonizing, improved their moiety of the island much better and quicker than the French did theirs: so that the English were enabled in the following year, 1628, to go over to the isle of Nevis, and to plant thereon; it being but about half a league distant.

The two nations lived well enough together till the revolution in England in 1689, when the French, by surprise, and before war was declared in Europe, fell upon the English, at the instigation of the Irish papists settled with them, and mastered them, obliging them to retire to Nevis. And the year following the English, headed by Colonel Codrington, served the French in the same manner: yet they were restored by the peace of Ryswick. On the breaking out of the war in 1702,

* See below in the year 1628.

Colonel Coddington again dispossessed the French; and by the peace of Utrecht we have it entire. It is a noble and fruitful isle, making 10,000 hogsheds of sugar yearly, and has plenty of other excellent productions, as cotton, ginger, &c. and is well watered.

The island of Dominica, lying between Martinico and Guadaloupe, has been claimed both by England and France; and for that reason has never yet been planted by either nation; and has still many Carib natives on it, who were much increased by the Caribs retiring to it, who had been driven out of the other neighbouring islands by the Europeans. This island is still included in the commission of the governor of Barbados, though the French would not permit our settling it. The Carib natives were said to favour the French more than the English, and to sell their poultry, hogs, &c. to those of Martinico: yet we, as well as other European nations, did sometimes wood and water on it, although it has neither ports nor good bays for shelter.

Defkada is partly planted by the French; though the time when is not well known: and it is generally said to be of very small importance.

1628.—At this time the Hollanders did infinite damage to the Spaniards in the West-Indies, by taking their plate fleet, and plundering the coasts of the island of Cuba. It would be almost endless to enumerate the damages they at different times did to Spain, till the year 1648, when the peace of Munster put a period to all their differences.

We may in a great measure understand the true state of the English East-India company's affairs at this time from their petition and remonstrance to the house of commons, printed in the year 1628; being in substance, that the company having existed twenty-eight years, by charters from Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, they traded with great success to India, until sundry ill accidents from storms and enemies, but more especially from professed friends and allies, (meaning the Dutch company) have infinitely damaged it. Which misfortunes, together with our annual exportation of foreign coin to India, having begot such causeless complaints as thereby have much discouraged the adventurers from any longer trading under the general censure of all ranks in the nation. They therefore humbly pray that honourable house to take the under-mentioned articles or queries into their consideration: and if upon their examination the said trade shall be found to be unprofitable to the kingdom, that it may be suppressed; but if otherwise, they pray that it may be supported and countenanced by some public declaration, for the satisfaction of all his majesty's subjects, and the better encouragement of the present adventurers.

Article 1) The company's trade much increaseth the strength of England with mariners, warlike shipping, ammunition, and all useful artificers relating thereto; as also the general traffic of England, not only

by its own trade to India, but by its large magazine of many rich Indian wares to be exported to foreign countries, as Turkey, Italy, the East country, &c.—Here they expatiate on their former benefits to the public, when some few years before they employed 15,000 tons of shipping all at one time, either going to, coming from, or trading in, India, from port to port: and that at present they employ 10,000 tons and 2500 mariners: that last year they imported pepper to the value of £208,000 sterling, whereof the value of £180,000 was re-exported to foreign parts in a few weeks, and much the like of indigo, calicoes, and divers other rich wares; by which re-exportations they employ 2000 more tons of shipping and 500 mariners: that at least 1000 persons are supported by the building and repair of their ships, the making their artillery, naval stores, provisions, &c. beside the tonnage employed by the company to fetch timber and pipe-staves out of Ireland*, and hemp out of Eastland; and for importing wines, elephants teeth, wrought silks, coral, quicksilver, &c. to furnish out those voyages: that the great magazines of naval stores and ammunition, which the company has always ready, are often helpful to others, as being no where else to be had for money at home; and they at this time make 30 barrels of gunpowder weekly, at their own powder-mills, of the saltpetre they import from India.

II) It increases the general wealth of the nation; it saves much money yearly to our nation in the expense of Indian wares, by supplying them so much cheaper than they could have them from other European nations; it increases very considerably the king's customs; improves the price of land, and of wool, tin, lead, iron, &c.: wherefor, though in the company's late unfortunate years they have themselves been losers, yet the crown and nation have all the while been gainers by this trade. That the vent of our cloth, lead, tin, &c. in India continually increases. That it is by reason of the company's having for three years past been expelled the spice islands by the Dutch that those spices are twice as dear as when the company imported them from India. That the raising the price of lands being of the greatest consequence to gentlemen, this can only be done by our exporting more in value of our own native commodities than we import to those of other nations, the balance whereof will come to us in treasure; and an increase of treasure will ever enhance the price of lands. And that the treasure so received by the balance of our foreign commerce is the only money which can remain permanently with us, and by which we are enriched. That this increase of money will also naturally increase the price of wool, tin, lead, &c. which also will contribute to increase the price of lands, as does also the increase of the merchants riches gotten by traffic. That it

* Ireland, then capable of supplying ship timber, is now quite destitute of it.

well merits consideration that there are three different species of profit in foreign commerce: 1st, the merchant may be a loser when the nation may be a gainer by this traffic: for instance, the company shall send out goods or money to the value of £100,000 and bring home £300,000 value in return; yet though this return trebles the public stock, the company may nevertheless be losers, if the goods in return be so bulky as to occasion so much freight of shipping, insurance, customs, and other charges, as amount to £200,000, which added to the principal of £100,000 will make the company losers, although the nation may be gainers by the additional £200,000; 2dly, the merchant may be a gainer by a losing trade to the nation, if our imports exceed our exports in the general balance; and lastly, the king may be a gainer in his customs, when both the merchant and the nation may be losers by some trades.

III) The next two articles, viz. the company being a means to weaken the king of Spain and his subjects, and to exhaust their treasure; and their counterpoising the swelling greatness of the Dutch, and keeping them from being absolute lords of the seas, if they could drive us out of this rich traffic, as they have long endeavoured to do, both by policy and force, were considerations suitable to that age alone, and therefor not now to be regarded.

IV) To the common objection that the East-India trade exhausts our treasure (which objection was made so early in Spain as the reign of the emperor Charles V) the company replies that this trade is so far from doing it, that, with respect to their carrying it on, it is the best means to increase the treasure of this kingdom: for they receive a greater balance in cash by the vast quantity of East-India merchandize re-exported to other countries than the sums sent out to India; beside employing much shipping and many sailors therein, &c.: all which the company submitted to that honourable house. But the sudden dissolution of the parliament prevented their taking this remonstrance into their consideration; and the company continued to carry on their trade to India, though with various success.

This piece being one of the most authentic and judicious vindications of our East-India trade, we have made the larger extract from it, as it may hereafter save the trouble of exhibiting the same sort of answers to future objections concerning it. It was so well esteemed as to be afterward reprinted in the year 1641: yet we must here in point of justice remark, that in that whole piece there is not the least mention of the company's being a monopoly, although that was then one of the objections against it. The company's silence on that tender point was probably the effect of their great prudence, as not being able in that critical time to satisfy the house of commons concerning what they were then loudly complaining of in general, both within and without doors.

Notwithstanding the former disappointments in the planting in, or trading to, Guiana, it was now again attempted by a company; and a patent was granted to Captain North, &c. who had been with Sir Walter Raleigh in the last unfortunate adventure thither. They even went so far as to make a settlement on the river of Amazons, and began to erect buildings, fortifications, &c. But this came afterwards to nothing, though not immediately: for in Sir William Monson's Naval tracts, published in the year 1635, he reports 'that there was then actually an English colony in Guiana, which yielded the best tobacco; and that the natives were the most tractable of any of our settlements.' How this came to be dropped, we apprehend, does nowhere appear; unless possibly this author meant the colony of Surinam, which was first settled by England somewhat near this time.

King Charles issued a proclamation against carrying provisions or ammunition to France, Louis XIII having, in the preceding year, published two several edicts, 'full of acrimony,' against supplying England with the same. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 1.]

King Charles having in the preceding year miscarried in his expedition against the isle of Rheé, sent out this year a fleet under the earl of Lindsay for the relief of Rochelle (then closely besieged by Louis XIII, Cardinal Richlieu being at that siege in person). Our king this year concluded a treaty with the Rochellers, wherein he promised never to abandon them, nor to make peace with their king without comprehending them therein*. [*General collection of treaties*, V. ii, p. 259, ed. 1732.] Yet that fleet was obliged to return home without being able to effect it. King Charles in the same year sent out another fleet for its relief under the earl of Danby, which also returned unsuccessful, the boom placed before the entrance into its harbour being too strong to be forced. Whereupon the poor Rochellers were forced to surrender to the French king, to the unspeakable loss of the French protestant church, as well as of England, which, by supporting Rochelle and other French protestants in general, might not only have been much better able to bridle the growing power of the French monarchy, but likewise to keep the balance of trade with that kingdom much more in our favour: for after the surrender of Rochelle and demolishing the fortifications, first

* King Charles's first letter to the mayor, sheriffs, peers, and burgeses of Rochelle, was of the 19th of May, 1628. 'Gentlemen, be not discouraged though my fleet be returned; hold out to the last, for I am resolved my whole fleet shall perish rather than you be not relieved. For this effect I have ordered it to return back to your coasts, and am sending several ships to reinforce it: with the help of God the success shall be happy for you.' His second letter to them was of the 27th of May, O. S. 'Gentlemen, I have

been much troubled to hear that my fleet was upon the point of returning home without obeying my orders in supplying you with provisions: cost what it will, I have commanded them to return to your road, and not to come away till you are supplied. Assure yourselves that I shall never abandon you; and that I shall employ the whole power of my kingdom for your deliverance, until God assist me to obtain for you an assured peace.—Your good friend

'CHARLES REX.'

of Montauban, and afterwards of Nîmes and Montpellier, the protestants were never able to make head against the catholics. Puffendorf relates that some have thought those civil wars had, first and last, devoured above 1,000,000 of people, destroyed 9 cities, 400 villages, 20,000 churches, and 2000 monasteries; and that 100,000 houses were either burnt or demolished thereby.

In this year the Dutch West-India company are said to have divided fifty per cent to their proprietors, chiefly by means of the capture of the Spanish plate fleet, as already mentioned, valued by some at twelve millions of guilders. They also got much treasure by driving a Spanish squadron of ships on shore on the coast of Peru, and plundering them. By such prodigious losses on the side of Spain it was as impossible for that monarchy not to decline very much as for the Dutch republic not to increase greatly in wealth and power.

King Charles again appointed commissioners to treat with the piratical ports of Barbary for the redemption of English captives there, and for establishing peace and commerce with them; for which end he sent them 6 iron cannon and 700 cannon bullets as a present.

So great was the power and wealth of the city of Dantzick at this time, being now in her meridian glory, that the great king Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden being now at war with Poland, and sending a squadron of eight ships of war to block up the port of that city, the Dantzickers sent out ten ships of war against the Swedish fleet, which they vanquished; having killed the Swedish admiral, taken the admiral ship, and obliged the rest to fly. This is by Puffendorf's own confession in his History of Sweden. [*English translation*, p. 506.]

Sir David Kirk and his associates, during a war between England and France, now possessed themselves of Canada (which then consisted only of the country on the north side of the great river St. Laurence) together with the castle of Quebec; of which Sir David's son was appointed governor: and in the same year they conquered Nova-Scotia, which Sir William Alexander again possessed; when the French agreed to recognize our king's property of all Nova-Scotia: and it is said they agreed to pay Sir David Kirk £50,000 for quitting the forts which he had possessed himself of in Canada; which sum however was never paid.

This year the English, under Sir Thomas Warner, from St. Christophers, again planted the neighbouring small island of Nevis (formerly called Mevis) being about eighteen miles in circuit. It has plenty of fresh water springs, and has now scarcely any other staple produce but sugar and melasses, though it formerly yielded tobacco, ginger, and cotton. It is said they have at this time about 3000 whites and 8000 negro slaves. From this island St. Christophers, Eustatia, Saba, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Bartholemew, and Guadaloupe, may be plainly seen in a clear day.

The isle of Barbuda was also settled on by the English, conducted from St. Christophers by Sir Thomas Warner, &c. At first they were so harassed by the the Caribs from Dominica as to be obliged to desert it: yet the Carib natives being afterward greatly diminished, the English again planted on it. It is about fifteen miles in length, and is the only proprietary government of all the English Caribbee isles, its governor being in the nomination of the heirs of Christopher Coddrington, Esq. who was governor of Barbados in the reign of Queen Anne, and who settled this isle and a good estate in Barbados for the support of his college in the last named isle, for the instruction of negro children. The breeding of cattle for the other English isles is the principal employment of the inhabitants; and they also raise plenty of corn and other provisions for the use of those islands, but no sugar.

It was about this time that the Dutch East-India company's ships discovered the southern continent, first named Carpentaria, from its discoverer, and afterwards New Holland, lying to the south of the island of Java; other parts of this country had the names of their discoverers given them, viz. De Witt's land and Nuyt's land. Nevertheless, after so many years discovery, neither the Dutch nor any other nation have as yet made any kind of advantage or improvement from it; nor has any settlement been hitherto made on that country in all this time. Another generation may possibly discover whether it be only a huge island, separated from the continent next the south pole, and may possibly make settlements thereon. Some pretend that there is some mystery in the Dutch company's not making a settlement on this *terra australis* or south pole lands; the most probable account of this matter seems to be no more than that the Dutch Company have already as much territory as they can well manage; and that those new lands are thought so very barren that it is not likely they would answer the charge and trouble of forming colonies thereon *.

We have seen that King Charles revived the office of the king's exchanger of gold and silver, which had been long in disuse; and a pamphlet was this year published by his authority, intitled, '*Cambium regis*, or the office of his majesty's exchange royal; declaring and justifying his majesty's right thereto, and the conveniency thereof;' wherein it was shown, that the prerogative of exchange of bullion for coin has always been a flower of the crown, of which instances are quoted from the time of King Henry I downward: that King John farmed out that office for no smaller a sum than 5000 marks: that the place or office where the exchange was made in his reign, was near St. Paul's cathedral in London, and gave name to the street still called the Old change: that,

* It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader that the country here mentioned is that on which the British government has settled a colony of convicts. M.

in succeeding reigns, there were several other places for these exchange besides London: that this method continued till the time of King Henry VIII, who suffered his coin to be so far debased that no regular exchanges could be made: that that confusion made way for the London goldsmiths to leave off their proper trade of goldsmithrie, and to turn exchangers of plate and foreign coins for English coins; though they had no right to buy any gold or silver for any other purpose than for their manufacture; neither had any other person, but those substituted by the crown, a right to buy the same. The king, therefor, has now resumed this office, not merely to keep up his right so to do, but likewise to prevent those trafficking goldsmiths from culling and sorting all the heavy coin, and selling the same to the mint of Holland, which gained greatly thereby, or melting those heavy coins down for making of plate; witness the pieces of $13\frac{1}{2}d$, old shillings of Queen Elizabeth, $9d$, and $4\frac{1}{2}d$ pieces; which being weighty monies, none of them are now to be met with; whereby they have raised the price of silver to $2d$ per ounce above the value of the mint; which thereby has stood still ever since the 11th of King James. That for above thirty years past it has been the usual practice of those exchanging goldsmiths to make their servants run every morning from shop to shop, to buy up all weighty coins for the mints of Holland and the east countries, whereby the king's mint has stood still. The former allowances in the old *cambium regis* were $1d$, and sometimes $1\frac{1}{2}d$ exchange upon the value of every noble, (i. e. $6/8$.) Those offices were usually sold by the crown for a good sum of money, and the king's exchanger had also the sole right of exchanging plate and any other manufacture of gold and silver at home for the king's coin, taking the like allowance, and also the coinage duty.

Against the revival of this royal exchange, the goldsmiths company of London earnestly petitioned the king and council, as did afterwards the lord mayor, court of aldermen, and common council, in behalf of the goldsmiths company, who called themselves no fewer than 900 families, whereas the royal pamphlet asserts that not above ten goldsmiths were concerned in this exchanging trade. In brief, upon a second petition of the goldsmiths, the king told them to trouble him no farther, since his right to the office was undoubtedly clear.

1629.—On the 2d of March 1628-9 King Charles dissolved his parliament, with many sharp expressions of resentment against those members of the house of commons who opposed his measures; [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 29] by which the differences between him and his people grew daily wider. Yet, rather than have any more parliaments, he went deeper into arbitrary and illegal methods for raising money by his sole prerogative. So from this time till the year 1640 there was no parliament summoned.

An attempt seems to have been now made to produce filk in England; as may be inferred from a grant to Walter lord Aston, &c. of the custody of the garden, mulberry-trees, and filk-worms near St. James's, in the county of Middlesex. Or, possibly, this was only the continuation of King James's project in 1608. There is a place a little way without the south-west gate of St. James's park, towards Chelsea, which still bears the name of the Mulberry garden, and answers to the description of the above.

This year the king gave exclusive grants of fourteen years for the following inventions, viz.

- ' 1) For an engine for the more easy cutting of timber, under the yearly rent of 40*s* to be paid into the exchequer.
- ' 2) For engines for draining marsh lands.
- ' 3) For a medicine for preserving sheep from the rot.
- ' 4) An engine for the safe transportation of horses and other cattle ' from Ireland into England, and from England into Ireland.' [*Fædera. V. xix, p. 40.*]

By an act of parliament [*3 Car. I, c. 4*] corn was permitted to be exported to the king's allies, when at the following (which must therefore have been then esteemed moderate) prices, viz. wheat per quarter 32*s*, rye 20*s*, beans 16*s*, and barley or malt at 16*s*, per quarter.

King Charles, in the fourth year of his reign, incorporated the populous province of New-England, called Massachusset's-bay, of which Boston is the capital. King Charles II, in the year 1684, having, for his arbitrary ends, compelled the city of London, by a *quo warranto*, to surrender their charters, this province likewise was obliged to submit to it, as was also the colony of New-Plymouth and the province of Main; but that province was, in the year 1691, again incorporated by King William and Queen Mary, by its old name; but the crown thereby reserved the appointing of its governor, deputy-governor, secretary, and judge-admiral: the other officers, civil and military, are in the nomination of their house of representatives, who also elect the council. This province, together with Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and Providence plantation, constitute what is commonly called New-England. New-Hampshire, also generally esteemed a part of New-England, was made a separate province, immediately depending on the crown, as is now also Georgia and Nova-Scotia; all whose governors, councils, and magistrates, are in the king's appointment. Thus Maryland and Pensylvania are a kind of monarchical tributary governments; Connecticut and Rhode-Island may be called tributary popular governments; and Massachusset's-bay is a mixture of regal and popular constitutions. In our days the two Carolinas and New-Jersey are become regal governments, as Virginia and New-York were long before; as are also all our islands in the American seas, but Barbuda. Hitherto these different forms of government

have not very materially or generally affected the commerce of the British empire, though most men are under apprehensions that sooner or later they may.

The silk manufacture at London had now become so considerable, that the silk-throwers of that city and within four miles of it were incorporated under the name of the master, wardens, assistants, and commonalty of silk-throwers.

Peace was proclaimed with France, and the intercourse of commerce between the two nations, on the footing of antient treaties, was renewed. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 66.]

Upon this peace Cardinal Richlieu, who was superintendant-general of the commerce and navigation of France, resolved to maintain three squadrons of ships constantly in pay; two for the guard of the French coasts on the Ocean and on the Mediterranean, and the third to remain ready in the ports of Gascoigne, for convoying the French merchant ships trading to Canada. This was doubtless a very wise resolution in that able minister, France being till now utterly destitute of maritime strength.

We find that, upon King Charles's disbanding his army, which had been employed beyond sea, swarms of Irish beggars were every where seen, to the great annoyance of the country. The king thereupon issued his proclamation, commanding them forthwith to return to Ireland, to be conveyed from constable to constable to the ports of Bristol, Minehead, Barnstable, Chester, Liverpool, Milford, or Workington; directing them to be punished as rogues or vagabonds, wherever found begging afterwards. They were to be shipped at the charge of the respective counties. And it was thereby farther directed, that no ship should bring over any beggars from Ireland*; and that Englishmen begging as disbanded soldiers or mariners should be punished as vagabonds. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 72.]

Many were the shifts and devices which King Charles was put upon, in the long interval of parliament, for procuring money. We find him commissioning Sir Sackville Crow to get 610 pieces of iron cannon cast 'in our forge, within our forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, or elsewhere, as to you it shall seem fit.' And he employed Philip Burlamach, an eminent merchant, to sell those cannon (viz. 4000 ton weight thereof) to the states general of the United Netherlands, for redeeming from them his crown jewels, pawned in the year 1625, for £300,000. Thus England was still eminent for its manufacture of iron artillery beyond any other country in Europe. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, pp. 89, 99.]

* It were to be wished that the same regulation were now in force, unless (which would be much better) means were found to set all the Irish poor to some useful employment immediately upon their arrival in Britain: for the streets of London are shamefully crowded with them.

He confirmed the starchmakers company's monopoly, established by his father; and he prohibited the importation of French wines for a limited time, on pretence of a complaint of the merchants and vintners, that the quantity thereof remaining unsold was so large that they could not carry on their business without such a temporary prohibition. [*Fædera*, V. xix, pp. 92, 94.] This too was probably a monopolizing job!

The king also prohibited the sale of any vessels, whether English or foreign built, to foreigners. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 95.]

The coasts of England and Ireland were now much infested by pirates of various nations. King Charles therefor commissioned his lord treasurer Weston and others, 'to send forthwith to sea such ships as they should judge needful for suppressing of those pirates, who committed all manner of hostilities and spoils, to the utter overthrow of all mutual trade between our own subjects and all other merchant-strangers, subjects of our friends and allies.' [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 102.]

The king's necessities obliged him to retrench the expense of his household, by abolishing the greatest part of the daily tables in his palace, being till then, it is said, eighty in number, for the entertainment of his officers and servants; and allowing them, in lieu of those tables, a certain annual sum by the name of board-wages: whereby both the crown and the household servants are in the issue considerable gainers. This was probably by Sir Robert Cotton's advice, who, in a speech at the council-table, told the king that there was never a back-door of his palace into Westminster but what cost him £2000 yearly.

This we conceive was the original of the board-wages, which, in all the lists of the household of our monarchs, we see to be ever since allowed to the king's menial officers and servants. Some farther reductions of the same sort have been since made in the king's household; in lieu of which an addition has been made to their salaries.

This year the Spanish admiral had orders, in his way to New Spain, to drive the English and French from the island of St. Christophers, where he seized on some English ships; and landing, drove the French from their forts, and obliged them to embark, as he also did as many of the English as their own ships could hold. But when the Spanish fleet was gone, the English left in that island set assiduously to improving it: the French also returned to their old plantations; and both nations were well supplied and supported from their mother countries. The English planters becoming soon too numerous for their moiety of that island, emigrants from it settled in Barbuda, Montserrat, Antigua, and Barbados; as the French also did in Guadaloupe, &c. in the same neighbourhood.

King Charles confirmed his grant to James Hay earl of Carlisle, and to his heirs for ever, of all the Caribbee islands, situated between the 10th and 20th degrees of north latitude, and between the 315th and 327th

degrees of longitude, herein named by the king the province of Carlisle, and the Carlisle islands, And in December following, the earl appointed Hugh Lamy, a French protestant of Normandy, to receive, during life, all the rents and revenues of the islands, upon his undertaking to carry colonies of his countrymen thither, and to fortify and improve the islands, allowing him the twentieth part of the revenues. All which was confirmed by King Charles, in the same manner as they had been granted two years before to the earl of Marlborough, as we have noted under the year 1627. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, pp. 127, 128.]

King Charles confirmed the appointment made by Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, to the above mentioned Hugh Lamy, of the office of receiver-general of the revenues of the province of Carolana, and the adjacent isles of Bahama, lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Carolana, with the Bahama isles, had been granted, on the 30th of October 1629, by King Charles to Sir Robert Heath, and to his heirs, and was the same country (exclusive of the isles) now named North and South Carolina, and Georgia, together with the usurped French colony behind them, called Mississippi or Louisiana. Sir Robert afterwards conveyed his province of Carolana to the earl of Arundel, who was at the expense of planting sundry parts of it: but the war which broke out in Scotland, (in which that lord was the king's general) and the subsequent civil war in England, prevented his farther progress therein. The five Indian nations of the Iroquois, who have been so long the voluntary vassals of the English crown, and who had lately conquered all the lands from their own original country behind New-York as far as the Mississippi and beyond it, made a surrender and sale of all those conquests to the governor of New-York, in King James II's reign. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 128.—*Cox's Description of Carolina*, pp. 109, 113, 116, &c.]

It is commonly said, that about this same year the English began to plant on the island of Providence, the chief of the the Bahama isles, till then quite uninhabited. King Charles I, after the conclusion of peace with Spain, confirmed his grant of those isles; and England has continued to keep up her right to them as the first occupiers, although they have scarcely planted in any of them, excepting this of Providence; and even it is planted to very little purpose, any farther than for a retreat in case of storms, and to prevent pirates and foreign nations from possessing it. Tortuga also is justly claimed by Great Britain, because of our having early resorted thither for salt, though not as yet properly planted by us.

King Charles issued the following proclamation, in behalf of the Eastland company, viz.

‘Whereas the Eastland company have, by the space of fifty years at least, had a settled and constant possession of trade in the said Eastland

‘ parts in the Baltic seas; and have had the sole carrying thither of our
 ‘ English commodities, and also the sole bringing in of all the commo-
 ‘ dities of those countries, namely, hemp-yarn, cable-yarn, flax, pot-
 ‘ ashes, soap-ashes, Polonia wool, cordage, Eastland linen cloth, pitch,
 ‘ tar, and wood; whereby our kingdom hath been much enriched, our
 ‘ ships and mariners set on work, and the honour and fame of our na-
 ‘ tion spread and enlarged in those parts*.

‘ And whereas, for their farther encouragement, the said company have
 ‘ had and enjoyed, by letters-patents from Queen Elizabeth, the exclu-
 ‘ sive privileges above named, with general prohibitions and restraints
 ‘ of all others not licenced by the said letters-patents: we minding the
 ‘ upholding of the said trade, and not to suffer the said society to sustain
 ‘ any violation or diminution of their liberties and privileges, have
 ‘ thought good to ratify the same.

‘ And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our customers,
 ‘ comptrollers, &c. that they suffer not any broad cloth, dozens, ker-
 ‘ seys, bays, skins, or such like English commodities, to be shipped for
 ‘ exportation to those parts, nor any hemp, &c. as before named, or
 ‘ any other commodities whatsoever, of those foreign countries wherein
 ‘ the said company have used to trade, to be imported by any but such
 ‘ as are free of that company.

‘ Provided always, that the importation of corn and grain be left free
 ‘ and without restraint. We also strictly command, that the statutes
 ‘ of the 5th of King Richard II, the 4th of King Henry VII, and the
 ‘ 32d of King Henry VIII, made against the shipping of merchandize
 ‘ in strangers bottoms, either inward or outward, be duely put in ex-
 ‘ ecution; and that neither the said company, nor any other whatso-
 ‘ ever, be permitted to export or import any of the above named com-
 ‘ modities in any but English bottoms, under the penalties in the said
 ‘ statutes contained.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 129.]

The great increase of the commerce of England having of late years
 very much increased the inland carriage of goods, whereby the roads
 were more broken than heretofore, King Charles issued his procla-
 mation, confirming one of his father’s, in the 20th year of his reign,
 for the preservation of the public roads of England, commanding
 that no common carrier, or other person whatsoever, shall travel with
 any waine, cart, or carriage, with more than two wheels, nor with
 above the weight of twenty hundred; nor shall draw any waine, cart, or
 other carriage, with above five horses at once. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 130.]
 How great is the alteration since this time, that waggons, permitted to
 carry above thrice that weight, have come into such universal use.

* The company was erected in the year 1579.

In the catalogue of the grants of offices by King Charles during this year, we have one called, 'an office for the register of sales and pawns made to retailing brokers.' [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 132.] Which retailing brokers seem to have been much the same we now call pawnbrokers. This was probably one of that king's lucrative monopoly grants.

London at this time abounded in wealth and grandeur, compared to its condition in former ages. The gay appearance of goldsmiths shops shining with plate on the south side of the street called Cheapside, thence named Goldsmiths-row, was then thought very grand, extending from Bucklersbury to the Old change, (four shops only excepted of other trades) which small exception made the privy council think it worth while to direct the judges to consider what laws there might be in force to oblige the goldsmiths to plant themselves in Cheapside and Lombard street, for the use of their trade.

1630.—In the year 1630, Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, having entered into Germany with an army, occasioned much damage to the commerce of the Hanse towns, by the devastations committed by his troops. In that king's manifesto he accuses the Imperialists of forbidding his merchants all freedom of commerce, seizing on their merchandize, and confiscating their ships, under the pretence of establishing a general commerce at Lubeck for the Hanse towns; which, in effect, was driving the Swedes from the whole commerce of the Baltic, and erecting a naval force at the expense of his merchants, in order freely to ravage and pirate in that sea; having newly created an unheard of dignity of a general of the seas for that purpose, and possessed themselves of the ports and fortified places of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, fortifying the port of the free Hanseatic city of Straelsund, for a receptacle and retreat to their pirates. [*Collection of treaties*, V. ii, pp. 292, 304.] Had the house of Austria succeeded in their design of rendering themselves absolute in the empire, there would soon have been an end of all freedom of commerce in the ports of Germany; and this gave a fine handle to Gustavus to take the city of Straelsund under his protection, whereby the Swedes have ever since held a port so very commodious for introducing their armies into Germany; though Staelsund is far from being bettered, since from a free city it is become subject to Sweden. For the aid of the king of Sweden, and the support of the liberty of commerce, King Charles, underhand, encouraged James marquis of Hamilton to sign a treaty this year with Gustavus, for raising and conveying 6000 Scottish troops to Germany; though King Charles would not appear in it for fear of offending the emperor, who gave him hopes of restoring the palatinate to the king of Bohemia, his brother-in-law.

King Charles confirmed his father's proclamation against the exportation of wool, woollfells, woollen-yarn, Cornish hair, fullers-earth, and wood-ashes, and also hides, either raw or tanned, upon pain of confisca-

tion, &c. for the encouragement of the English woollen manufactures ; and ordering that, for the better utterance of cloth within this kingdom, all black cloths and mourning stuffs at funerals should be only of the wools of this kingdom. And the false dying of cloth and stuffs being a great hinderance to their vent, none should therein use any log-wood or blockwood. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 155.]

In another proclamation King Charles observes, ‘ that iron-wire is a manufacture long practised in the realm, whereby many thousands of our subjects have long been employed ; and that English wire is made of the toughest and best Osmond iron, a native commodity of this kingdom, and is much better than what comes from foreign parts, especially for making wool cards ; without which no good cloth can be made. And whereas complaints have been made by the wire-drawers of this kingdom, that, by reason of the great quantities of foreign iron-wire lately imported, our said subjects cannot be set on work, therefor we prohibit the importation of foreign iron-wire, and wool-cards made thereof, as also hooks and eyes, and other manufactures made of foreign wire. Neither shall any translate and trim up any old wool cards, nor sell the same either at home or abroad.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 163.]

The king issued another proclamation against erecting houses on new foundations in London, Westminster, or within three miles of any of the gates of London, or of the palace of Westminster. Also against entertaining inmates in houses there, ‘ which would multiply the inhabitants to such an excessive number that they could neither be governed nor fed.’ He also enjoins the rebuilding of old houses with brick or stone ; and forbids cellars for victualling houses, and sheds and other annoyances in the streets : renewing also his former regulations for making bricks and tiles. And that all these regulations may be effectual, he appoints Sir James Campbell lord mayor of London, jointly with many lords and gentlemen therein named, or any four of them, to be his commissioners for these ends. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, pp. 177, 181.]

The following proclamation by King Charles, partly shews the state of the silk manufacture of England, viz. ‘ that the trade of silk within this realm, by the importation thereof raw from foreign parts, and throwing, dying, and working the same into manufactures here at home, is much increased within a few years past. But a fraud in the dying thereof being lately discovered, by adding to the weight of silk in the dye beyond a just proportion, by a false and deceitful mixture in the ingredients used in dying, whereby also the silk is weakened and corrupted, and the colour made worse ; wherefor we strictly command, that no silk-dyer do hereafter use any slip, alder-bark, filings of iron, or other deceitful matter, in dying silk either black or coloured. That no silk shall be dyed of any other black but Spanish black, and not of the dye called London black, or light weight. Nei-

'ther shall they die any filk before the gum be fair boiled off from the 'filk, being raw.'—With many other regulations relating to filk-dyeing, and the proportional weight before and after dying, too tedious to be now particularized. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 187.]

King Charles gave an exclusive patent to four persons for a pretended new invention for melting, forging, or fining iron, lead, tin, and salt; and for burning bricks, tiles, lime, &c. with the fuel of peat or turf reduced into a coal, without the use either of sea-coal, pit-coal, or wood. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 189.]

One would naturally imagine that the condition of England, in respect of flesh-meat and other provisions, must in those times have been very different from what it is in our days, otherwise we should not surely have seen so many laws and proclamations in this and the two preceding reigns against the use of flesh in lent, and other fish-days; but in this year there was a still more extraordinary proclamation on this subject, wherein the king takes notice of the abuses committed by ingrossers, badgers, broggers, and buyers of corn, it being then a year of scarcity. And the more to save the provisions of the nation, he enjoins the general practice of the antient laudable custom, that no suppers were wont to be kept on Fridays, nor on the eves of feasts commanded to be fasted, nor on Wednesdays and Saturdays in the ember weeks, and in lent; the same course being still observed in the king's household, and in the families of most of the nobility, and of many gentlemen, as also in the inns of court and chancery, and the colleges of universities. He also ordains, that the feasts at halls of the city companies be forborn, and that half the expense thereof be given to the necessitous poor. And whereas foreign ships frequently come empty into the ports of England, to victual for long voyages, which, in a time of scarcity, is by no means to be suffered; such ships, therefor, shall hereafter only take in such a quantity of provisions as the magistrates of the respective ports shall judge convenient, being only for their necessary subsistence till their return into their own country. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 195.]

There was this year a monopoly project, for the practice of a new invention for extracting gold and silver from copper, tin, and lead, granted for fourteen years, on paying one third of the net profits thereof to the king.

In the same year King Charles most laudably commissioned a number of his great officers of state to inquire into the fishery on the British coasts, how the same may be rendered more beneficial to the nation, by framing a general fishery company, composed of some of each of his three kingdoms. For which end he promised to issue like commissions to Scotland and Ireland *. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 211.]

King Charles issued a commission, wherein he takes notice, that the merchant-adventurers company have frequently many considerable

* See more of this under the year 1633.

sums of money deducted from them, by persons they deal with beyond sea, on account of defects in our white cloths, in point of length, breath, and weight; whereby our cloths, in general, are depreciated in foreign parts. Therefor he appoints commissioners for the counties of Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester, and Oxon, to see the statutes for the right making of white cloth put in execution, and that the searchers and overseers do their duty. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 219.]

A treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between King Charles I of England, and King Philip IV of Spain, at Madrid, wherein what relates to commerce is to the following effect, viz.

Articles VII and XVIII) The same articles or conditions of commerce are hereby renewed that existed before the war broke out between Queen Elizabeth and King Philip II, and as stipulated in the IXth and XXIIId articles of the treaty in the year 1604.

VIII) The merchant ships, and ships of war of both kings, so as the later do not exceed eight in number, may freely resort to the ports of both countries, and may there take in provisions, refit, and trade, as by antient treaties. But ships of war shall remain no longer than till they have refitted and re victualled. Neither shall a greater number of them come into any port of the other party, without special leave obtained from the sovereign of that port: nor shall they, under colour of lawful commerce, supply the enemy of either party with provisions, or with naval or warlike stores.

XI) No new impositions shall be laid in Spain on the merchandize of that country brought away by the English in their own ships.

XIX) No disturbance shall be given in Spain to the English trading thither, on account of conscience, where no scandal shall be given.

XX. Where any prohibited goods are exported, none but the delinquent shall be punished for the same; nor shall any thing more be forfeited but the said goods.

XXI) The effects of persons dying in either country shall be secured for the benefit of their heirs, &c.

XXIII) In case of a rupture hereafter between the two nations, six months shall be allowed both parties to remove their effects.

XXIV) The ships of neither party shall be detained in the ports of the other party, nor shall be employed for warlike or other purposes, without the consent of their own sovereign. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 219.]

King Charles issued another proclamation against the cultivation of tobacco in England and Ireland; where, it seems, great quantities were still raised. And, after inveighing against the inordinate use of tobacco, which he here terms an useles weed, he again forbids the importation of all foreign tobacco without his licence, and even orders that the quantity of tobacco from Virginia, the Somer isles, and Caribbee isles, be

annually limited by himself, and that none be imported but into the port of London only. [*Fœdera, V. xix, p. 235.*]

In Munn's judicious book, intitled, *England's treasure by foreign trade*, treating of the advantage of permitting the free exportation of our own coin as well as of foreign bullion, he observes, 'that Ferdinand I, the grand duke of Tuscany, was very rich in treasure, and enlarged his trade by lending to merchants great sums of money at a low interest: that myself had 40,000 crowns of him, *gratis*, for a whole year; although he knew that I would presently send it away in specie to Turkey, to be employed in wares for his country; he being well assured, that in this course of trade it would return again, according to the old saying, with a duck in the mouth. By his thus encouraging of commerce, within these thirty years the trade of his port of Leghorn is so much encreased, that of a poor little town, as I myself knew it, it is now become a fair and strong city *.'

This year the Dutch West-India company again invaded Brazil, with better success than before, and reduced the city of Olinda, with the entire province of Fernambuke; and afterward they gradually extended their conquests much farther into that country.

The king gave exclusive grants or charters to David Ramsay, a great projector in those days, for the following pretended new inventions.

I) To multiply and make saltpetre in any open field of only four acres of ground, sufficient to serve all our dominions.

II) To raise water from low pits by fire.

III) To make any sort of mills to go on standing waters, by continual motion, without the help of wind, weight, or horse.

IV) To make all sorts of tapestry without any weaving loom, or other way ever yet in use in this kingdom.

V) To make boats, ships, and barges to go against strong wind and tide.

VI) To make the earth more fertile than usual.

VII) To raise water from low mines and coal-pits, by a way never yet in use.

VIII) To make hard iron soft, and likewise copper tough and soft; which is not in use in this kingdom.

IX) To make yellow wax white very speedily †.

Another project in this year was, for conveying certain springs of water into London and Westminster from within a mile and an half of Hodford in Hertfordshire, by the undertakers Sir Edward Stradling and John Lyde, the projector being one Michael Parker, for defraying the expense whereof King Charles granted them a special licence to erect and

* Probably Mr. Munn was in Leghorn about this time, and may have written his book about 1660. It was published after his death by his son in the year 1664.

† Ramsay seems to have had as fertile a brain as any of the famous year 1720.

publish a lottery or lotteries; according (says this record) to the course of other lotteries heretofore used or practised *. And for the sole privilege of bringing the said waters in aqueducts to London, they were to pay £4000 per annum into the king's exchequer; and the better to enable them to make the said large annual payment, the king granted them leave to bring their aqueducts through any of his parks, chases, lands, &c. and to dig up the same *gratis*. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 242.]

We should also note, that, in this same year 1630, a special licence was granted by King Charles, for importing horses, and another for exporting dogs.

1631.—A project was now authorised by King Charles for the sole use of an invention for defending marsh-lands from inundations of the sea; the projector to pay 20*s* annually into the exchequer. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 251.]

We now meet with the first essay for coining milled money in England, by mills and presses, in the beautiful method practised in our days, in a commission from King Charles to Sir William Balfour, then lieutenant of the tower of London, Inigo Jones, Esq. surveyor of the king's works, and five others, who were thereby directed to examine the practice thereof by the undertaker, Nicholas Bryitt, a Lorainer, who for that purpose had gold and silver bullion delivered to him by Sir Robert Harley master of the mint. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 287.]

Quebec in Canada having been again seized on by Captain Kirk in the year 1629, before he knew of the conclusion of peace between England and France that same year, the king promised, under his sign-manual, to his brother-in-law, Louis XIII of France, that, as soon as commissioners from him should arrive at Canada, his people should deliver up to France the fortress and town of Quebec: and that whatever had been embezzled therein should be restored to the French. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 303.]

King James having, in the 20th year of his reign, granted letters-patent (which we have not before met with) for the sole use of a new method of making hard soap, with a material called berilia, without the use of any fire; as also for burning and preparing bean and pease straw, kelp, fern, and other vegetables found in his dominions, into pot-ashes for making soap, King Charles granted a fresh patent, for fourteen years, to the old patentees Roger Jones and Andrew Palmer, jointly with Sir William Russell, &c. for farther improving those inventions, and for their sole use thereof. This monopoly brought £10,000 into the exchequer. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 323.]

* This is, however, the earliest mention of lotteries, either in the *Fædera* or the statute-book. The words quoted prove that lotteries had already been used or practised. There was one at least so

early as the year 1612, the profits of which were allotted to carry on the settlement of Virginia. [*Chalmers's Annals*, V. i, p. 32.] M.

In a proclamation for restraining the excess of the private or clandestine trade carried on to and from the East-Indies, by the officers and sailors in the company's own ships, there is a catalogue of the wares and merchandize licenced to be exported to India, and also of those licenced to be imported from thence, viz.

Goods allowed to be exported to India: perpetuanas and drapery, pewter, saffron, woollen stockings, silk stockings and garters, riband-roses edged with gold lace, beaver hats with gold and silver bands, felt-hats, strong waters, knives, Spanish leather shoes, iron, and looking-glasses.

Goods which might be imported from India: long pepper, white pepper, white powder sugar preserved, nutmegs and ginger preserved, mirabolans, bezoar-stones, drugs of all sorts, agate-heads, blood-stones, musk, aloes-focatrina, ambergris, rich carpets of Persia, and of Cambaya, quilts of satin, taffaty, painted calicoes, benjamin, damasks, satins, and taffaties, of China, quilts of China embroidered with gold, quilts of Pitania embroidered with silk, galls, worm-seeds, sugar-candy, China dishes, and pušanas (i. e. porcelain) of all sorts. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 335.] Not a word of tea as yet.

King Charles confirmed a grant made by King James for incorporating the starch-makers of London, who were to pay to him 1500 the first year, 2500 the second year, and for every succeeding year £3500. As for the monopoly of playing cards, the king bought them all of the company, and sold them out again at a much higher price. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 338.]

This year a large Spanish fleet, attempting to cut off the communication between Holland and Zeeland, were utterly overthrown by the Dutch admiral Hollar, who took the whole fleet and near 500 sailors.

William Frizell and others got a grant of the office of postmaster for foreign parts, in reversion. It appears that this office had been first erected by King James, and that before that first appointment, and even sometimes since, private undertakers only conveyed letters to and from foreign parts. King Charles, therefor, now strictly enjoined that none but his foreign postmasters should hereafter presume to exercise any art of that office. [*Fœdera*, V, xix, pp. 346, 385.]

King Charles erected a second company for a trade to Africa, by a charter granted to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and sundry merchants; to enjoy the sole trade to the coast of Guinea, Binny (i. e. Benin) and Angola; between Cape Blanco, in twenty degrees of north latitude, and the Cape of Good Hope, at about thirty-four degrees of south latitude, together with the isles adjacent, for thirty-one years. The charter prohibits, not only all his own subjects, the patentees excepted, but likewise the subjects of every other prince and state what-

ever, to trade or resort to or within the said limits, on any pretence whatsoever *. Neither were any but those patentees to import any red-wood, skins, wax, gums, dyers-grains, (*grana tinctoria*) nor any other merchandize, upon forfeiture of ship and cargo. And the patentees were impowered to seize all ships and merchandize they should find within their bounds contrary to this charter, and might also explore the interior parts of Africa. [*Fædera*, V. xix. p. 370.] The patentees erected forts and warehouses on that coast, at a great expence: yet the separate traders (then called by the Dutch term interlopers) again broke in upon this company, as they had done on that of the year 1618, and almost forced the trade open again: and so it remained, till after the restoration of King Charles II; yet in the year 1651, the rump parliament granted a charter for five years to the East-India company, who made use of the castles and trade of the gold coast, as lying in their way to India; and it seems found their account in this trade for some time: for there they landed their goods brought from England, and carried the gold which they there received into India: although it seems their capital stock for this trade never exceeded £17,400; therewith, however, they erected two new forts. This third temporary company likewise licenced ships to trade to Guinea, for ten per cent of their cargoes, or three pounds per ton on the ships. A fine trade truly for this company, if it could have held long.

Two attempts were this year made for discovering a north-west passage through Hudson's bay to China, viz. one at the king's command, by Captain Luke Fox, who arrived at Port-Nelson, where he found the cross and inscription formerly erected by Sir Thomas Button, which he renewed for the king; concerning which voyage he afterwards published a small quarto treatise called the North-west fox: and Captain Thomas James was sent out by the merchants of Bristol, and wintered in Hudson's bay, in latitude fifty-two, naming the country New South Wales, giving names also to sundry other bays, capes, &c. as Cape Henrietta Maria, &c. His account was also printed in the year 1633, by King Charles's order. The former author thinks there is a passage, though he missed it; the later thinks there is no great probability of any such passage, although he made much more discovery in that bay than either Hudson, Button, or Baffin, had done.

King Charles gave up the castle of Bristol, with all its precincts and inhabitants, to the city, to be for the future in all respects a part of it, for the consideration of £959 paid to the king; and of a fee farm of £40 yearly: by which considerable addition, the boundary, or pomerium, of the city of Bristol, was now above seven miles in circumference.

* The king surely must have known that the Portuguese were long before now strongly settled on the coast of Angola, &c. and that he was granting privileges which he could not support.

1632.—The port of Sallee, on the Barbary coast, being in rebellion against the emperor of Morocco, and being a mere nest of pirates, that prince, desirous to reduce them to his obedience, but not having sufficient shipping of his own for that purpose, requested the assistance of the king of Great Britain. Accordingly an English Squadron having blocked up the town, while their own monarch besieged them on the land side, they were forced to yield; the fortifications were dismantled, the pirates executed, and 300 captive christians delivered into our king's hands; whereby (says Dr. Heylin, *p.* 955) both he and the nation reaped great honour.

The king about that same time built and newly repaired his naval arsenals, docks, store-houses, &c. so effectually, that Leigh, in his Choice observations of all the kings of England (8vo, 1661), speaking thereof, says, 'that those naval edifices, &c. erected by him, are so magnificent and universally useful, that they are become a principal pillar of the nation's support, so far as they relate to the naval defence of it; affording variety of employment by the manufacture of cordage, as also by the careening and building of ships.' What more could he have said, had he viewed Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, Sheerness, Woolwich, and Deptford, in our days so vastly improved, enlarged, and beautified?

A treaty of peace with France was concluded by King Charles, which was in substance as follows.

I and II) King Louis XIII engages to pay into the hands of Sir Isaac Wake, King Charles's ambassador at Paris, the value of the charges of three English ships; and to deliver up those ships now in his ports of Diep and Calais.

III) King Charles restores to France all the places possessed by the English in New France, La Cadie, and Canada, particularly Port-Royal, (since named Annapolis-Royal) Quebec, and Cape Breton.

VIII, IX, X, XI) The sum of 82,700 livres was to be paid to France for skins, knives, &c. found in Quebec. And also the value of the cargoes of several ships taken by the English, as herein specified. Also 60,600 livres for five ships and their cargoes, taken by the English. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, *p.* 361.—*General collection of treaties*, V. ii, art. 11.]

Moreover, in a treaty of commerce, concluded on the same day between the two monarchs, it was stipulated, in substance, viz.

Article III) To prevent damages to merchants, by detaining their ships at sea, by the ships of war of either party, under pretence of searching for contraband goods, there should not above three persons, at any one time, enter any such merchant ships, from any ship of war, to view or search their papers for contraband goods. After which they should not stop the said merchant ships, nor turn them out of their way.

IV) The ships of both contracting parties should give 10,000 livres security, before sailing out of the respective ports of France and England, not to injure, nor attempt to injure, the ships and merchandize of either contracting party.

The other articles relate to the manner of treating prize-ships and their men.

To this fatal treaty may be truly ascribed all the disputes we have had ever since with France concerning North America; our king and his ministers being sadly outwitted by Richlieu's superior dexterity. The three places now delivered up to France were not, it is true, thought of the same importance then, as they are since found to be; yet it was very obvious, even then, to any considerate observer, that as those French colonies should increase in people and commerce, those places would be of the utmost importance to France, and very dangerous to England: but more especially, our parting with Port-Royal and Cape Breton is never to be excused; as the possession of them by the French gave them a fair pretext for settling on the south side of the river St. Laurence, and thereby gradually claiming the rest of Nova-Scotia, bordering on New-England; whereas, had the French been strictly confined to their original settlements on the north side of that river, the country is so bad, and the trade thereof so indifferent, that before now they would probably have quite abandoned them.

Though ever since the Dutch had commenced hostilities against Spain, upon the expiration of their twelve years truce in the year 1621, their trade and wealth were greatly increased, and individuals were greatly enriched, in the last eleven years of war; yet the province of Holland, which bore the main burden of that war, was, in its collective capacity, found to be in this year no less than fifty-five millions of guilders in debt, that province alone bearing (by the original union of Utrecht) fifty-eight per cent of the whole annual charge of the war.

King Charles granted a patent for fourteen years, for the sole use and profit of an engine for diving in the sea and other deep waters for lost goods and treasure. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 365.]

A patent was given to a physician, pretending to have, by long study and great expense, found out the following six whimsical secrets, viz.

1) An instrument, which may be called the wind-mate, very profitable when common winds fail, for a more speedy passage of vessels becalmed on seas and rivers.

2) The fish-call, or a looking glass for fishes in the sea, very useful for fishermen to call all kinds of fishes to their nets, sears, or hooks: as several calls are needful for fowlers to call several kinds of fowls or birds to their nets or snares*.

* Naturalists are agreed that fish have no organs of hearing.

3) A water-bowe, for the more speedy preservation of houses on land, and ships at sea, from fire.

4) A building-mould, or stone-press, very requisite for building churches or great houses, by which stone windows, door-cases, chimney-pieces, &c. are made more speedily, without hewing, cutting, sawing, carving, or engraving. As also for making bricks and tiles more beautiful to the eye, and more durable against foul weather, being as smooth as glass on the one side or end, with divers colours and works, as if carved by curious workmen.

5) A moveable hydraulic, or chamber weather-call, like a cabinet, which, being placed in a room, or by a bed side, causeth sweet sleep to those, who either by hot fevers, or otherwise, cannot take rest: and it withal alters the dry hot air into a more moistening and cooling temper, either with musical sounds or without.

6) The corrected-crane, by which wine, oil, or any other liquor, may be transfused from one vessel, which cannot well be removed to another remote: as also water may be drawn from one place to another, without any sucking or forcing by the mouth, as vintners and others use to do.

All these were exclusive for fourteen years, paying the yearly rent of L1:6:8 into the exchequer. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 371.]

These are such singular projects as are worth the recording, purely for their novelty: and were they any where else, but in so authentic a collection of our records, would probably be regarded in no other sense than as a burlesque on many other projects of this age, and the famous year 1720.

King Charles once more issued a proclamation against the constant residence of the nobility and gentry with their families in London, wherein, beside the usual topics in former ones, he remarks, that, by residing in London with their families, a great part of their money and substance is drawn from the several counties whence it ariseth, and spent in the city on excess of apparel, provided from foreign parts, to the enriching of other nations, and the unnecessary consumption of a great part of the treasure of this realm; and in other vain delights and expenses, even to the wasting of their estates: that this also draws great numbers of loose and idle people to London and Westminster, which thereby are not so easily governed as formerly, the poor's rates increased, and provisions enhanced. For all which reasons, they are now limited to forty days from the date hereof, to depart with their families from London, Westminster, and their suburbs, and to reside on their estates. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 374.]

After reading this, and other such proclamations, can any one wonder at this king's being termed arbitrary, and his getting so many enemies amongst his subjects? since men of the greatest fortunes were hereby

positively debarred a liberty, which, being innocent in itself, the meanest free subject would never patiently part with, of remaining where he likes best. Even this command was not without a view to the king's emolument, since those who did not obey punctually, were condemned in grievous fines by the star-chamber for the king's use.

King Charles this year licenced the East-India company to export £40,000 in foreign gold bullion to Persia and India in lieu of so much of the £100,000, which by King James's charter they were impowered annually to export thither in foreign silver bullion. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 386.]

A dearth of provisions continuing, the king prohibited the exportation of corn for one year. And by the same proclamation, he renewed a former one, against the exportation of wool, fuller's-earth, and leather. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 387.]

King Charles by a special warrant to his treasury declared, that notwithstanding the laws and customs of England forbid the exportation of any gold and silver to foreign parts, either in coin or bullion, yet he, being desirous to cultivate the friendship of his most dear brother King Philip IV of Spain, and of the merchants of the Spanish Netherlands, grants a licence for the said merchants to export gold and silver, either in our coin or otherwise, being the produce of the merchandize they shall import into England, as far as the amount of £2000 sterling, in every ship returning home; so as the said money be exported within the space of one hundred days from their unlading the merchandize they import, until we shall otherwise ordain, any statute or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 396.]

In the English East-India company's vindication before the privy council, in answer to the allegations of the Turkey company in the year 1681, amongst other points for shewing the great difficulties attending an East-India trade, it is asserted, that although formerly they had a stock of £1,500,000, yet in fifteen years time, viz. from 1617 to this year, their whole profit was no more than 12½ per cent.

This year gave birth to the prosperous colony of Maryland. Sir George Calvert, secretary of state, having, in the years 1621 and 1622, obtained of King James a grant of part of Newfoundland, he some time after removed thither with his family, but he soon found it to be one of the worst countries in the habitable world. Whereupon he returned back to England; and he, being a conscientious Roman Catholic, (says Sir William Keith, in his history of Virginia) was inclined to retire with his family to some part of Virginia, there quietly to enjoy the free exercise of his religion; for which purpose he went thither himself, about the year 1631: but being discouraged by the universal dislike which he perceived the people of Virginia had to the very name of a papist, he left Virginia, and went farther up the bay of Chesapeake; and

finding there a very large tract of land, commodiously watered with many fine rivers, and not yet inhabited by any christians, he returned to England, and represented to the king that the colony of Virginia had not as yet occupied any lands beyond the south bank of Potomack river; whereupon he obtained a promise of a grant of that unplanted country. But he dying before the grant was made out, his son Cæcil, lord Baltimore, took it out in his own name on the 20th of June 1632; the king himself naming it Maryland, in honour of his Queen Henrietta Maria. It is held by the lords Baltimore of the crown, in free and common soccage, as of the king's honour of Windsor, on paying yearly for ever, at Windsor castle, (if demanded) two Indian arrows: by which charter this lord-proprietor has as plenary or sovereign a power as any in America; having the sole right to all quit-rents of land therein, which he shall grant out to his landholders, who however, are empowered by the crown to lay on all proper taxes, &c. in their general courts, composed of their representatives, duely elected, and of the council; and the governor is always to be appointed by the proprietor with the king's approbation. In other respects, the king has no concern with the government of Maryland, any farther than relates to commerce, and to his customs on merchandize, as also to the admiralty jurisdiction, which our kings have wisely retained in all our colonies in America; and with respect to these points, the governors of this and all other charter, as well as regal, colonies, are obliged to obey the directions of the king and council, as also such orders as shall from time to time be sent to them from the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, since the erection of that most useful board.

The island of Montserrat was now planted by Sir Thomas Warner, governor of the neighbouring island of St. Christophers, who brought a colony thither from Ireland, and was also appointed its first governor. At first the planters thereof sent great quantities of indigo to England, though of late years they have run almost entirely into sugar, with some little cotton and ginger. It is about three leagues in length, and nearly the same in breadth. It has thriven extremely well, and may probably be inhabited by about 4500 white people, and about 10,000 negro slaves. It is better supplied with fresh water than Antigua, but has no good harbours, and is somewhat dangerous of approach, by reason of the many rocks on its shores.

This year (according to the French historian of the Caribbee isles, published in 1658) the Dutch West-India company first planted the small island of St. Eustatia. It is the strongest by nature of all those islands, having but one good landing place, where a few men may keep off a great army; it produces sugar, but is chiefly useful to the Dutch by its commodious situation for contraband or smuggling trade with all the European colonies in its neighbourhood, being always well stocked with

European merchandize for those ends. Some have made its white inhabitants to amount to 5 or 6000, and its negroes to 15,000.

While Sir Thomas Warner was governor of St. Christophers some English families in or about this year ventured to settle on the island of Antigua, in that neighbourhood, though it was for some time reckoned uninhabitable, because it has no fresh water brooks, or scarce any other but rain water preserved in ponds or cisterns. And, for that reason, it was soon after deserted by them, and remained in a deserted condition (as we shall see) till after the restoration of King Charles II.

1633.—In 1633, Lord Baltimore carried two hundred persons to his new colony of Maryland, mostly papists. This colony had in the beginning a very great advantage in being in the neighbourhood of that of Virginia already planted, from whence they supplied themselves at first with flesh-meat, poultry, &c. inasmuch that Maryland, being quickly and easily settled, became in a few years flourishing and populous. It has therefor at length become a large and noble estate to Lord Baltimore. In this province, as well as in that of Virginia, the planters live mostly in separate situations and not in towns, for the convenience of the great number of rivers, and of creeks and inlets of the great bay of Chesapeake, whereby they so easily convey their tobacco to the ships; so that in neither of those colonies are there as yet any towns of considerable bulk or importance. For the greater planters have generally storehouses within themselves, for all kinds of necessaries brought from Great Britain, not only for their own consumption, but likewise for supplying the lesser planters and their servants, &c. And, whilst that kind of economy continues, there can be no prospect of towns becoming considerable in either province, which is so far a benefit to their mother country, as without towns (wherein home manufactures and handicrafts are generally first propagated) they must continue to be supplied from Britain with clothing, furniture, tools, delicacies, &c.

The tobacco of Maryland, called oroosoko, being stronger than that of Virginia, is not so generally agreeable to the British taste as the sweet scented tobacco of the later colony; but the northern nations of Europe are said to like it better, and they are thought to raise about as much tobacco, and to employ near as many ships as Virginia does. Its soil is in general extremely good, being mostly a level country.

This year the parliament of Scotland reduced the interest of money from 10 to 8 per cent, being nine years after it had been so reduced in England.

By the management of cardinal Richlieu, prime minister to the French king Louis XIII, a subsidy treaty was concluded between France and Sweden, whereby Louis agreed to pay Queen Christiana of Sweden one million of livres annually, for the defence of their common friends, for securing the Ocean and Baltic sea, and for obtaining lasting peace in the

empire*. This was, probably, the first proper subsidy treaty between France and Sweden, since then frequently repeated.

The king issued a long proclamation for preventing frauds in the weaving, dying, milling, stretching, sealing, measuring, searching, &c. of woollen cloths; many or most of which being since then repealed or altered, we shall not enlarge on it. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 445.]

The king granted a special commission for one Young to go out with what ships, merchandize, and people, he should judge proper, for the discovery of the unplanted parts of Virginia, or any where else in America, not possessed by any European power, and to settle the same as an English colony, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 472.]

In the same year he issued his proclamation for regulating the retailers of tobacco in cities and towns; wherein none but reputable and substantial traders should retail the same; of whom a catalogue should be made for each city and town: and he expressly prohibits all keepers of taverns, ale-houses, inns, victualling-houses, strong-water-sellers, &c. from retailing tobacco. How little seemed he in this, as in many other respects, to understand his true interest.

This year a Dutchman erected a wind saw-mill or engine for sawing timber, on the river Thames opposite Durham-yard in the Strand, London: whereby with the attendance of one man and one boy, as much work was done as twenty men can perform in the usual way. But this method was afterward put down, lest our labouring people should want employment. How just such reasoning is, is submitted to the public; since, by a parity of reasoning, all wheel-carriages, &c. should be suppressed. There is such a saw-mill at Leith, near Edinburgh, which also goes by wind: and, as there is no legal restraint against so useful an engine, it is somewhat strange, that in times when useful hands were so much wanted elsewhere, it has never since been attempted. Possibly the danger of popular clamour may have deterred men from pursuing it.

The author of the Present state of England, [*part iii*, p. 93, *ed.* 1683.] acquaints us, that lacquer varnish, which, imitating the gold colour, has saved much cost formerly bestowed on the gilding of coaches, &c. was now first brought into use in England by the ingenious Mr. Evelyn of Says-court near Deptford.

This year also, a new and great association or company was formed in England for carrying on the fishery, in which the earl of Pembroke, Sir William Courten, Sir John Harrison, Sir Paul Pindar, &c. were concerned: and King Charles, to encourage that laudable purpose, enjoined lent to be more strictly observed, prohibited fish caught by foreigners

* So says the author of Richlieu's life, though it was well known to be principally intended for the depression of the house of Austria.

to be imported, and agreed to purchase of that company his naval stores, and the fish for his royal navy. This was in consequence of his commission three years before, as mentioned under the year 1630. Yet all this, in a few years after, came to nothing, for want of judgement as well as honesty in the managers of it : but as we have on many other occasions presumed freely to censure this king's conduct, we ought to do him the justice to acknowledge, that he did every thing in his power to promote this truly national design.

1634.—The king being bent on fitting out a formidable fleet, commanded the city of London to send to Portsmouth, at their sole charge, the following quota of ships, with ordnance, tackle, &c. for twenty-six weeks, for the ensuing year 1635 ; and the like commands were sent to the other sea-port towns for proportionable quotas, viz.

One ship of 900 tons, and 350 men ;

One of 800 tons, and 260 men ;

Four, of each 500 tons, and 200 men ;

And one of 300 tons, and 150 men.

This is properly the first year of that king's ship-money project, which so much contributed to his ruin.

At this time, according to Howel's Life of King Louis XIII of France, that kingdom being in perfect tranquillity, many wholesome laws were made for suppressing luxury and finery of apparel. A new company of merchants was established for New-France, and Paris was enlarged, the Tuilleries and part of St. Germain being brought into it.

King Charles by his own authority, laid a duty of 4s per chaldron on all sea-coal, stone-coal, or pit-coal, exported from England to foreign parts. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 547.]

He issued a proclamation ordering that tobacco should be landed nowhere in England but at the customhouse quay of London, to prevent defrauding his majesty of the duty thereon. Also against planting tobacco in England and Ireland, still much practised, and against the importation of tobacco-seed. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 554.]

At the same time he granted an exclusive patent for fourteen years, for the art and mystery of affixing wool, silk, and other materials of divers colours, upon linen cloth, silk, cotton, leather, and other substances, with oil, size, and other cements, to make them useful and serviceable for hangings, &c. the patentee paying L10 yearly into the exchequer for the same. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 554.]

The tobacco planters in Virginia, &c. being kept poor by the exorbitant prices which merchants made them pay for their necessaries from England, King Charles, for keeping up of the price of tobacco, and for preventing the planters from sending any of it directly to foreign parts, whereby he might be deprived of his custom thereon, issued a declaration, that he now resolved to take the sole pre-emption of all to-

bacco into his own hands, at a reasonable price. He therefor granted a special commission to a number of gentlemen and merchants to transact this affair for him. The king was now more sparing of his reflections on the malignity of tobacco than formerly, beginning to find the benefit arising from his custom thereon: he therefor now observes, 'that in the colonies of Virginia, the Somer-isles, and Caribbees, being but in their infancy, the chiefest commodity that must support them, and enable them to raise more ample commodities, is this of tobacco.' [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 560.]

In this year, 1634, the Dutch Greenland company made an experiment of the possibility of the human species living through a whole winter at Spitzbergen, till now believed to be impossible. They left seven of their sailors to winter there; and one of them kept a diary thereof from the 11th of September to the 26th of February following, when they were spent with the scurvy, and their limbs quite benumbed with cold; till they could no way help themselves. They were all seven found dead, in the house they had built for themselves, at the return of the Dutch ships in 1635. Had any of those men lived till the next ships arrived, a Dutch fort would doubtless have been erected there. As for the claims of sundry different European nations to a monopoly of the fishery of whales at Spitzbergen, they stood thus for some years after this time; viz. 1) the English alleged their having been the first discoverers, by Sir Hugh Willoughby, in the year 1553: 2) but the Dutch denied his having been so far north as Spitzbergen, and alleged their having first discovered it in 1596: 3) the Danes laid claim to it as a supposed part of Old Greenland, early possessed by them: but if prior discovery gave any just exclusive right at all to a country uninhabited and uninhabitable, it is most probable that the Biscayners, who were the first whale-fishers of later ages, had the best right to it. Since those times all nations have wisely dropped their exclusive pretensions, and that part of the icy world remains now alike free to all nations for this fishery.

A patent, granted by King Charles in the preceding year, was this year confirmed, for the sole practice of an invention for saving much fuel, and for preventing much of the offence of smoke, to the great benefit of all people, and more especially of brewers, dyers, soapboilers, saltmakers, &c. Also a patent for the sole invention of cleansing and grinding indigo: for which monopoly forty marks were to be paid annually into the exchequer. [*Fædera*, V. xix, pp. 561, 564.]

The next record is a proclamation for regulating the manufacture of soft soap, and for preventing the importation of fish-oil soap, and all other foreign soaps: and that the said soft soap made by the Westminster soap company should not be sold for more than 3d per pound. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 566.]

Patents were given for two exclusive projects, viz. 1st, 'a new invented engine for ploughing of land without horses or oxen, for which L20 was to be paid yearly into the exchequer;' and, 2dly, 'for an engine for getting up ships and goods sunk in the sea.' [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 569, 571.]

King Charles gave a grant to Sir Sanders Duncomb, setting forth, 'that whereas the streets of our cities of London and Westminster, and their suburbs, are of late so much encumbered with the unnecessary multitude of coaches, that many of our subjects are thereby exposed to great danger, and the necessary use of carts and carriages for provisions thereby much hindered; and Sir Sanders Duncomb's petition representing, that in many parts beyond sea, people are much carried in chairs that are covered, whereby few coaches are used amongst them: wherefor, we have granted to him the sole privilege to use, let, and hire a number of the said covered chairs for fourteen years.' *Fædera*, V. xix, p. 572.] This is the origin of sedan chairs in London*.

John Day, citizen and sworn-broker of London, had, for three years past, printed and published weekly bills of the prices of all commodities in the principal cities of Christendom, 'which (says the king's grant this year to him) has never yet been brought here to that perfection answerable to other parts beyond sea; by which neglect within our city of London, being one of the mother cities for trade in all Christendom, our said city is much disgraced, and our merchants hindered in their commerce and correspondence: wherefor, we grant unto the said John Day the sole privilege of vending the said weekly bills for fourteen years.'

We must here do this king and his privy council the justice to remark, that in this patent, and also in some few former ones, there is a proviso, that if at any time, during the said term of fourteen years, it shall appear that such grant is contrary to law, or mischievous to the state, or generally inconvenient, then, upon signification made by us under our signet or privy seal, or by six or more of our privy council under their hands, of such prejudice, &c. this our present grant shall be void. This precaution was probably owing to many of this king's exclusive grants having been declared by trials at common law to be illegal monopolies, which the king was therefor obliged to revoke and make void.

The Dutch took the small island of Curaçoa from Spain, by which means, being but eight leagues from the coast of Terra Firma, they have ever since driven a great illicit trade with the Spaniards there: and though it be not fertile, that diligent people, however, have culti-

* According to Wilfon, the biographer of King James, sedan chairs were introduced in Britain by the duke of Buckingham. [*Arnot's Hist. of Edinburgh*, p. 598]. M.

vated fine sugar and tobacco plantations in it. They have plenty of logwood and cattle; and its town, of the same name, is well fortified, and inhabited by rich merchants. The Dutch also possess Bonaire and Aruba, islands near it, and subject to its governor. They also possess Saba and Eustatia, and part of St. Martins, all inconsiderable islands near St. Christophers.

King James having in the year 1605 incorporated the gardeners of London and within six miles of it, King Charles now confirmed that charter. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 582.]

We find that the company of merchant-adventurers of England had in this same year interest enough, probably by the aid of their common purse, to get the king to issue a proclamation, strictly prohibiting all persons from exporting any white cloths, coloured cloths, cloths dressed and dyed out of the whites, Spanish cloths, bayes, kerfies, perpetuanos, stockings, or any other English woollen commodities, to any part either of Germany or of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, save only to the mart and staple towns of the said fellowship of merchant-adventurers for the time being. This proclamation farther subjoins: 'and to the end that the said trade may be hereafter reduced and continued in an orderly and well governed course, we do hereby declare our royal pleasure to be, that the said fellowship of merchant-adventurers shall admit to the freedom of their said trade all such of our subjects dwelling in our city of London, and exercised in the profession of merchandize, and no shopkeepers (except they give over their shops), as shall desire the same, for a fine of L50 apiece, and those of the outports for L25 apiece; and that the sons and servants of such as shall be so admitted shall pay at their admission twenty nobles (i. e. L6:13:4) apiece. Lastly, that none shall trade to the said countries of Germany and the Netherlands in any of the species of woollen goods above named, but only such as are free of the said fellowship.' [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 583.]

And in a small treatise, intitled, *Free trade*, published by J. Parker in 1648, a proviso is added (not in the *Fædera*), viz. provided the London merchants make themselves free by midsummer 1635, and those of the outports by Michaelmas 1635; but if they suffered those times to lapse, they were to pay double the respective sums. Parker and others, who were opponents of this company, allege, that in this and preceding reigns, the company constantly made handsome presents of annual new year's gifts to the ministers of state for the continuance of their interest; as for instance, in 1623, to the lord-treasurer two hundred gold pieces of twenty-two shillings each, and a piece of plate; other presents also were then made to the duke of Buckingham, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, the lord president, the secretaries of state, &c.

In this same year we have a flagrant instance of the shameful as well as impolitic bigotry of King Charles I. and of Laud archbishop of Canterbury, who makes his report, *inter alia*, to the king, pursuant to his instructions, concerning the ecclesiastical state of his province of Canterbury, 'that the Dutch churches in Canterbury and Sandwich are great nurseries of inconformity.' And he prays his majesty, 'that such of the French, Italian, and Dutch congregations, as are born his subjects, may not be suffered any longer to live in such a separation as they do; and insinuates the danger of the church of England from a toleration of foreign protestants.' The Walloons of Norwich too were under the same prohibition, though they pleaded the toleration to them by King Edward VI, and so down to his then majesty: but Laud's answer was positive,—they must obey! And the king on the margin of this part of Laud's report wrote as follows: 'Put me in mind of this at some convenient time when I am at council, and I shall redress it.' Laud, it seems, thought it a great piece of condescension to permit those Walloon and Dutch, who were not born in England, to enjoy their own way of worship, but their offspring should be compelled to go to their parish churches! It is here needless to remark how little that prince understood the true interest of his kingdom and of its commerce in giving way to that wretched bigot.

The Walloon, Italian, and Dutch protestant manufacturers settled in Norwich, Canterbury, Sandwich, &c. had hitherto been permitted to enjoy their own opinions respecting religious professions and worship; but their children were now compelled by Laud archbishop of Canterbury to attend the parish churches. The consequence of that ecclesiastical tyranny was (according to *Roger Coke's Detection of the court and state of England*); that 140 families removed to Holland, where they taught the Dutch the way of managing the woollen manufacture, which has proved of very bad consequence to England. And doubtless the like causes will ever produce like effects.

King Charles, by a proclamation, farther strengthened the monopoly of his soap company in Westminster, by prohibiting all persons whatever, not free of that company, from either making or importing any soap. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 592.]

King Charles granted a licence to Thomas Skipwith to make the river Soare navigable from its junction with the Trent up to the town of Leicester, he paying a tenth part of all the profits of such new navigation into the king's exchequer. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, p. 597.] It is noble and wise in princes to encourage inland as well as foreign navigation, as greatly beneficial to commerce; but this condition annexed to the licence would be deemed fordid and disgraceful in our days.

The king renewed his former proclamations for prohibiting all dove-houses, stables, cellars, warehouses, &c. except those of persons of qua-

lity, from being paved with stone, brick, boards, sand, lime, or gravel, and instead thereof, enjoining, that they be laid with mellow earth, fit for the generation of the mine of saltpetre, so absolutely needful for the making of gunpowder.

And by the next record 'he assumed to himself the pre-emption of all saltpetre made in England, as also the monopoly of gunpowder made thereof.'

More grants for exclusive or monopolizing offices in this same year were, one 'for searching and sealing all foreign hops;' another 'for viewing and weighing all hay and straw in loads or trusses;' and one 'for branding and marking all butter casks. [*Fœdera*, V. xix, pp. 601, 603, 605, 606.]

In this and the following year, 1635, Lord Baltimore sent ships with people and provisions to settle and cultivate his province of Maryland, the expense whereof amounted to at least £40,000 *.

1635.—In the year 1635 the Dutch East-India company invaded and conquered the large island of Formosa, near the Chinese coast, and expelled the Portuguese from thence; yet we shall see that twenty-six years after they were themselves expelled thence by the Chinese.

King Charles in a proclamation observes, that to this time there hath been no certain intercourse between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and he now commands his postmaster of England for foreign parts to settle a running post or two, to run night and day, between Edinburgh and London, to go thither and come back again in six days, and to take with them all such letters as shall be directed to any post-town in or near that road; and that bye-posts be placed at several places out of the road, to bring in and carry out the letters from and to Lincoln, Hull, and other places. The postage was fixed at 2*d* the single letter, if under 80 miles; 4*d*, between 80 and 140 miles; 6*d*, if above 140 miles; and upon the borders of Scotland and in Scotland 8*d*; and in proportion for double letters and packets. The like rule also to be observed to West-Chester, Holyhead, and thence to Ireland; also to Plymouth, Exeter, &c. on the west road: and as soon as possible the like conveyance to be settled for Oxford, Bristol, and other places on the road; also to Colchester, Norwich, and divers other places on that road. The conveyances from London to Edinburgh, to Chester and Holyhead, and to Plymouth and Exeter, were ordered to begin the first week after Michaelmas next; twopence halfpenny per mile to be paid on the roads to the several postmasters for every single horse carrying the letters. No other messengers nor foot-posts were permitted to carry any letters but

* The guardians of his successor, a minor, in a petition to parliament in 1715 against a bill for regulating the charter and proprietary governments in America, stated Lord Baltimore's expenses at this sum, the interest of which had never been received by any profits from thence. However that might be, the province has been a source of great revenue to the family afterwards.

those employed by the king's postmaster-general, unless to such places whither the king's posts do not go, excepting common known carriers, or messengers particularly sent on purpose, or else a letter by a friend. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 649.]

Thus the increase of England's foreign commerce increasing her domestic commerce and correspondence, rendered the extension of the post-carriage of letters absolutely requisite. It is indeed somewhat strange, that trade having even before this time got to a considerable height, the above posts were not sooner established. On the other hand, it is possible that King Charles's necessities might put him upon this extension of post-carriage sooner than otherwise might have happened. Since his time there have been posts established on many more bye-roads, and some very lately in our time; and those to most of our manufacturing towns, the two universities, and to the king's naval ports, have been extended to every week-day throughout the year.

Portpatrick in Wigton-shire being the nearest part of Great Britain to Ireland, and the pier of it being destroyed by the sea, a collection in the churches of Scotland and Ireland had been made for building a new one. As the most convenient passage to Ireland is from that port, and all the three kingdoms are thereby interested in it, King Charles this year granted a brief for a collection to be made also in all the churches of England for making that harbour a safe retreat for ships and boats. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 651.]

After the eastern Tartars had for twenty years together harassed China with constant war, they now subdued and placed their own prince upon the throne of that populous and opulent empire, whose posterity have reigned there to this present time.

This year the bank of Rotterdam was erected, wherein bills of exchange are paid in large money, and only 10 per cent paid in schellings.

This year is remarkable for King Charles's most memorable imposition of ship-money for the ensuing year 1636 on all the counties, cities, and towns, in England, by virtue of his own sole prerogative. His pretence for this most arbitrary and illegal imposition was, that the Dutch pretended a right to a free and undisturbed fishery on his coasts; to which pretension they had been encouraged by the famous treatise intitled *Mare liberum*, published by Grotius in 1612, though Grotius had not so much as once mentioned the Dutch claim to the freedom of the fishery on our coasts, being content with asserting the freedom of fishing on the sea in general; yet, before King Charles and his ministers would break with the Dutch, and openly vindicate by arms his claim to the sovereignty of the four seas, it was judged necessary to set Selden to write in support of the dominion of the sea; he, being a great lawyer, antiquary, and historian, was judged equal to the arduous task

of answering so great a man as Grotius. Mr. Selden had begun his work in the reign of King James, probably upon the first appearance of Grotius's *Mare liberum*; and, after many years intermission, he afterward reviewed, altered, and enlarged it, as he himself relates, by command of King Charles, to whom he dedicated it, when he published it in this year, under the title of *Mare clausum*. Sir William Beecher, one of the clerks of the council, by the king's command, solemnly delivered a copy of it to the barons of the exchequer in open court, who ordered it to be placed among their records, where it still remains. It is not possible to give in a small compass a summary of the *Mare clausum*: it is sufficient to observe, that its arguments are drawn from old records and precedents of the titles and claims of the Saxon and Norman kings, in times when there was little or no commerce or naval power existing any where but in the Mediterranean sea; times so very different from that wherein he wrote, when all the maritime nations of the west and north had a maritime commerce and a naval force, and when such claims strenuously asserted by any one naval potentate might reasonably, and perhaps probably, bring on a confederacy of all the other potentates for reducing that one to moderation.

King Charles, bent on bringing the Dutch to acknowledge his sea dominion, had now, besides other naval armaments, built the greatest ship of war that had ever been seen in England before, and gave it the name of the Sovereign, of 96 guns and 1740 tons. And the better to enable him to fit out a superior fleet, he ordered his chancellor Coventry to issue writs to the sheriffs of the several counties, and to the magistrates, &c. of several towns, 'for assessing and collecting money for fitting out ships of war for suppressing pirates and for the guard of the seas.' The precept for the county and towns of Dorsetshire being given at large, it appears that they were commanded to procure and fit out a ship of 500 tons burden, with a commander and 200 sailors, with cannon, small arms, spears, darts, ammunition, &c. answerable, and stored with provisions, and double equipage, and all other necessities, for 26 weeks at least; all which was to be paid and maintained at their own charge.

Here follows the list of all the ships which the several counties of England and Wales were commanded to supply for the year 1636.

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Dorsetshire - - - - -	I	500	200
Cornwall - - - - -	I	650	260
Leicestershire - - - - -	I	450	180
Middlesex (Westminster included) - - - - -	I	550	220
Suffolk - - - - -	I	800	320
Huntingdonshire - - - - -	I	200	80

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Buckinghamshire - - - - -	I	450	180
Bedfordshire - - - - -	I	300	120
Derbyshire - - - - -	I	350	140
Hertfordshire - - - - -	I	400	160
Norfolk - - - - -	I	800	320
Cumberland and Westmoreland, jointly - - -	I	100	40
Yorkshire - - - - -	2, each	600	240
Staffordshire - - - - -	I	200	80
Wilts - - - - -	I	700	290
Herefordshire - - - - -	I	400	160
Monmouthshire - - - - -	I	150	60
Shropshire - - - - -	I	450	180
Surrey - - - - -	I	400	160
Hampshire - - - - -	I	600	240
Warwickshire - - - - -	I	400	160
Devonshire - - - - -	I	900	360
Kent - - - - -	I	800	320
Northamptonshire - - - - -	I	600	240
Nottinghamshire - - - - -	I	350	140
Berks - - - - -	I	400	160
Oxon - - - - -	I	350	140
Rutlandshire - - - - -	I	100	40
Bristol city - - - - -	I	200	80
Gloucestershire - - - - -	I	550	220
Cambridgeshire - - - - -	I	350	140
Lincolnshire - - - - -	I	800	320
Somersetshire - - - - -	I	800	320
Northumberland - - - - -	I	500	200
Worcestershire - - - - -	I	400	160
Suffex - - - - -	I	500	200
London city - - - - -	2, each	800	320
Durham - - - - -	I	200	80
Lancashire - - - - -	I	350	140
Essex - - - - -	I	800	320
South Wales - - - - -	I	500	200
North Wales - - - - -	I	400	160
* Total	44	11,500	8610

* As an example of the expenſe of this armament, the Eſſex ſhip coſt L8000, levied as follows:

Thaxtead - - - - -	L 40
Walden - - - - -	80
Colcheſter - - - - -	400

Malden - - - - -	80
Harwich - - - - -	20
All the reſt of the county - - - - -	7380
	8000

This duty was repeated annually till 1639, and was valued at £200,000 per annum (says the author of the Royal treasury of England, published in octavo in 1625.)

And by a later commission in this same year the king excused those towns and counties which, by their situation, could not fit out the ships above specified wherewith they were charged, provided they paid their quotas in money. By a subsequent commission he directed the officers of his navy to receive the quotas of money, and therewith to rig out, victual, and man, from the king's yards and docks, a like ship, or ships. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 697.] So that, after issuing a proclamation for restraining all but his own subjects from fishing on his coasts without his licence, he sent out a great fleet (in the year 1636) which attacked and dispersed the Dutch fishing ships, some of which they sunk, and compelled the rest to retire into the English harbours for shelter: whereupon the Dutch agreed to pay King Charles £30,000* for permission to continue their fishing for that summer; which, Rushworth, [*Collections*, V. ii, p. 322] says, was actually paid, and the Dutch moreover testified a willingness to pay a future yearly tribute for the like liberty. Yet De Witt in his Interest of Holland (speaking of the bad curing of the herrings caught by the English fishing company, whereby they were rejected at Dantzic in the years 1637 and 1638, and which brought that company to nothing) acrimoniously subjoins thus; 'whereupon the English changed their former claim upon the whole fishery for that of demanding the tenth herring: which the diligent and frugal Hollanders reputed no less than to fish for, and pay tribute to, a slothful and prodigal people, for a mere passage along the coasts of England.'

King Charles directed a special commission for making the river Wey navigable from Guildford to the river Thames at Weybridge. It seems that river had been formerly navigable; for this record observes that it is now become unfit for carrying barges, boats, or vessels of any burden, for transporting commodities to and from Guildford: and the commissioners were thereby authorised to survey the river, and to inquire by what means it had become unfit for carrying barges, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 686.]

In Richlieu's Political testament we find that France even then abounded with the finest and best of manufactures: such (says he) as the serges of Chalons and of Chartres, which have superseded those of Milan. The Turks prefer the French draps de sœau of Rouen before all others, next to those of Venice, which are made of Spanish wool. Such fine plushes are made at Tours, that they are sent into Spain, Italy, &c.; also fine plain taffeties. Red, purple, and spotted velvets, finer than at Genoa. France is the only place for silk serges. Mohair (camblet)

* Not 30,000 florins, as Rapin has it.

is made as good here as in England; and the best cloth of gold, finer and cheaper than in Italy.

King Charles, by proclamation, prohibited the importation of foreign purles, cut-works, or bone-laces, or of any commodities laced or edged therewith. This he declared to be at the request and for the benefit of the makers of those goods in London and other parts of the realm, now brought to great want and necessity, occasioned by the great importation of those foreign wares: to prevent which for the future, he appointed the English-made goods to be sealed or marked. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 690.]

Another of his proclamations prohibits the importation of any sort of glass from foreign parts. It seems that King James, in the 13th year of his reign, had prohibited the making of glass with wood-firing, for the better preservation of timber, and also prohibited the importation of foreign glass. 'Yet (says King Charles) ill-minded persons, to the prejudice of our own glass works, having presumed to import foreign glass, we now strictly prohibit the same during the term granted by King James to Sir Robert Mansell, for the sole making of glass; he having, by his industry, and great expense, perfected that manufacture with sea-coal or pit-coal; whereby not only the woods and timber of this kingdom are greatly preserved, but the making of all kinds of glass is established here, to the saving of much treasure at home, and the employment of great numbers of our people; and our subjects are now furnished with glass at far more moderate prices than they were when brought from foreign parts.' Yet the king permits Sir Robert Mansell to import such glasses from Venice, Morana, or other parts of Italy, as he should think fit, for special uses and services. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 693.] This permission doubtless related to the fine Venetian flint glasses for drinking, the making of which in England was not brought to perfection till the reign of William III.

He also gave a patent for fourteen years for making wines from dried grapes or raisins, which the patentee by his travels in foreign parts had learned; which wines had been approved of by all such as have used them, to be most wholesome and good, and will keep for sea voyages: the patentee paying 40*s* yearly into the king's exchequer. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 716.]

We have a proclamation 'prohibiting any coin, plate, or bullion, from being used in making gold and silver thread, copper-gilt or silvered, gold or silver foliate, purles, ores, spangles, wire, and such other manufactures, except what shall be imported from foreign parts, or which shall arise from the same works and manufactures being melted again: and that none of the current gold and silver coins of this realm be hereafter molten down by any refiner, goldsmith, &c. And that all gold and silver hereafter to be employed in the said manufactures

‘ be provided, prepared, and disgrossed by such persons only as we shall assign, and by none others; and which shall be by them sold and delivered to all persons who shall use the same, according to such standards, and at such rates and prices as we shall limit, and at such places in London as our commissioners shall assign. And none shall make the said wares but such as shall be by them authorized: and a stamp to be put on all the said manufactures *.’ [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 718.]

The king, in a proclamation, complained that the great number of hackney coaches lately kept in London and Westminster and their suburbs, and the general and promiscuous use of coaches there, were not only a great disturbance to his majesty, his dearest consort the queen, the nobility, and others of place and degree, in their passage through the streets, but the streets themselves were so pestered, and the pavements so broken up, that the common passage was thereby hindered and made dangerous, and the prices of hay and provender, &c. thereby made exceeding dear: wherefor he commanded that no hackney or hired coaches should be used in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, except they be to travel at least three miles out of the same; and also that no person should go in a coach in the streets, except the owner of the coach shall constantly keep up four able horses for our service when required. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 721.]

Historians tell us (for which we acknowledge we have no other more authentic authority) that King Charles I, in the 15th year of his reign, granted a licence to the French to cure and dry their fish on the island of Newfoundland in consideration of an annual tribute of 5 per cent: yet even this concession was better than that stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, which allowed that ill-judged privilege to France, without any consideration at all.

The king ordained twopence to be advanced on every shilling paid to the reelers, &c. of woollen yarn. He also appointed an officer to search, survey, and seal, the reel-staff in every county, and to register the names of the owners of each reel in a book; which reels should be all of one uniform size, whereby the goodness or badness of yarn would be easily known. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 730.]

In the same year he issued a commission for the repair of Dover pier, lately damaged by the sea; for which end he laid an additional duty of twelpence on every packet of goods shipped thence by merchant-strangers, to continue for three years. [*Fædera*, V. xix, p. 730.] That pier is directed to be farther repaired by cap. v. of the 11th and 12th of King William, and by the 7th statute of the 2d and 3d of Queen Anne.

* Thus almost every proclamation, order, or grant, relating to manufactures, new inventions, &c. had a principal regard to the augmentation of the king's revenue, which at any rate he seemed inclinable to increase, rather than to be obliged to call a parliament for that end, since they would still probably persist, as before, to have national grievances go hand in hand with supplies.

Private copper farthings, or tokens, as they were then called, being still used in retail business, King Charles issued a proclamation forbidding the currency of them, and ordering that none be used but those formerly issued by his father's authority.

Guadaloupe, one of the largest of the Caribbee islands, was now settled on by the French. According to the French author of the History of the Caribbee islands, it is one of the most flourishing of them. He says that the French in that island used the plough, a thing not to be seen in any of the other isles; and after the plough, it bears rice, Turkey-wheat, cassava-root, potatoes; and in some parts, ginger and sugar-canes, with great increase.

The French from St. Christophers in this same year first planted Martinico, where they found many native Caribs, with whom at first they lived peaceably, but had afterward fierce war with them, till they drove them into inaccessible rocky places and mountains. The French inhabitants were, (in 1658) 10,000 in number, and the Indians and negroes as many more. It is the largest of all the Caribbee isles, and is forty-five leagues in circuit. Though at first, like the other isles, they chiefly planted tobacco and cotton, yet now (1658) it produced 10,000 hogheads of sugar, beside ginger, pimento, cocoa, cassia, &c. Here the governor-general of all the French Caribbee islands resides to this day. It is now so fruitful and populous as to be said to have a militia of 10,000 men or more, and 60,000 negroes: being also finely furnished with rivers, springs, and harbours, and most excellent fruits, vast quantities of sugar, melasses, coffee, cotton, indigo, ginger, &c.

In the same year, Colonel Jackson, with a number of English ships from our Leeward islands, landed on Jamaica, and with only 500 men attacked the fort of St. Jago de la Vega, with 2000 Spaniards in it, which, with the city, they took and sacked, with the loss of forty men only; then they re-embarked, after receiving a ransom for forbearing to burn it.

About this time the French first planted on the isle of Cayenne, over against a river of the same name on the coast of Guiana, from whence, however, they were several times driven out by the Dutch; but the French finally retook it in 1676, and have held it ever since. It is about seventeen leagues in compass. Here they have sundry sugar plantations. They have since settled on the continent over against Cayenne.

We cannot be quite positive whether the French did not about this time settle on the great river of Niger, otherwise called Senegal river, on the west coast of Africa, where the best gum Senegal is produced, but we imagine from some circumstances that it was nearly at this time*.

* The learned De Guignes dates the first settlement of the French at Senegal in 1364 or 1365. [*Memoires de Litterature*, V. xxxvii, pp. 518, 520.] M.

In the same year, a very rich lead mine, in which was said to be much silver, was discovered in Swedish Lapland, near the town of Pitha, at the head of the Bothnic gulf.

1636.—The king made a new regulation of the colony of Virginia, whereby ‘ he appointed Sir John Harvey to be continued governor thereof; and empowered him and any three of his council to appoint a commission for enlarging its limits, and for finding out what trades may be most necessary to be undertaken for the benefit of the colony; also to send out forces for subduing the Indians, and to make war or peace, as may best suit the safety of the colony and our honour. That in case of the governor’s death, or his necessary absence (not to be allowed by less than four of the council there), one of the council to be appointed by the rest shall act in his stead; the governor and council to be subordinate, subject, and obedient to the lords commissioners and committees here for our plantations, touching the present government of that colony, to whom as well as to us the governor shall, on the death of any member of the council, give notice thereof, that we may appoint another in his stead.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 3.]

As these regulations are in the main the same by which the colonies called regal, or such as are immediately under the crown, are still governed, they are for that reason here exhibited, being the first establishment thereof in that manner.

‘ King Charles commissioned a number of lords and gentlemen to enable William Sandys, Esq. to make the river Avon navigable for boats and barges, from its junction with the river Severn near Tewksbury to the city of Coventry; and also the river Team, on the west side of the Severn towards Ludlow.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 6.]

The king renewed a proclamation of the 7th year of his father’s reign, prohibiting all persons, not his natural-born subjects, from fishing on the coasts and seas of Great Britain and Ireland without a special licence first obtained from his majesty. ‘ And by these presents we make public declaration, that our resolution is, at times convenient, to keep such a competent strength of shipping upon our seas as may by God’s blessing be sufficient both to hinder such farther encroachments upon our regalities, and to assist and protect those our good friends and allies who shall henceforth, by virtue of our licences to be first obtained, endeavour to take the benefit of fishing upon our coasts and seas in the places accustomed.’ He also confirmed another proclamation of the 17th year of King James, prohibiting the importation of whale-fins by any but the Russia company. And he now directs, for the encouragement of that company and the increase of navigation, that none, whether natives or foreigners, shall import any whale-fins or whale-oil, but the said company only, and this in their joint-stock capacity alone

in respect to the whale fishery, under pain of forfeiting, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xx, pp. 15, 16.]

King Charles again regulated the clock-reel or reel-staff for woollen yarn, by enjoining one uniform dimension for it. He also enjoined, that there be only one weight and one measure for every commodity to be bought or sold throughout the kingdom, and that his clerk of the market for his household should have the overseeing and examination of all weights and measures; for which consideration the king hereby appoints certain fees to be paid to him *. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 41.]

A commission was issued for inquiring into and preventing encroachments on the river Thames by ladders, stairs, trap-doors, &c. from whence rubbish and dirt were usually thrown into it, to the great detriment of its navigation. Also another for compounding with such as had been guilty of importing, selling, or using, a false dying wood called logwood, blockwood, or Campefea wood (Campechy wood), contrary to two statutes of the 23d and 39th of Queen Elizabeth; and for punishing such as should hereafter be found guilty in this respect. [*Fædera*, V. xx, pp. 47, 52.]

In a new commission for levying ship-money, the quotas payable by London, Middlesex, and Northumberland, were somewhat lightened, and those of Cumberland and Westmoreland a little enlarged. [*Fædera*, V. xx, pp. 56, 74.]

In the same year King Charles granted a patent to the Lord Maltravers and Sir Francis Crane for the sole coinage of copper or brass farthings; and, pursuant to an order of the star-chamber, of the year 1634, it was now provided, that the said brass farthings should not be forced upon poor labourers in payment, they having formerly been compelled to take all or most of their wages in such farthings from designing men, who had bought up great quantities of them at a low rate. Silver (says Rushworth) was so scarce and gold so plenty at this time, that when cattle were sold in Smithfield, they commonly bargained to be paid in silver and not in gold, insomuch that twopence or more was usually given for exchanging a twenty shilling piece into silver, although the gold was full weight.

The king appointed commissioners to compound with the transgressors of the laws made against destroyers of timber trees and woods in melting and forging iron. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 68.]

The king issued a monopolizing proclamation, that none should buy any ballast out of the river Thames but a person appointed by him for that purpose. And having already monopolized all the saltpetre and

* This antient officer had formerly great power, which was generally abused, to the great oppression of the subject, wherefor that office is long since justly in disuse. It is somewhat strange that to

this day nothing has been effectually done for reducing all merchandize to one weight or measure, so obviously convenient throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

gunpowder, he now appointed a commission for receiving of his two gunpowder-makers all the powder they should make at $7\frac{1}{2}d$ per pound weight, and for again selling the same out to his subjects at such prices as the commissioners should from time to time fix.

In this commission we find the king was not able to carry on this monopoly without the importation of saltpetre from foreign parts, there not being enough produced in England for the manufacture of all the gunpowder requisite for his and his subjects use. He also prohibited the importation of foreign gunpowder; and directed that his officers should not take above $1/6$ per pound for gunpowder sold out to his subjects, and that no retailers of it to whom it is thus sold should sell it again for above $1/8$ in London, and $1/8\frac{1}{2}$ per pound in the country, if distant thirty miles or more from London. [*Fædera*, V. xx, pp. 93, 96, 107.]

A malt and brewing monopoly was established on pretence of restraining the excessive number of common maltsters, by means of whom not only a greater consumption and waste of barley was occasioned, but also sundry abuses in the bad making of malt: likewise for restraining the great number of innkeepers and victuallers, who take upon them to brew ale and beer, which they sell by retail, and make too strong and heady, serving for drunkenness and excess; and thenceforth the king was to appoint, in fit places throughout the realm, a competent number of maltsters and common brewers to be incorporated, under such fines and yearly payments to us as should be thought meet. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 102.]

King Charles contracted with John Crane, Esq. surveyor-general, for victualling his navy, nearly in the form of the contract for the like purpose already related under the year 1622. Mr. Crane was to be allowed for sailors in harbour $7\frac{1}{2}d$ per day for their provisions, and when at sea $8\frac{1}{2}d$ per day. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 103.]

King Charles incorporated all the tradesmen and artificers inhabiting such places in the city of London as are exempted from the freedom thereof, as also those in the outparts of Westminster and Middlesex, within three miles of the said city of London; thereby also excluding for the future all such as have not served seven years to their respective occupations, as well as all foreigners, from practising their respective trades. The pretences, scarcely plausible, for this most extraordinary corporation, as in this proclamation, were, 'in order to prevent those places from being pestered with inmates, and also to prevent the prejudice done to such as were freemen of London, and for the more orderly disposing of trade and tradesmen.' [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 113.] But although no payments into his exchequer are mentioned, it seems reasonable enough to suspect that he was thereby laying a foundation for some such tax.

In a list of offices bestowed in this 12th year of King Charles's reign, there is one for the office of clerk and keeper of all the king's stores and storehouses at Deptford, Chatham, Portsmouth, and elsewhere, for his Majesty's ships and navy. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 126.] It seems probable that neither Plymouth, Sheerness, nor Woolwich, had then royal docks and storehouses, otherwise it should seem they would have been named in that grant, the words *and elsewhere* seeming to be merely expletive.

By this time the Dutch West-India company had reduced the greatest part of the coast of Brasil, having (according to Voltaire's *General history of Europe*, chap. xi.) in the space of thirteen years sent thither 1800 ships for war and commerce (others say but 800), which were valued at four millions and an half sterling; and had in that space taken from Spain, then sovereign of Portugal, 545 vessels. That company, in this year, 1636, sent thither Prince Maurice as governor-general, and while he remained there, which was eight years, their affairs in general prospered well enough: but yet their first declension in Brasil may be dated from the Portuguese shaking off the Spanish yoke in the year 1640, soon after which remarkable revolution they gradually gained ground of the Dutch in Brasil, from whence we shall see them entirely expelled in the year 1654.

The Spaniards having possessed themselves of the two small isles of St. Marguerite and St. Honorate, on the coast of Provence, in the year 1635, whereby they greatly annoyed that coast, the French now fitted out forty-two ships at Rochelle, which were joined in the Mediterranean by twenty-four galleys, the whole commanded by the count de Harcourt, who, on the coast of Italy, near Monaco, attacked the joint fleets of Spain, Sicily, Naples, and Florence, and obtained a complete victory (says Morisot in his *Orbis maritimus*), sinking their best ships, and putting the rest to flight. Thence they went and ravaged the island of Sardinia.

Moreover, Cardinal Richlieu, the French prime-minister and director-general of the marine, considering how much France lay open to the attacks and insults of England for want of a maritime force, had for some years been preparing all the ships he could either purchase from beyond sea, or collect from all the French ports of the Ocean and Mediterranean, and had now got together what the judicious author of an excellent pamphlet, published in 1695, named, *Considerations requiring greater care for trade in England*, calls France's first line of battle, consisting of upwards of fifty ships and twenty galleys; with which force France recovered the two islands above mentioned, after vanquishing the Spanish fleet, and taking five large Spanish ships, twenty-two galleys, and eighteen smaller vessels.

1637.—This was properly the first time that France began to shew a superiority over Spain at sea, as she had before done at land : and afterwards Richlieu went on destroying the remains of Spain's naval strength, till at length it was reduced to the lowest ebb.

Count Maurice of Nassau, the Dutch West-India company's governor-general in Brasil, took another fortress from the Spaniards : and some of that company's ships sailed from thence to the coast of Guinea, and made themselves masters of the famous castle of St. George del Mina, the principal Portuguese fort of all that coast, which they have kept to this day, as also of several other lesser forts there. By these conquests on the Guinea coast the Dutch were supplied at first hand with negroes for carrying on their sugar plantations, &c. in Brasil.

King Charles issued a proclamation, importing, ' that being informed that numbers of his subjects are every year transporting themselves and families, with their estates, to the English plantations in America, amongst whom there are many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live as much as they can without the reach of authority ;' the king thereby commands all the officers of the several ports that they do not hereafter permit any persons being subsidy-men (i. e. payers of the usual subsidies) to embark themselves thither, without a licence from the commissioners for plantations ; nor none under the value of subsidy-men, without a certificate of his having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and likewise, from the minister of the parish, of his conversation, and conformity to the orders and discipline of the church of England. This was levelled against the puritans, then going in great numbers to New-England to avoid persecution at home : and a better sample needs not to be desired of the wisdom of this king and his ministers. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 143.]

Some of the English East-India company's ships having in the year 1634 touched at Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, they were kindly treated by the viceroy there, with whom the English concluded a truce, and also a free trade, not only thither, but to China and all other parts where the Portuguese were settled in India ; whereupon, in the following year (1635), King Charles granted a licence to Captain John Weddell, &c. with six ships, to make a voyage to Goa and the coast of Malabar, and also to the coasts of China and Japan, there to trade in such commodities as they could to the best advantage for themselves and all other his subjects for the future : ' but the East-India company having neither planted nor settled a trade in those parts as we expected, nor made such fortifications and places of surety as might encourage any hereafter to adventure to trade thither ; neither have we received any annual benefit from thence as other princes do, by reason of the said company's neglect to fortify, they having merely pursued their own present profit, without providing any safety

‘ or settledness for establishing of traffic in the said Indies for the good
 ‘ of posterity ; whereas the Portuguese and Dutch had both planted
 ‘ and fortified, and also established a lasting and hopeful trade there,
 ‘ for the good of posterity ; by the advantage whereof they had not on-
 ‘ ly rendered our people there subject to their insolences, but had in a
 ‘ manner worked them out of the trade, which we find by the com-
 ‘ plaint of divers adventurers in that society, and principally by the
 ‘ dayly decrease of our customs for imports from India, owing to the
 ‘ said company’s supine neglect of discovery, and settling trade to divers
 ‘ parts, when they had a plentiful stock and fair opportunities to ef-
 ‘ fect it.’

And as all the attempts for a north-west passage to East-India have hitherto proved unsuccessful, which, however, we believe might be performed from Japan, north-east to the north of California, on the back side of America, in about forty degrees north latitude, and so to coast along northwards, eastward, and westward, as the land will give way, to sixty-four degrees northward, where it was left undiscovered by Sir Thomas Button, Captain Luke Fox, and others, to come through the straits of Hudson in the Western or Atlantic sea. The king, in the said grant of 1635, directed that the grantees should, from the sea of China, Japan, or elsewhere, send one of their ships, well furnished and manned, to attempt that discovery ; allotting them half the customs and other benefits that should arise from all such new discoveries as should be made, reserving to himself the other half, with the sovereignty of the countries. The king next prescribes the rules and government of those ships and people in the voyage to and from India, China, and Japan, and on land there. He grants them the use of a new common seal, and to all intents makes them a separate company for the East-India trade ; directing the old company, their agents and servants, not to molest them in their East-India commerce.

The persons who set on foot this new company were, Sir William Courten, Sir Paul Pindar, &c. ; but the king himself, as he therein declares, and Endymion Porter, a groom of his bed-chamber, had shares therein jointly with them and Weddell, &c. In this year, 1637, therefore, the king confirmed their privileges (the ships being already gone on their voyage) as to all places in India where the old company had not settled any factories nor trade before the 12th of December 1635, but without prejudice to the old company in other respects. This new company’s grant of trade and privileges was to last for five years, during which time they might annually re-export what India goods they should bring home, and might in that case draw back the entire customs paid on their importation. Moreover, during the said five years, they might export £40,000 to India in gold and silver bullion, paying to the king £1 : 10 per cent for that privilege : and they might also, during the

said term, admit any others to be partners with them in this adventure *. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 146.]

On this voyage to India Sir William Courten's ships made a small settlement on the great isle of Madagascar, which was soon after ruined by the old East-India company †.

The king issued a fresh proclamation concerning malt and brewing, wherein he expressly enjoins, that for the sake of the poorer sort of his people, whose usual bread was barley, as well as for the reasons assigned in his proclamation of the preceding year, already recited, the common maltsters in every county be incorporated, and none of them shall follow any other calling; also, that no maltster shall be a brewer or cooper at the same time; and that common maltsters and common brewers shall only practise their trades in such places as shall be assigned by the king and council, and none but such to practise any where. No innkeeper, alehouse-keeper, nor victualer, shall brew the drink they retail, unless there be no common brewer in or near the place where they live; which restrictions were not, however, to extend to the city of London, nor within four miles of it. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 157.]

We have seen King Charles's proclamation for the restraint of hackney and other coaches under the year 1635; we shall now see him in a contrary strain in his special commission to the marquis of Hamilton, his master of the horse, viz. 'that we, finding it very requisite for our nobility and gentry, as well as for foreign ambassadors, strangers, and others, that there should be a competent number of hackney coaches allowed for such uses, have, by the advice of our privy council, thought fit to allow fifty hackney coachmen in and about London and Westminster, limiting them not to keep above twelve horses apiece; also so many others in other places in England as shall be necessary. We therefor grant to you, during your life, the power and authority to licence fifty hackney coachmen, who shall keep no more than twelve good horses each for their coaches respectively. You also hereby have power to licence so many in other cities and towns of England as in your wisdom shall be thought necessary, with power to restrain and

* Sir William Courten, who had the largest share in this adventure, died before this first voyage was completed, and his son William Courten was by the king in this last grant substituted in his father's place: and he has left in print, sundry large accounts of his great losses by this adventure, amounting to the sum of £151,612, occasioned by the seizure of their two rich ships, and the destruction of their factories in India by the Dutch; which made much clamour both before and after the restoration of King Charles II, many pamphlets being published to shew the great damage done to hundreds of families, creditors of Courten and Pindar. In the treaty between King Charles II

and the Dutch in 1662, satisfaction was stipulated to be made by the Dutch East-India company for the two ships; yet, so late as the year 1682, we still find complaints in print on this point; so that probably no redress was ever obtained of the Dutch East-India company for those damages. To say the truth, the scheme of this new English company was an iniquitous one against the old company, whose charters were doubtless entirely exclusive of all others.

† An extract from the manuscript journal of this voyage, containing the transactions in the river of Canton, is published by Sir George Staunton in his *Account of an embassy to China*, c. 1. M.

‘ prohibit all others from keeping any hackney coach to let to hire either in London or elsewhere ; also to prescribe rules and orders concerning the dayly prices of the said licenced hackney coachmen to be by them taken for our own particular service and in their employment for our subjects, provided such orders be first allowed by us under our royal hand.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 195.] By allowing each of these fifty coachmen twelve horses, it is plain there might be, and most probably were, many more than fifty coaches kept by them, possibly even as far as three hundred in number.

The king, by proclamation, ordered the pigs and bars of iron made in England to be marked by his surveyors of the iron-works, to prevent the sale of bad iron ; and that iron was not to be exported without the king’s licence under pain of forfeiture, &c. Those surveyors were also empowered to enter any woods that were felled, cut, or coarded, to be converted into coal for making of iron, whereby it might appear of what condition those woods were that should be employed that way, and that they be not cut down contrary to law. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 161.] A very proper regulation if rightly executed.

A proposal being made to the king for the better working of lead mines in Wales, so as to extract more silver therefrom than hitherto the miners there have had skill to do, in order to coin money therefrom : the king therefor erected a mint at the castle of Aberistwith in Cardiganshire, and appointed the proposer, Thomas Bushell, to be warden thereof ; who on his part covenanted with the king to coin five different silver coins there, viz. half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, twopences, and pence, at the rate of sixty-two shillings in the pound troy, which should contain eleven ounces and two penny-weight of fine silver, and eighteen penny-weight allay, which is the old right standard of the monies of silver in England. But two shillings out of every pound weight of coined silver were to be retained at the mint, viz. fourteenpence for the charges, and tenpence for the king ; so that there should only be delivered out to the owner three pounds by tale. The money to have the feathers stamped on both sides of it, to shew that it was coined in Wales. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 163.]

King Charles again directed ship-money to be levied for the service of the year 1638. The number of ships, tonnage, and men, the same as in the preceding year. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 169.]

On account of hostility committed by a ship of Rotterdam on some English ships in the year 1630, the king now granted the sufferers letters of reprisal against all Dutch ships, they being bound to render an account of their prizes to the admiralty. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 171.]

After all the exclusive powers, &c. which King Charles had granted to his soap company in Westminster, he found himself now obliged to recall them all. But, in their stead, he erected another new exclusive

soap company, within the city of London, equally illegal, having the lord mayor, Edward Bromfield, Esq. at their head; whereby he prohibits all others throughout England, but such as shall be free of this new corporation, from making soap, or buying pot-ashes, excepting Sir Richard Weston, and several soap-makers of Bristol, Bridgewater, Exeter, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, who had licences to make limited quantities and sorts of soap; for which they probably gave due satisfaction. The Westminster company previously resigned their charter into the king's hands. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 181.]

King Charles gave a special commission to Robert earl of Warwick, his agents and associates, to fit out 'as many armed ships as he should judge proper, at his and their costs, for an undertaking tending to the advancement of our service and revenue, and the enlargement of our territories in the West-Indies, and to the public honour of the nation; and to assail, take, burn, or otherwise destroy, any carracks, ships, galleys, &c. in those seas, or any where else, where the free navigation, trade, or commerce of any of our subjects is or shall be denied, or actually intercepted, or opposed in any kind; (saving the carracks, ships, &c. of all princes and states keeping league and amity with us, and not denying or actually interrupting, &c. the free navigation in the seas aforesaid.) Impowering the said earl and his associates, in hostile manner, by force of arms, stratagem, or other policy of war, to invade, surprize, vanquish, retain, possess, and keep to our use, any lands, islands, cities, castles, or other parts within the continent or islands of America, or elsewhere, which he shall any way bring under his power; and therein to plant, inhabit, and fortify, or else to demolish and destroy the same; and to take to his use all the ammunition, goods, and treasure, found therein, &c.' [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 186.]

Every one may see that this private expedition was intended against the Spanish West-Indies. For although there was then peace between England and Spain in Europe, yet there had never been any proper treaty of peace between the two nations, relating to the West-Indies, or other parts of America, wherein the pretensions of the crown of Spain ran still so high as to claim the absolute sovereignty. And that very wild and arbitrary claim gave a reasonable handle to other maritime nations to get possession of as much as they could of those undetermined territories: whereas, if Spain had made treaties with England and France, for ascertaining the distinct property of each nation there, she might at this day have preserved her claim to some parts thereof, which the feebleness of that monarchy in succeeding times obliged her to give up. This intended expedition, however, probably did not succeed, or rather, perhaps did not take place, since none of our naval historians nor voyagers make any mention of it at all.

The king gave a patent to Thomas earl of Berkshire, for the sole use of his newly invented kiln for drying malt and hops, with sea-coal, turf, peat, or any other cheap fuel: with power to him to compound for a sum of money to be paid by such as shall desire to use his invention. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 191.]

Private letter carriers between England and France were still in use, notwithstanding King Charles's proclamation in 1636, and also King Louis's in the same year, both prohibiting the same. In consequence of an agreement between those two princes, the route of the public posts was from Dover to Calais, and thence to Paris by Bologne, Abbeville, and Amiens; whereas the private posts sailed from Rye to Dieppe, and thence to Paris. Wherefor King Charles, by proclamation, prohibited any letters being sent from Rye to Dieppe, or any other way whatever, but from his postmaster-general, by the way of Calais, as above. He also again prohibited all private posts at home; hereby renewing his former declaration of the several rates of postage, as exhibited under the year 1635. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 192.]

In England, gentlemen, merchants, and traders, not long before this time, were forced to employ less certain carriers, or to be at the expense of special messengers with their letters. Universities and great towns had their own particular posts; and the same horse or foot post went quite through the journey, and returned with other letters, without having different stages, as at present. It was thus practised later in Scotland, as having less commerce than in England.

In the list of offices, filled up in England for the year 1637, we meet with the following ones, viz.

I) The agency for the sole making and selling of all counterpoises, or weights and grains; and the approving and allowing of all balances for his majesty's coins or money of gold within England and Ireland.

II) The office of measurer of all foreign balks and timber.

III) The office of agency, for his majesty to grant licences to sell tobacco by retail.

IV) The office of intelligence; and of entering the names of all masters, mistresses, and servants; and of all goods lost and found, &c. in London, Westminster, and three miles distant.

V) The office of sealer of all playing cards and dice. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 199.]

In the same year we find a monopoly granted to Sir Thomas Tempest, and others, notwithstanding the former exclusive and perpetual right, by charter, of the hoastmen of Newcastle, of the sole power of selling coals exported out of the river Tine, for twenty-one years. [*England's grievance discovered in relation to the coal trade*, ch. 21, 4to, 1655.

At this time James duke of Courland made a considerable figure in naval power and commerce; he built a good number of stout ships of war, and also some forts on the coast of Guinea, where he settled factories; he also settled a colony on the island of Tobago in the West-Indies; so that King Charles Gustavus, of Sweden, is reported sometime after this to have pleasantly said, 'my cousin of Courland is too great for a duke and too little for a king.' But as that duchy had not a sufficiency of materials and manufactures for a great commerce, and the superior genius of that prince died with him, Courland after his death sunk to its former proper and intrinsic value.

By an order of King Charles and his council, in this same year, as appears by all the London historiographers of that age, that king, who delighted too much in copying after any arbitrary order of other nations, commanded all the London silversmiths to live in Goldsmiths-row, being the south sides of the two famous streets of London named Cheapside and Lombard-street. The cruelty and absurdity of this order is so obvious to every one, that it is needless to make any further animadversion on it. Possibly such as were to be indulged in this case paid sufficiently for it.

The first Europeans who settled in that part of America, since named New-Jersey, and in part of Pennsylvania, were Swedes; we cannot fix the exact year, although probably about 1637, but it was however in Queen Christina's reign. They are said, through our unaccountable supineness, to have erected three towns therein very early, whose names still remain, viz. Gottenburg, Helsingburg, and Christina. Yet the Swedes, not being so industrious as their neighbours the Dutch of New-Nidderland, (now New-York) were by them dispossessed of the north part, which they named, in Latin, Nova-Belgia. But as neither Swedes nor Dutch had any right to settle there, that country being part of our province of Virginia, as then so called, the duke of York, as we shall see, made no scruple to dispossess them both in the year 1664.

1638.—In the year 1638 King Charles incorporated Thomas Horth, and other masters of ships, who were empowered to buy all coals exported from the ports of Sunderland, Newcastle, Blithe, and Berwick, paying to the king 1s per chaldron custom: and to sell them again to the city of London, at a price not exceeding 17s per chaldron in summer, and 19s in winter; provided they had a free market and a just measure at Newcastle, &c. As this is not the same grant as that in the preceding year, it is probable the later was revoked. [*England's Grievance*, &c. ch. 22.]

The French fleet, under the archbishop of Bourdeaux, now beat the Spanish fleet of galleons, of which they took several; and, in the same year, the gallies of Marseilles vanquished those of Spain, near Genoa.

The Dutch from Batavia worsted the Portuguese at Ceylon, in this year, both at sea and on land, and took possession of their forts on that island, upon which the king of the island concluded a treaty with the Dutch, and granted them many privileges, and a reimbursement of the charges of their expeditions against the Portuguese, to be paid in cinnamon, pepper, cardamoms, indigo, wax, &c. with great presents sent to Batavia.

In pursuance of two acts of parliament, of the the 39th and 43d of Queen Elizabeth, for the true making of cloth, directing all kinds of woollen cloth, brought for sale to London, to be first carried to Blackwell-hall, the common cloth-market for the city, to be there searched and sealed; and of King James's proclamation, in his 11th year, directing, that all sorts of vendible cloths, bays, felts, says, stuffs, as well old as new draperies, made in England and Wales, should be brought to Blackwell-hall for the like purpose, King Charles published a proclamation to the same effect; as also to prevent those who, to elude the laws, make contracts for those woollen goods in the country, and bring them afterward to London, to inns, warehouses, &c. to be there sold; whereby, says the king, much deceit and damage redoundeth to our subjects, and discredit to our cloths in foreign parts; and also the poor children of Christ hospital in London are defrauded of the duties of hallage there, appointed for their relief. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 221.]

King Charles commanded, by his proclamation, all merchants and masters of ships, &c. not to set forth any ship or ships with passengers or provisions for New-England, without his or his privy-council's special licence, 'for divers weighty and important causes well known to us.' [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 223.] This was for restraining the puritans from going to New England, who at this time flocked thither in great numbers, to enjoy that liberty in a wilderness which every man has an undoubted right to (demeaning himself in a peaceable manner) in his native land. Most cruel therefor was the proceedings of this king in regard to those people; on the one hand to persecute them at home, and on the other to prevent their withdrawing from such persecution.

The king in the sixth year of his reign had prohibited raw silk from being dyed before the gum be fair boiled off; but 'being now better informed by merchants, mercers, silk-men, and silk-weavers, that there was a sort called hard silk, dyed upon the gum (necessarily used in making tufted taffaties, figured satins, fine slight ribands, and ferret ribands, both black and coloured; and although it be dyed upon the gum, yet it will not be increased in weight above the limitations following, viz. the pound weight of raw or thrown silk not to exceed sixteen ounces when dyed into any coloured hard silk, with half an ounce at most for remedy; and being dyed into Spanish black hard silk not

‘to exceed nineteen ounces when dyed, without any addition for remedy. He now directed this later scheme to take place; and that no hard silk be used or mixed in making any other manufactures of silk than the above. Also that none should import any stuffs or other manufactures made or mixed with hard silk, other than tufted taffeties and figured satins; nor any stuffs whatsoever made or mixed with silk, of less breadth than a full half yard nail and half nail within the lists, on forfeiture thereof.’ [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 224.]

The king having lately incorporated the makers (in London) of hats and caps of beaver wool; and the wearing of beaver hats having of late come much into use among people of rank and quality, he therefor prohibited the importation of any hats or caps of beaver, or of any other sort whatever: and ordered that none should make any hats for the future but freemen of that corporation. Also that no hair, wool, or other stuff, be by the said hat-makers mixed with their beaver wool in hat making: nor should any hats called demy-castors be henceforth made to be sold here; but, as they are demanded in foreign parts, they might be exported beyond sea. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 230.]

King Charles repealed all the restraints he had lately laid on malsters, or malt-makers, in the year 1636. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 234.]

The wine-merchants and vintners of England having agreed to pay 40s per ton to King Charles for all the wines they should import, the king in return prohibited the wine-coopers, who had already crept into the wine-trade, from importing wines. By this record it appears that licences for retailing wines were then under the management of the vintners company, for his majesty’s benefit. The king also directed that the custom of retailing wines in bottles and other undue measures be laid aside; and that all wines be retailed by just measures alone. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 241.]

Bigotry in religion, ever destructive of the freedom of commerce, and an unaccountable bias to the old laws made before commerce became considerable in England, had so blinded King Charles and his ministry, that many proclamations and orders were now made, which were very hurtful to the due freedom of commerce; of which weakness we have already seen sundry instances: and we have another in a tedious proclamation, ‘for reforming abuses in the manufacture and breadths of silks and stuffs of foreign materials, such as velvets, plushes, tissues, gold and silver stuffs, damasks, taffaties, garters, ribands, and laces; and empowering the weavers company of London to admit a competent number of such persons, as well strangers as natives, into the freedom of their company, as had exercised the trade of weaving at least one whole year before the date of the new charter, (which he had in this same year granted to that company) who should be conformable to the laws of the realm, and the constitutions of the church

‘ of England.’ [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 270.] What, in the name of common sense, had the constitution of any church to do with the trade of weaving?

One of the king’s proclamations of this year was for a very praiseworthy purpose, viz. for deducting six pence per month from sea officers pay, and four pence per month from all sailors wages, in the merchants service in the port of London, to be applied for the relief of maimed, shipwrecked, or otherwise distressed sailors in the merchants service, and of the poor widows and children of such as should be killed or lost in merchandizing voyages. This money to be under the management of the corporation of the trinity-house, then kept at Ratcliffe: excepting, however, sailors in the East-India company’s service, who had even so early as this time, as they still have, a provision of this kind settled on them. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 278.] In our own days a charitable corporation, for this good purpose, has been lately erected in London, supported by voluntary contributions of merchants, &c.

King Charles somewhat relaxed his claim of ship-money for the succeeding year: for although it is said to be levied all over England, as in the two preceding years, yet it was now to be only for eighteen ships and pinnaces; but, how the assessment for this levy was made, does not appear. Possibly the clamour that the levying of it at all, without the consent of parliament, and Mr. Hambden’s trial for refusing to pay it, had now begun to make that prince more cautious in the extension of his prerogative, and he now directs his lord-admiral, the earl of Northumberland, to supply, as usual, ships out of his own navy for such counties whose situation disabled them from fitting out any themselves, and to apply the money they shall pay to him as therein directed. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 286.]

King Charles issued a proclamation against selling or exporting tin from Devonshire and Cornwall, until it be duely assayed, weighed, and coined, (as the stamping of it is termed by the stannary laws) by his officers. He also prohibited the importation of tin from foreign parts. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 289.]

The English East-India company having represented to King Charles, the great scarcity of Spanish silver, whereby they were disabled from supplying themselves with a sufficient quantity for their intended voyage to Persia and India with three ships; he licenced them to export £20,000 in foreign gold; or if that could not be done, in English gold; any law, statute, act of parliament, proclamation, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 298.]

There was coined at the mint in the tower of London, from March 1619 to March 1638, £6,900,042 : 11 : 1 in gold and silver. [*Happy future state of England*, p. 78, folio, 1698.]

Cardinal Richlieu seems to have understood, very early, the great im-

portance of which the French West-India islands would prove, even before they had any sugar-canes planted in them : and having the glory and interest of France very much at heart, he laboured to give his sovereign, Louis XIII, favourable impressions of them, although they produced nothing yet but cotton, ginger, and bad tobacco. Wherefor he, at this time, got his king to appoint the governor of those islands to be his own lieutenant-general there. By such means the French islands were soon much improved, and more particularly Martinico, and their moiety of St. Christophers.

The English West-India islands were also encouraged at this time, and had much the same productions ; yet it is easy to conceive how inconsiderable they were before they fell into the sugar trade. They made some indigo, and also cotton and ginger ; but their tobacco was bad, and that of Barbados was deemed the worst of all.

1639.—The Spanish monarchy, though visibly declining, in the year 1639, made the greatest effort at sea that it had ever done since the famous armada in 1588 ; for it consisted of 67 large ships from Corunna, carrying 25,000 seamen and 12,000 soldiers. This great armada, intended to relieve Dunkirk, before which the Dutch fleet lay, and otherwise to support their Netherland provinces, was first encountered in the English Channel, and afterward in the Downs, by the Dutch fleet of 100 ships under Van Tromp, who in the end gained an entire victory, and destroyed most of their ships, amongst which was a great Portuguese galleon of 1400 tons, 80 cannon, and 800 men, though King Charles had sent his admiral, Sir John Pennington, with 34 ships of war, to preserve a neutrality between those two huge fleets, whilst they lay watching each others motions, for near three weeks, on the coast of Kent. This terrible blow, followed by several subsequent defeats at sea by the French, entirely broke the naval power of Spain, so as never to recover it in any degree till our own times. These disasters induced Spain to come into terms with the Dutch at the treaty of Munster.

In this year a treaty of peace and commerce between King Charles I of England and Christian IV of Denmark, was concluded by Sir Thomas Rowe at Gluckstad : the following are the articles relating to commerce.

III) No warlike succours, either in money, provisions, arms, ammunition, machines, guns, &c. shall be supplied to the enemies of either party.

IV) If any power shall attack either of the contracting parties without provocation, or shall make any pretensions to a right to, or superiority over, any of his countries or dominions not actually possessed by the claimer, then the other party, if not at war himself, shall, in four months at farthest, supply him with the following ships of war, viz. 4 of 150 or 200 tons each, and 150 or 200 men, and 20 pieces of ord-

nance in each ship: and 4 other ships of 100 to 120 tons each, carrying 100 or 120 men, and 16 cannon in each ship: and supplied with all suitable stores by the sender, and with three months provisions; but afterwards, during the war, they shall be supplied, &c. by the party whom they are sent to assist.

XIV) The king of Great Britain's subjects shall not resort to the ports of the king of Denmark prohibited by former treaties, without the special licence of his Danish majesty asked and granted, unless compelled to it by storm: in which last case they shall by no means trade there.

XV) Ships and merchandize wrecked on the coasts of either contracting party may be freely claimed by the proper owners; and the natives of those coasts shall not injure nor obstruct them, but shall rather be ready to assist them, being paid for their trouble.

XIX) And because the islands of Orkney and of Shetland cannot well be omitted to be mentioned in this treaty, it is now agreed, that, during the lives of both kings, and the life of the longest liver of them, nothing shall be moved or treated of concerning them; saving always, nevertheless, the rights or pretensions of their successors.

XX) Nothing in this treaty shall derogate from former ones, unless where expressly repealed by the present treaty. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 336.]

King Charles being at York, on the 9th of April 1639, going to suppress the Scottish rebellion, he found himself obliged, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to publish the following proclamation, for revoking many of his illegal grants and monopolies, viz.

Whereas divers grants, licences, privileges, and commissions, had been procured from him, on pretences for the common good and profit of his subjects, which since, upon experience, have been found to be prejudicial and inconvenient to his people, and in their execution have been notoriously abused: he is now pleased, of his mere grace and favour, with the advice of his privy council, to declare these following to be utterly void and revoked, viz.

'A commission touching cottages and inmates.' This was granted last year, to compound with all such as had built cottages, without four acres of land annexed to each of them; and with such as suffered inmates, or more families than one, to reside in any of the said cottages.

'A commission touching scriveners and brokers.

'For compounding with offenders touching tobacco,'
i. e. such as sold it without the king's stamp.

'For compounding with offenders for transportation of butter beyond sea,' without his stamp and licence.

'For compounding with offenders for importing or using logwood.

- ‘ A commission for compounding with sheriffs, for selling their under-sheriffs places.
- ‘ For compounding for the destruction of woods, by iron-works.
- ‘ For concealments and encroachments within twenty miles of London.
- ‘ For a licence to export sheep-skins and lamb-skins.
- ‘ For compounding with the dressers of venison, pheasants, and partridges, in inns, alehouses, ordinaries, and taverns.
- ‘ For licensing brewers.
- ‘ For the sole transporting of lamperns.
- ‘ For weighing hay and straw.
- ‘ For an office of register to the commission of bankrupts, in divers counties.
- ‘ For gauging red herrings.
- ‘ For marking iron made in England.
- ‘ For sealing bone-lace.
- ‘ For marking and gauging butter casks.
- ‘ For the privilege of using kelp and sea-weed.
- ‘ For sealing linen cloths.
- ‘ For gathering rags.
- ‘ For a grant of a factory for Scottish merchants.
- ‘ For searching and sealing foreign hops.
- ‘ For sealing buttons.
- ‘ All grants of fines, penalties, and forfeitures, before judgement granted.
- ‘ All patents for new inventions, not put in practice within three years from the date of their respective grants.
- ‘ The several grants of incorporation to hatband-makers, gutstring-makers, spectacle-makers, comb-makers, tobacco-pipe-makers, butchers, and horners.’

And the king herein declares, that a writ of *quo warranto* or *scire facias* shall be issued to recall the said grants and patents, unless they do voluntarily surrender them. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 340.]

By these and all other projects of small note the king was reckoned to have raised about £200,000 yearly; according to the book intitled the Royal treasury of England, 8vo, London, 1725, p. 284.

The king being informed, that sundry merchants, notwithstanding his proclamation of last year to the contrary, continued to trade in woollen goods to other ports of Germany and the Netherlands, than to the mart towns or staple towns of the merchant-adventurers company, he now renewed that proclamation, and prolonged the time formerly allowed them to keep their freedom in that fellowship. He also strictly prohi-

bited the exportation of wool, woolfels, woollen-yarn, fullers-earth, and tobacco-pipe-clay, (now found to be of the same nature and use with fullers-earth) by the exportation whereof, he is informed, there is a great decay of the woollen manufacture. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 342.]

The king abridged the extravagant authority which he had formerly granted to the clerk of the market of his household, and to the water bailiff. He also revoked his charter of incorporation to the makers of bricks and tiles near London and Westminster, as being found hurtful. And ordered that the issues of jurors should not be farmed, as being a grievance to many of his subjects. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 344.]

The king ordered that an inquiry should be made into the conduct of Peter Richaut merchant, treasurer of the fishery company, concerning oppressions and wrongs done by him to sundry poor tradesmen dealing with that company: to inquire also, whether the stock of the company be diminished? and if so, how it came to be so? also to inquire into all other matters relating to the fishery company, and into the means of settling that business, for the best advantage of the commonwealth of our kingdoms: to the end, that upon return of the said commission, it may appear which way so worthy an undertaking, for the honour of us and the common good of our subjects, may be advanced, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 346.]

The king commissioned five persons to repair to the island of Barbados, and to remove the pretended governor of it, who presumed to continue to act as such, after another had been appointed by James earl of Carlisle. The commission recites, that Barbados was esteemed one of the Caribbee isles, and a part of the province of Carlisle in America, granted to James Hay the late earl of Carlisle, and to his heirs. It seems, that this pretended governor (Captain Henry Hawley) had only had a commission from the king, in the beginning of this year, for treating with the inhabitants of Barbados, and other islands, concerning a moderation to be held in the planting of tobacco, (sugar not being as yet produced in any of them) and for regulating the prices thereof; ‘and for none other employment intended by us,’ says the king; under colour of which he took on himself the stile of lieutenant-general and governor of Barbados, &c. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 357.]

This year the English first settled on the pleasant island of St. Lucia, within seven leagues of Martinico, seven also from St. Vincents, and twenty-four from Barbados, being twenty-four miles in length and eleven in breadth, abounding with plenty of timber, proper for houses and mills, with which the neighbouring isles, both English and French, are still supplied. It has also plenty of fustic and cocoa, and good harbours and anchoring places. Two years after, the English governor and most of his people were murdered by the Carib natives, and the rest driven out of the island by the instigation, as was suspected, of the French at

Martinico, though disowned by the French governor. Neither did the French at that time, nor for many years after, form any pretensions to that island. But, during the civil wars of England between King Charles I and his parliament, Mr. Parquot sent 40 Frenchmen from Martinico to take possession of St. Lucia; but the Caribs being as much at enmity with the French as with the English, killed two of their governors and many of their people, and maintained their independency, till after the restoration of King Charles II.

Amongst the offices filled up in the year 1639 by King Charles, there is one, 'for surveying of gamesters using the exercise of wrestling in any place or places within the compass or distance of three miles of the city of London,' [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 381] which we only note for its seeming singularity. Every age has its peculiar diversions and customs; and though this may appear strange in our age, it was probably in great vogue at that time, even, perhaps, as much as cricket lately was by persons of high rank.

Between the years 1630 and 1640, while there were no parliaments in England, the Dutch carried on a most profitable commerce to the English American plantations, there not being then any legal prohibition of foreign shipping resorting thither.

1640.—The year 1640 was propitious to the commerce of England and other nations, on account of the great revolution in Portugal, when John duke of Braganza drove out the Spaniards, and ascended the throne of Portugal, by the name of King John IV. For, while Spain was able to supply her American provinces with the silk, spices, calicoes, &c. of the Portuguese settlements in East-India, she thereby not only had more of her own American treasure left in her hands, but, moreover, England and other states had not till now so great a call for their merchandize, for the supply of Spain and her American provinces. But since Spain lost Portugal, and consequently the Portuguese settlements in the East-Indies, having few or no manufactures, and but little product of her own (wines excepted) for supplying her American provinces, the English, Dutch, and Hamburgers, and, latest of all, the French, have, more absolutely than formerly, supplied Spain with the great bulk of their commodities and manufactures, both for her home consumption and the much greater one of her vast American territories. Ceuta, however, having a Spanish garrison, did not revolt to the duke of Braganza, as the rest of the Portuguese territories had done; but remains to this day in the possession of Spain.

It has not proved so favourable to the commerce and other interests of the rest of Europe, that France gained at this time so much the ascendant over Spain, by protecting the revolted Catalans, and by taking from her the city of Arras, the capital of the province of Artois, by the Flemings till then deemed impregnable.

King Charles being engaged in preparing for a religious war with the Scots, and not as yet stooping to call an English parliament for a supply, fell on very extraordinary methods for raising money : amongst others, he this year bought all the pepper belonging to the East-India company upon credit, which he sold out again for ready money. In a stated account of money disbursed out of the tonnage and poundage duty for the navy, to the 9th of June 1642, we find the following payment, viz. ‘ to the East-India company, in part of a debt owing to them by his majesty for pepper, bought by my Lord Cottington, L9413:14:7.’

In King Charles’s special commission for making provision for his army going against Scotland, we find that bows and arrows were still in use ; and that stone shot or cannon bullets of stone (as well as of iron) were used for their fire-artillery. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 417.]

King Charles being in this same year informed, that a tin mine was lately discovered in Barbary, and being on that account apprehensive of the decrease of his revenue from the tin mines of Cornwall and Devonshire, ‘ by proclamation, prohibited the importation of foreign tin, as also carrying the tin of Barbary to any other place whatever in English shipping. Also for promoting the consumption of English tin and pewter in his realms, he directs, that all the measures for wine, ale, beer, &c. used in taverns, victualing-houses, shops, &c. shall be of tin or pewter, and shall be stamped or sealed.’ [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 423.]

We now meet with the first mention of a consul-general for England at Alicant, in Spain : the preamble of whose commission runs as follows.

‘ Whereas we are given to understand, how convenient and necessary it is for the good of our loving subjects trading to Alicant in the kingdom of Valencia, to have some person of judgement and experience, able to govern and direct them in their just and lawful occasions, to be placed and appointed as consul there. Know ye, &c.

This consul’s allowances were to be, the antient allowance of two ducats on every British ship trading to that port, and also one fourth per cent for all merchandize of ships trading thither. [*Fædera*, V. xx, p. 430.]

King Charles’s inability to oppose the Scottish army, now preparing to march to the borders of England, obliged him at length to call an English parliament, so much against his liking, after twelve years intermission. He began with demanding of the house of commons a sufficient supply for this war : and he alleged, that all the neighbouring princes were preparing great fleets of ships ; and that the Algerines had also prepared no fewer than sixty sail of ships, that they had taken divers English ships, and particularly one on the Spanish coast, called the Rebecca of London, worth at least L260,000. But the commons thought

the immediate redress of their many grievances of greater importance than an immediate supply for his war. This incensed the king so much, that he hastily and very angrily dissolved the parliament before any one act had been passed; which, as Lord Clarendon owns, he immediately after repented of. For supplying his present wants therefor without a parliament, he took sundry extraordinary methods of raising money; such as coat and conduct money from every county; an exorbitant fine laid on the city of London, for having, as he alleged, occupied more lands in Ireland than was granted by their charter: but the true reason was, their refusing him a loan of £200,000, which £200,000 had been forcibly borrowed of the merchants, who had lodged their money in the king's mint in the tower of London; which place, as elsewhere noted, before banking with goldsmiths came into use in London, was till now made a kind of bank or repository for merchants to lodge their money in; but which, after this compulsory loan (for so it was) of £200,000, never after was trusted in that way any more, although the king gave the lenders the security of his customs. A subscription also had been made for his present supply, by his privy counsellors and favourites, (Lord Stafford alone subscribing £20,000). And, beside all these, the clergy in convocation, which, contrary to all custom, sat after the dissolution of this parliament, granted him six subsidies of £20,000 each, to be paid in six years, at the rate of 4s in the pound, according to the valuation of their livings, &c. in the king's books. Yet, after all these aids, and the ship-money tax likewise, the king finding himself unable to maintain his army of 24,000 men, for three months only, for less than £200,000, he was necessitated to conclude a temporary treaty with commissioners from the Scottish army, who had defeated part of his troops, and taken possession of Newcastle upon Tyne, by which the Scottish army was to be allowed £850 a-day for their maintenance. For defraying so great an expense, there was now no other effectual means but a parliament, which the king therefor was constrained to call, and which met on the 3d of November in this year, in a very different humour from what he had hoped and expected, the debates and speeches in the house of commons running extremely high in regard to the nation's grievances, occasioned by the king's arbitrary proceedings both in ecclesiastical and secular matters. But as we have nothing to do with such points, any farther than they may relate to commercial matters, we shall only here briefly note, that so many grievances, both public and private, were laid before the commons by complaints and petitions, that above forty several committees were appointed by the house for examining them: and of those grievances, that of monopolies gave such offence, that the house of commons expelled four of their own Members who had been concerned in them: and Whitlock, in his Memoirs, alleges that many other members thereupon

withdrew themselves from parliament, and others were elected in their stead. In consequence of all those strict inquiries, the following acts were passed, which the king was obliged to consent to, viz. 1st, that a parliament should be held at least once in three years for the future, even though the king should neglect to call it. This was entitled, An act for preventing inconveniencies happening by the long intermission of parliaments; which the kingdom had so much smarted for in this reign: and it was the first act of this parliament, and passed before the year 1640 expired, (16° *Caroli*) according to the then stile; when the parliament also [17 *Car. I, cc. 2, 3*] granted the king four entire subsidies for the relief of his majesty's army, and the northern parts of the kingdom. And in the same session (but in the year 1641, which, for connection's sake, we briefly relate here, though we have not done with the year 1640) two more subsidies were granted for the same purpose. 2dly, they passed an act, [*c. 7*] whereby this parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, nor adjourned, but by an act of parliament! (i. e. not without their own consent). By which act, and the impeachment of the king's two great and wicked favourites, Laud archbishop of Canterbury, and Wentworth earl of Strafford, of high treason, (both already imprisoned in the tower, and afterward put to death) they brought that unhappy prince to be entirely in their power, while, at the same time, they granted sufficient supplies for the public occasions of the nation, by the several acts for tonnage and poundage, and other sums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported: and for a provision of money for speedily disbanding the armies, and settling the peace of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, by charging several sums upon persons according to their ranks, dignities, offices, callings, estates, and qualities. By another act, they abolished for ever the two wicked and oppressive tribunals of the star-chamber and high-commission-court. By another, the king's raising of ship-money without the authority of parliament, was declared illegal, and never to be allowed in future. Another act was for abolishing oppressions in the stannary-courts; and another for ascertaining the boundaries of forests. Another for confirming the treaty of pacification between England and Scotland. Another, for limiting the powers of the king's clerk of the market. Another, for abolishing the king's power to issue writs, upon pretext of an antient custom, to compel landed men to take the order of knighthood, or to pay a fine to the king. Another, granting liberty for all men to import gunpowder and saltpetre; and also for the free making of gunpowder in England. Circumstanced as he was, the king could not avoid giving his consent to these restrictive laws, however mortifying they might be to him. His former wicked advisers and judges were removed from him; and as the parliament was, in effect, rendered perpetual, there was no middle course for him to steer: he must either

have directly waged war with the parliament, or acquiesce in their measures: but this state of things did not hold long. In the mean time, we must suspend this subject, until we shall have completed the other more immediate affairs of the year 1640.

In the same year, the Dutch from St. Eustatia settled on Saba, one of the Caribbee islands, thirteen miles north-west from the former, being about four leagues in compass. It is but an inconsiderable place, having no harbour for shipping, and an extremely shallow shore. The Dutch here are said to be but a few families, who, however, raise a small quantity of sugar, beside some cotton and indigo. Some write that the Danes once dispossessed them of it. Many of those small islands among the Caribbees were very little regarded, until our island of Barbados became rich by the sugar trade, when the mother-countries of those, till then, insignificant islands found it their interest to lay public claim to them, to fortify them, and to appoint governors over them.

The haven and town of Malacca, possessed by the Portuguese, at the extremity of the famous peninsula of that name, in the farther Indies, was so happily situated for the conveniency of the Dutch East-India company's commerce, that it is no wonder they greedily cast their eyes on so delicious a morsel so early as in the year 1606, Portugal being then subject to Spain, with whom the Dutch were then at war: yet they were at that time unable to reduce it, though they had actually defeated and burnt a Portuguese fleet there, wherein were 3000 men. But in this year the Dutch, after a six months siege, became masters of that very important place, which they have held to this day. They found upward of 20,000 inhabitants in the town and its territory, with many churches and convents, and a good booty. Since then, the Dutch have much improved its fortifications: and as all ships trading from Siam, Cambodia, Tonquin, Cochin-China, China, Japan, and the Philippines, to Bengal, and the coast of Coromandel, must pass through the straits of Malacca, the Dutch are said to have obliged all but English ships to pay an anchorage duty there. Hereby also they overawe the smaller princes in its neighbourhood, and gain great advantages in their commerce, though not like what it formerly was before Batavia became the grand staple of all their Indian commerce. Thus the Dutch company made a very rapid progress, while our English East-India company became extremely languid, partly by the encroachments of the Dutch company, and partly also from King Charles's temporary grants to others, to interfere with them in the East-India trade: so far, as that some of the writers on commerce at this time insinuate, that hitherto the company had been losers by this trade, which, however, we scarcely think was the real fact.

The French now began to plant at a place on the continent of South-America, called Surinam, in nine degrees of north latitude, from the

mouth of the river Oronoko, southward to the river Maroni. But that country being low, marshy, and unhealthy, they soon after abandoned it.

Notwithstanding the popular clamour at this time against the arbitrary proceedings of King Charles, and the frequent complaints of the decay of commerce, yet it is very plain that our commerce was constantly increasing throughout all that time. Even about this very time we find the suburbs of London expanding very much every way by new foundations, more especially westward, such as Clare-market, Long-acre, Bedfordbury, and other parts of what was then in the parish of St. Giles in the fields. The very names of the older streets about Covent-garden are taken from the royal family at this time, such as James-street, King-street, Charles-street, Henrietta-street, &c. all laid out by the great architect Inigo Jones, as was also the fine piazza there; though the buildings in that part where the house and gardens of the duke of Bedford stood are of a much later date, viz. in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne. Bloomsbury and the streets at the seven dials were built up somewhat later, as also Leicester-fields, since the restoration of Charles II; as were also almost all St. James's and St. Anne's parishes, and a great part of St. Martin's and St. Giles's. I have met with several old persons in my younger days who remembered that there was but one single house (a cake-house) between the Meuse-gate at Charing-cross and St. James's palace-gate, where now stand the stately piles of St. James's-square, Pall-mall, and other fine streets. They also remembered a quick-set hedge on the west side of St. Martin's lane. Yet High Holborn and Drury-lane were filled with noblemens and gentlemens houses almost 150 years ago. Those fine streets on the south side of the Strand running down to the river Thames have all been built since the beginning of the 17th century, upon the sites of noblemens houses and gardens, who removed farther westward, as their names denote. Even some parts within the bars of the city of London remained unbuilt within about 150 years past, particularly all the grounds between Shoe-lane and Fewters* (now Fetter) lane, which in King Charles I's reign, and even some of them since, have been built up into streets, lanes, &c. Several other parts of the city, it is well known, have been rendered more populous by the removal of the nobility, &c. to Westminster liberties, on the sites of whose former spacious houses and gardens whole streets, lanes, and courts, have been added to the city since the death of Queen Elizabeth.

* 'So called of Fewters (or idle people) lying there, as in a way leading to gardens.' [Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 736, ed. 1618.] A. Stow immediately adds, 'but the same is now of later yeeres on both sides builded through with many faire houses.' So Fewters (or Fetter) lane is of greater antiquity than Mr. Anderson, trusting to Howel, assigns to it. M.

1641.—It may not be improper to note, that the ingenious Dr. Heylin, who wrote the first, or rather perhaps the second, edition of his Cosmography, about the year 1641, remarks of the famous Hanseatic city of Lubeck, ‘ that there were then still belonging to it, though declined from its former grandeur, above 600 ships of all sorts, some of which were of 1000 tons and upwards.’ And he adds (what could not then be said of London itself), ‘ that to every private house a pipe of water was conveyed from the public conduit, and that from the pattern thereof the first conduits were made in London, though very long before this century.’

We have a notable instance of the industry of the town of Manchester in Lancashire so early as the year 1641, from an author of credit, Mr. Lewis Roberts a merchant, author of the noted book intitled the Merchant’s map of commerce; it is, in a small treatise, intitled the Treasure of traffic, published in this year: ‘ the town of Manchester ‘ (says he) buys the linen-yarn of the Irish in great quantity, and, weaving it, returns the same again in linen into Ireland to sell,’ (which might possibly and naturally give the first hint towards the Irish linen manufactures). ‘ Neither doth her industry rest here, for they buy cotton-wool in London, that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna*, and work the same into fustians, vermillions, dimities, &c. which they return to London, where they are sold, and from thence, not seldom, are sent into such foreign parts where the first materials may be more easily had for that manufacture†.’

So early as in this year we find, (in a judicious pamphlet, intitled, England’s safety in trade’s increase, by Henry Robinson) that the French had already begun to make ordinances and laws which proved prejudicial to the commerce of England; and the author expresses his fears lest they should in time be able to beat us out of our trade, more especially, says he, when Christendom shall be at peace, whereby the trade of Spain will be free for other nations; which at present, as it were, we monopolize to ourselves. (He has proved in too great a degree a true prophet.)

Roberts, in his Treasure of traffic, says, that the customs of England are estimated at £500,000 yearly; a vast increase since the death of Queen Elizabeth!

The piratical state of Algiers seems to have been now in its zenith of naval power. Morgan, in the second volume of the history of that state, quoting D’Aranda, says, ‘ that in the summer of this year the

* It may be inferred from this, that no considerable quantity of cotton was as yet imported from our West-India islands. A.

† Manchester was a populous town, and noted for its woollen manufactures, called *Manchester cottons*, long before the year 1600. [Camdeni Britannia, p. 673, ed. 1600.] The manufacture of real cotton goods appears not to have been begun there in Camden’s time. M.

‘ Algerines had in their cruize no fewer than 65 ships, besides several gallies or galiots, all at one time.’ And although it be well known that their naval force is greatly lessened since that time, yet even in our days they have enough remaining to give considerable interruption to the naval commerce of such of the powers of Christendom as they please to make war upon.

It would be almost endless to recount all the disputes that have happened at different times between Denmark and other nations, and more especially with the Hanse towns, concerning the toll paid by ships in passing the Sound. This year the cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Bremen, entered into stricter engagements together, by reason of Denmark’s too rigorously exacting that toll, for the support of their commercial interests and those of such other Hanse towns as should join with them, by arming both by sea and land, yet without mentioning this toll expressly in the treaty: and this, like former treaties, had good consequences attending it for some time after.

After the English had been in possession of the isle of Providence in America, and had partly planted it, ever since the year 1629, they were now attacked by the Spaniards with a great force; and although they made a stout resistance, they were obliged to surrender the island to them, with considerable loss to the planters. Yet the Spaniards did not after this settle thereon at all, their sole aim in driving out our people being to keep up their idle and unreasonable pretensions to the property of all the Bahama isles: but England again took possession of Providence, and we now claim the sole property of all the Bahamas.

The French having, for the reasons already assigned, abandoned the colony of Surinam, an English colony was settled there in the same year at the expense of Lord Willoughby, who is said to have wasted his estate in the undertaking.

The want of due care and provident foresight in princes and states for cherishing and improving the commerce of their dominions has often proved to their irretrievable detriment, by the loss of their traffic, the best source of their wealth and power. Lewis Roberts, in his *Treasure of traffic*, (published in 1641) gives us three pregnant instances thereof, which also afford us some part of the history of three very eminent mercantile cities, viz. ‘ the want of good order in the government of the trade of Antwerp, and their imposition of heavy customs upon the merchants, hath, within these fifty years, brought that town to the lowness wherein we see it. Lyons in France hath suffered wonderfully by the same inconveniencies: and Marseilles, within the days of my knowlege, had a wonderful great traffic with many places of Turkey, Barbary, Spain, &c. and was able to shew many ships employed in merchandize, about twenty-five years ago, carrying thirty and forty pieces of ordnance; and now the best of their vessels, and

“ those too but very few in number, have not above ten pieces of ordnance.” Mr. Roberts had been himself an eminent merchant; and although the ruin of Antwerp is well known to have been principally owing to its being sacked by the Spanish army and the subsequent blocking up of the river Scheldt by the Dutch forts below that city, yet the cause he here assigns might have considerable influence before the siege of it by the Spanish army. Lyons and Marseilles have since his time prospered exceedingly under wiser management. All which shews how delicate a matter commerce is, and how carefully and constantly to be attended to by the rulers of states and kingdoms.

It was in this same year that the Dutch East-India company found means to get the Portuguese and other christians excluded from all trade to Japan; but, whether it was done in so deceitful and impious a way as their enemies gave out, we shall not take upon us to determine. They enjoy a trade thither from Batavia and other parts of India to this day, though subject to difficulties therein from the caprice of that very jealous nation. It was a cunning trick (says Puffendorf in his History of Europe) in the Dutch at Japan to drive the Portuguese out of that trade, by laying before the emperor an intercepted letter from the Portuguese jesuits there to the pope, promising his holiness in a short time to reduce all Japan to his obedience. But it produced terrible effects, not only to the jesuits, but to the poor Japanese converts, who, to the number of 400,000 and upwards, were all put to death, and the Portuguese for ever shut out from Japan on pain of death. Dr. Gemilli says, that the Dutch factory at Nangasacke enjoys not that liberty nor authority which they have in their trade to other parts; for as soon as the ships come to an anchor, a mandarin comes on board to count the men, and to carry the sails and rudders on shore. They have no communication with the city, but live in their factory, which is on a rock inclosed with a wall; and no trade is allowed but once in a year.

Hitherto, according to Ligon's History of Barbados, and other authors of the history of the Caribbee islands, very bad tobacco, together with some ginger and cotton, were all the produce they had at Barbados till this year, when some of the most industrious planters procured sugar-canes from Fernambuc in Brasil; and these thriving very well, they planted more and more as they multiplied; and at length found it would answer well to set up a very small ingenio or sugar-mill; yet the secret of making sugar was not so well understood by the Barbadians till two or three years after, when some of their people made a voyage to Brasil, from whence they brought better instructions and more sugar plants. Yet even at Mr. Ligon's arrival at Barbados, which was not till the year 1647, although there were then many sugar-works set up, they were nevertheless ignorant of the true manner of planting, and the time of cutting the canes, the proper manner of placing the

coppers, and the true way of covering their rollers with cases of iron. But they were much improved in the goodness of the sugar and in the method of making it in the year 1650, when he left that island, inasmuch that a plantation of Major Hilliard's, of 500 acres, which, before they began to plant sugar, he knew could have been purchased for £400 sterling, was, at his landing there in the year 1647, worth £14,000. Moreover, Colonel James Drax, whose beginning on that island was founded on a stock of £300 sterling, raised his fortune to such a height, that our author has heard him say, he would not return to settle in England for the remainder of his life till he should be able to purchase a land estate of £10,000 a-year, which he hoped in a few years to accomplish. And Colonel Thomas Modyford had often told him, that he had taken a resolution not to set his face for England until he could make his voyage and employment there worth £100,000 sterling. These instances in such early times are sufficient clearly to shew the vast importance of our sugar plantations to the nation. The first planters of sugar finding such immense profit, it encouraged many people to go thither from England, which also encouraged the merchants at home to send more ships with provisions, tools, clothing, and all other necessaries, in exchange for the produce of that island. And this being the first of our colonies which cultivated sugar plantations, it greatly hastened the improvement of our other islands, which soon after followed it in planting sugar to very great advantage. And as it was impossible to manage the planting of that commodity by white people in so hot a climate, so neither could sufficient numbers of such be had at any rate: necessity, therefor, and the example of Portugal, gave birth to the negro slave-trade from the coast of Guinea; and it is almost needless to add, that such great numbers of slaves, and also the increase of our white people in those islands, soon created a vast demand for all necessaries from England, and also a new and considerable trade to Madeira for wines to supply those islands; which were so far from draining their mother-country of her cash, that they annually supplied her with considerable quantities thereof, as the trade thither was then, and many years after, left open to all nations, till after the restoration of King Charles II, when the parliament observing the great detriment that such an open trade did to the kingdom, it was absolutely confined to our own people by the several acts of navigation; in consequence whereof the ports of London and Bristol soon after became the great magazines for sugar for supplying all the north and middle parts of Europe, and the Portuguese sugars of Brasil were reduced from £8 to £2: 10 per hundred weight.

Barbados and the other Caribbee islands continued proprietary colonies till after the restoration, when King Charles II purchased them, and made them regal governments. Most of the rich sugar planters always

have fixed at last in England with their fortunes, and have thereby laid the foundation of many great families. And it is the peculiar honour of Barbados, that it is to this day the noblest and best cultivated spot of ground in all America, and produces the finest, and also the greatest quantity of sugar of any of our islands, the large island of Jamaica only excepted.

On Saturday the 23d of October (a day dedicated to St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the society of Jesus) broke out the dreadful rebellion and general defection of the Irish, and even of most of the old English papists in Ireland, who by a general massacre attempted to extirpate the whole race of protestants, and in the first three months destroyed 154,000 protestants with great cruelty, the design not being discovered till the night before.

The Irish papists had lived quietly ever since Tyrone's rebellion was suppressed, at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign; but in the beginning of this year they had formed the execrable plot of cutting the throats of all the English throughout Ireland, seizing on all fortified places, and absolutely shaking off the English yoke. In all parts at any distance from Dublin the plot was executed on the above day, but the project of seizing the castle of Dublin on that day was discovered the night before, otherwise their infernal scheme would probably have been rendered effectual. We just briefly mention this horrid massacre, purely as it had a bad influence on commerce; and we shall only farther note, that it had also a great influence on the English parliament and people, to the detriment of King Charles and his popish bigotted queen. The parliament sent succour and supplies to Ireland in such slender quantities, and with such deliberation, as testified that they believed the king's aim was to drain England of troops, and to engage the parliament in an Irish war, to keep them from meddling with his prerogative, and lessening his power; so the breach between the king and his parliament became every day wider. For the effectual suppression of this rebellion an act of parliament passed in this year [c. 33] for disposing of two millions and an half of acres of lands belonging to the rebels to well-affected lenders of the following sums, viz. a thousand acres of good land in the province of Ulster for £200, the like quantity in Connaught for £300, in Munster for £450, and in Leinster for £600, all freehold; paying quit-rents in Ulster of one penny per acre, in Connaught three halfpence, in Munster twopence farthing, and in Leinster threepence per acre. Those lands to be laid out to the subscribers by lot. And thus were a great number of well-affected protestants settled on the lands of lazy and bigotted papists, very much to the improvement of that kingdom.

1642.—A treaty of peace and friendship was concluded at London on the 29th of January (foreign stile) between King Charles I and

John IV king of Portugal, and ratified by King Charles at York 22d May 1642.

What relates to commerce is in substance, viz.

I) There shall be a free commerce between the subjects of both crowns in all countries, islands, &c. where it was permitted in the time of the kings of Castile, or since.

IV) The English shall enjoy the same privileges and immunities in Portugal as the natives themselves; nor shall they pay higher duties, customs, &c. than the natives; and they shall enjoy all the privileges which the English enjoyed in Portugal before it was united to Spain.

V) The merchants of England, coming into the havens of Portugal, shall not be obliged to take any other goods on board than what they shall themselves think fitting; and the Portuguese shall have the like freedom in England.

VIII) England shall have consuls residing in Portugal to take care of the interests and commerce of their nation.

IX) The effects of the English dying in Portugal shall not be taken possession of by the judges or other officers of Portugal, but shall be put into the hands of the defunct's executors or trustees, if on the spot, or, if absent, into the hands of one or two English merchants, not married, sworn to do justice, in trust for those who shall appear to have the right to the said effects.

X) English ships shall not be stopped nor detained in Portugal without the king of Great Britain's knowledge and consent, but shall be freely permitted to depart at their pleasure. Neither shall the goods and merchandize of the English be taken for the king of Portugal's use, unless for a just and usual price, which shall be paid for in two months time, unless otherwise agreed for.

XII) Things shall remain in the East-Indies, in point of peace and commerce between both nations, for three years to come, as they were settled by treaty in India in the year 1635 between the president or governor, William Methwold, for the English there, and the Portuguese governors; after which a perpetual peace shall ensue.

XIII) The subjects of England settled on the coast of Africa under the Portuguese, viz. at Guinea, Binny, &c. and in the isle of St. Thome, and other isles on that coast, who had this privilege under the kings of Castile, shall not be molested therein. And the king of Portugal may freely hire the English ships trading to those coasts, until otherwise settled between both nations*.

XIV) The subjects of the king of Great Britain shall have the same liberty of importing into and exporting from Portugal all sorts of goods

* The Portuguese had long been in the practice of hiring English ships to carry their slaves from Africa to Brasil. A.

and merchandize, as has been granted to the states of Holland, &c. by treaty in 1640.

XV) The English shall not be liable to imprisonment, nor to seizure of their persons, goods, books of accounts, &c. in the same manner as has been or shall be granted to the subjects of any other potentate.

XVII) The English in Portugal shall not be disturbed on account of conscience or difference of religion, provided they give no scandal to the natives, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xx, p. 523 *.]

The great Cardinal Richlieu, who had brought the commerce, colonies, and manufactures, of France to a considerable height, and had laid a solid foundation for much greater improvements to be made by his successors, died this year. He left France possessed of 100 warlike ships and galleys, with suitable naval stores in the royal arsenals. He raised the crown revenue to 70,000,000 of livres annually, whereas at his accession to the ministry it had been reckoned but at 35,000,000. And he also erected a company for the trade to the West-India isles.

The last constitutional act of parliament enacted by King Charles, together with the lords and commons, was in this year [c. 37] which confirmed the grant of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of acres of lands in Ireland forfeited by the rebels there, and granted by two former acts [cc. 33 and 35] to all persons and corporations in England who should pay down certain sums; and is now extended to all persons, English, Scottish, Irish, and Dutch, being protestants. And such as should by this last act subscribe, should have acres of a larger measure than English statute ones, viz. each to be 160 poles of 21 feet, instead of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet each.

Towards the close of this year, 1642, the war between King Charles and his lords and commons commenced, to the no small interruption of commerce and manufactures, as may easily be imagined.

The French author of the History of the Caribbee isles (Paris, 1658) says, that about this year a company of traders of the province of Zealand first planted on the isle of Tobago in the West-Indies, by sending 200 men thither, and gave it the name of New Walcheren; but it seems the natives murdered some of the Dutch, and forced the rest to desert it. Yet in 1650 the Zealanders from Flushing replanted that isle, which, lying the most southerly of all the Caribbee isles, and nearest to the continent, seemed very conveniently situated for a contraband trade with the Spanish province of New Andalusia, and also for the growth of sugar-canes, cotton, and ginger. Yet the Dutch made nothing considerable of that promising spot, although it has the conveniencies of

* We now take our leave of the *Fœdera Anglicæ*, the noblest collection of authentic records that any age or country, at least in Europe, can boast of. *Thurloe's State papers* (in seven volumes folio) the *Treaties of peace and commerce* entered into with foreign powers, and the *Acts of parliament*,

follow the *Fœdera*, as authentic documents of our commercial history in the succeeding times: and great assistance is afforded by a vast variety of temporary publications, professedly upon commercial subjects. A.

water, soil, and climate; and they have long since abandoned it. This author takes no notice of the duke of Courland's settlement in Tobago.

Sir Josiah Child (in his chapter on plantations, p. 196) endeavours to account for the small success the Dutch have had compared with England in planting remote colonies: '1st, they have not had those causes for peopling colonies which England has had, viz. the persecution of the puritans in the reigns of King James and Charles I: 2dly, King Charles's party after the battle of Worcester, and the Scots being routed there, helped to plant Barbados and Virginia: 3dly, at the restoration the royalists getting into all employments and offices, and the army being disbanded, &c. many of the commonwealth party withdrew to New England, &c.: 4thly, the lowness of the interest of money in Holland, as well as of the customs on merchandize, together with their toleration of all religions, and their other encouragements given to trade, occasions employment for all their own people at home, as also for multitudes of foreigners who come to settle there.' And indeed we may add, that, for the most part, none that can live comfortably, and that have full employment at home, will care to go into either violently hot, or extremely cold, or unusual climates, to work at the painful employments of new plantations. Moreover, the Dutch have scarcely had one other great means which we had for the first peopling of Virginia and Barbados, viz. picking up many loose and vagrant people, chiefly in the streets of London and Westminster, and other idle and dissolute persons, who, by merchants and masters of ships, were for many years spirited away (as they then termed it) to those colonies. As to what the Dutch have done in the East-Indies in the way of colonies, it was either by war or for traffic, by erecting strong forts on the sea-coasts, where, as at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the isles of Ceylon, Java, &c. they have mostly made use of the natives for plantation and cultivation. And this has also been partly the case with the Spanish and Portuguese greater colonies in America; but not in any great degree in those of France, from which last populous kingdom immense numbers of people have been sent to their colonies in America.

The following extract from an account printed in 1642 of several naval charges and equipments of the years 1640, 41, and 42, by order of parliament, will in part show the immense difference both in respect to strength and expense between our English navy then and now, viz.

1. <i>Imprimis</i> , the charge of 10 of the king's ships and 10 merchant ships employed on the narrow seas, <i>anno</i> 1641,	-	L57,592	4	6
2. ——— Ordinary of the navy for the year 1640,		27,610	3	9
3. ——— for the year 1641,		27,122	3	4
4. ——— for the year 1642,		21,056	11	6
5. Charge for the victualler of the navy for the ordinary expense of the year 1642,		7,655	17	9

6. The emptions of the office of ordnance for the years 1641 and 1642 together,	-	-	5,443	12	0
7. Charge of setting forth 15 of his majesty's ships for the narrow seas, anno 1642, for eight months, to the treasurer of the navy,	-	-	48,368	10	0
8. Ditto for 24 merchant ships for the same year and time,	-	-	81,758	8	0
9. For victualling the said 15 king's ships for that time,	-	-	27,359	16	6

The Dutch West-India company, observing that the native Indians of Chili were inveterately incensed against their conquerors the Spaniards, had flattered themselves that they should be able to make an easy conquest of that fine country. For this end they fitted out a squadron of ships, hoping thereby to possess themselves of some of their gold mines. At first indeed they defeated a party of Spaniards in that country, and gained over some of the chiefs of the native Indians to enter into an alliance with them against the Spaniards, which encouraged the Dutch to erect a fort at Baldivia, and to propose a commercial correspondence with the natives; yet the later, through some mischance or other, becoming jealous of their proceedings, the Dutch were in the end obliged to retire from Chili to that part of Brasil which was at this time in their possession.

A fresh company of merchants of France had been established by Richlieu for the trade to the East-Indies; but though they sent out a ship every year for India, yet most of their ships were either entirely lost, or else lost most of their sailors by distempers. And though they made great attempts to settle a permanent colony at Madagascar, yet it did not succeed, and so this third company came to nothing. Yet some private merchants from St. Maloes sent ships to India, which trade, it was said, turned out well for some time, but was afterwards dropped.

This year two Dutch ships sailed from Batavia in the East-Indies on discovery southward. They found a new passage by sea to the south of New Holland, Van Dieman's land, &c. Coming to New Zealand, in 42 degrees 10 minutes south latitude, they there found a cruel barbarous people, who murdered four of their men. Thence they sailed north-west amongst many islands, to some of which they gave the names of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, &c. Thence they sailed west about to New Guinea, and home to Batavia, after being out about ten months. [*Harris's Collection of voyages*, p. 608.]

1643.—In March 1642-3 the English lords and commons in parliament made an ordinance, without the king, for raising £34,108:10 per week, which amounts to £1,773,649:16 per annum. [*Rushworth's Historical collections*, V. v, p. 150.]

By an ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament in the year 1643, the fines for the freedom of the company of the merchant-adventurers of England were doubled, viz. £100 for a Londoner, and £50 for one in any of the outports; with power also for this society to imprison such as refused to pay the said fines. The words of the ordinance of the lords and commons (being one of the first acts or ordinances issued by their authority without the royal assent) are as follow, viz. ‘ that this company having been found very serviceable and profitable to this state, and especially to the antient and great trade of clothing; this fellowship shall therefor continue and be a corporation, with power to levy monies on its members and their goods, for the necessary charge and maintenance of their government. And that no person shall trade within their limits but freemen of the corporation, upon forfeiture of their goods; provided, that this company shall not exclude any person from his freedom therein who shall desire it by way of redemption, if such person by their custom be capable thereof, hath been a bred merchant, and shall pay £100 for the same, if a freeman of London, and trading from that port; or £50 if not free of London, and not trading from that port. They shall have power to imprison members in matters of government, and to administer such oaths to them as shall be approved by parliament; provided also, that all rights confirmed by act of parliament or antient charters shall be hereby saved. And it was ordered, that a bill be prepared for passing an act in this present parliament for farther settling and confirming the privileges of this fellowship, and this ordinance in the mean time to remain in force.’

But this was in consideration of no less a sum than £30,000 advanced to the parliament by the merchant-adventurers.

In the same year there came out a like ordinance of parliament in favour of the Levant (or Turkey) company, declaring, ‘ that, for the encouragement of that fellowship, which, beside the building and maintaining of divers great ships, and the venting of kerfies, sayes, perpetuanos, and several other commodities, hath been found very serviceable to this state, by advancing navigation, and transporting into foreign parts, for several years together, above 20,000 broad cloths yearly, besides other commodities, dyed and dressed in their full manufacture, and for the better government and regulating of trade, the said fellowship shall continue to be a corporation, and shall have the free choice and removal of all officers, &c. who are to be maintained by them either at home or abroad, whether ambassadors, governors, deputies, consuls, &c. And shall have power to levy monies on their members and on strangers upon all goods shipped in English bottoms, or on strangers bottoms, going to, or coming from, the Levant, for the supply of their own necessary expence, as well as

‘ for such sums of money as shall be advanced for the use and benefit
 ‘ of the state by the approbation of parliament *. And no person shall
 ‘ bring from, or send goods or ships into, the limits of their charter but
 ‘ such as are free brothers, or otherwise licenced by the corporation, on
 ‘ pain of forfeiture of the whole, or other lesser penalty to be imposed
 ‘ by this corporation on their goods or ships. None shall be excluded
 ‘ from the freedom of this corporation who shall desire it by way of re-
 ‘ demption, if such person be a mere merchant and otherwise capable
 ‘ thereof, and shall pay L50 for the same, if above 27 years of age,
 ‘ or L25 if under that age, or so much less as their fellowship shall
 ‘ think fitting. They may also impose fines on persons wittingly con-
 ‘ temning or disobeying their orders, but not to exceed L20 for any
 ‘ one offence : and, in default, to distrain the goods of persons so fined ;
 ‘ and if no sufficient distress can be found, to imprison their persons
 ‘ till they pay their fines, or otherwise give satisfaction. They shall have
 ‘ power also to give such oaths as shall be approved by parliament, pro-
 ‘ vided that all rights or charters granted under the broad seal of Eng-
 ‘ land or otherwise shall be hereby saved. It is also ordained, that with
 ‘ all convenient expedition a bill shall be prepared to pass into an act of
 ‘ this present parliament, for the farther settling and full confirmation
 ‘ of this fellowship’s privileges, &c. ; and this ordinance to remain in
 ‘ full force till then.’

Brower (or Brewer), a Dutchman, failed into the great South sea through a passage, since called by his name, east of the strait of Le Maire (mentioned under the year 1616), and so round by Cape Horne, as usual.

In this same year, the exclusive privileges of the Dutch East-India company expiring, they were renewed for 27 years longer, in consideration of 1,600,000 guilders paid to the public. It is needless here to add, that those privileges have since been renewed from time to time to our days, and that on every such renewal that company advanced considerable sums of money for the same.

The French now first planted the Caribbee island of St. Bartholomew, in the latitude of 16 degrees, about five miles north of St. Christophers. It has but little ground fit for cultivation, yet it is said to have plenty of lignum-vitæ and iron-wood. It is unsafe for shipping, by reason of the many rocks which surround it. It has been several times in French and English hands by turns.

By an ordinance of the lords and commons the duty on our plantation-tobacco was now made 4*d* per pound weight : yet in the following year, by another ordinance, they reduced it to 3*d* per pound, custom

* It may be presumed that they, as well as the merchant-adventurers, paid for the renewal of their privileges. A.

and excise together; 'they finding,' as that ordinance expresses it, 'that the duty of 4*d* had somewhat intermitted the trade in that commodity;' which shews that tobacco was by this time become a trade worth the attention of parliament.

The parliament now laid a tax for the ensuing year on beer and ale in all counties within the limits of their power, calling it by a new word, *excise*. In which ordinance they also laid a duty of 4*s* per pound on foreign tobacco, and 2*s* on English tobacco; L6 on every ton of wine retailed, and L3 per ton for private consumption. A duty also on raisins, sugar, currants, cloth of gold and silver, tissue, damask table-linen; which shews they were in great want of money. And the king's parliament, then sitting at Oxford, imposed the like taxes on all within their power, and never met more at all. The city of London (according to *Rushworth*, V. iii, p. 2) agreed to make a weekly payment of L10,000, exclusive of Westminster and the other suburbs; which shews the great wealth as well as zeal of the citizens. Yet it is scarcely to be supposed, that the city could have constantly paid so great an assessment.

At this time one Kephler a Dutchman brought into England the knowledge of the fine scarlet dye called the Bow-dye, as being first practised at the village of Bow near London.

1644.—According to Ware's *Gesta Hibernorum* [p. 181] on the 8th of August 1644 the citizens of Dublin were numbered, and found to be of

Protestants	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2565 \text{ men.} \\ 2986 \text{ women.} \end{array} \right.$	Papists	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1202 \text{ men.} \\ 1406 \text{ women.} \end{array} \right.$
Total protestants	5551	Total papists	2608
Total papists	2608		
Total of both	8159		

As the city of Dublin is the capital of Ireland, the residence of the king's lieutenant and of all the courts of law, as well as the usual place for holding the parliament, &c. I think it impossible that this census can be of any other than adult persons alone, to approach near to any probability of truth. If therefor there be, as usually computed, at least two children to each adult person, then

	-	-	8159
Multiplied by 2, gives	-	-	16,318

Total men, women, and children, 24,477

This was but a small number compared to the number in that city at this time, which since then has greatly increased, more especially since the accession of the present royal family, insomuch that they are now computed by many to amount to above 100,000 souls.

The toll exacted by the crown of Denmark from all foreign ships, passing to and from the Baltic sea through the Sound of Elfinore, was in consideration of the protection those ships received from the castle of Kronenburg, for a safeguard from pirates, who were numerous in that sea in the 13th and 14th centuries, and also for light-houses erected by Denmark for the direction of shipping in dark nights. About the time the Dutch shook off the yoke of Spain, Denmark made unreasonable demands on them. But this year the Dutch assisted the Swedes in an invasion of Denmark, whereby the later lost part of their dominions to Sweden. This brought on a treaty in the following year 1645, whereby, after numberless disputes between Denmark and Sweden, Denmark was obliged to give up all right to demand any toll whatever on Swedish ships, having only their own merchandize passing the Sound, yet they were still bound to pay toll for the merchandize of other nations in their bottoms.

Moreover, the states-general of the United provinces at the same time renewed former treaties with Denmark, and settled the moderate toll they were thenceforward to pay at passing the Sound, being about £25 sterling for a ship of 200 tons; to which England and France also agreed. By the third article of this treaty, it is expressly stipulated, that Dutch ships and goods passing the Sound shall not be searched; but entire credit shall be given to the mariners producing their cockets. And the tolls now agreed on shall continue the same for forty years to come.

1645.—We have seen (under the year 1640) that the royal mint in the tower of London had for some years before that period been made use of as a bank or deposit for merchants to lodge their cash in. But King Charles having, in that year, made free with their money therein, the mint lost its credit in that respect. After which, the merchants and traders of London generally trusted their cash with their servants till the breaking out of the civil war, when their apprentices and clerks frequently left their masters to go into the army. Thereupon, in such unsettled times, merchants not daring to confide in their apprentices, began first, about this year, 1645, to lodge their cash in goldsmiths hands, both to receive and pay for them. Until which time, the whole and proper business of London goldsmiths was to buy and sell plate, and foreign coins of gold and silver, to melt and cull them, to coin some at the mint, and with the rest to supply the refiners, plate-makers, and merchants, as they found the price to vary. This account of the matter we have from a scarce and most curious small pamphlet published in 1676, entitled, the Mystery of the new-fashioned goldsmiths or bankers discovered, in only eight 4to pages *. The author observes, that this new banking business soon grew very considerable. It happened, says

* No bookseller's or printer's names are affixed to the title page. A.

he, in those times of civil commotion, that the parliament, out of the plate and old coin brought into the mint, coined seven millions into half-crowns; and there being no mills then in use at the mint, this new money was of a very unequal weight, sometimes 2*d* and 3*d* difference in an ounce, and most of it was, it seems, heavier than it ought to have been, in proportion to the value in foreign parts. Of this the goldsmiths made naturally the advantages usual in such cases, by picking out the heaviest and melting them down or exporting them. It happened also that our old gold coins were too weighty, and of these also they took the like advantage.

Moreover, such merchants' servants as still kept their masters' running-cash, had fallen into a way of clandestinely lending the same to the goldsmiths, at 4*d* per cent per diem, who, by these and such-like means, were enabled to lend out great quantities of cash to necessitous merchants and others, weekly or monthly, at high interest; and also began to discount the merchants' bills, at the like or an higher rate of interest. Much about the same time, they (the goldsmiths or bankers) began to receive the rents of gentlemens estates, remitted to town, and to allow them, and others who put cash into their hands, some interest for it, if it remained but for a single month in their hands, or even a lesser time. This was a great allurements for people to put their money in their hands, which would bear interest till the day they wanted it, (somewhat like our modern East-India company's bonds.) And they could also draw it out by £100 or £50, &c. at a time, as they wanted it, with infinitely less trouble than if they had lent it out on either real or personal security. The consequence was, that it quickly brought a great cash into their hands; so that the chief or greatest of them were now enabled to supply Cromwell with money in advance on the revenues, as his occasions required, upon great advantages to themselves.

After the restoration, King Charles being in want of money, the bankers took 10 per cent of him, barefacedly; and, by private contracts on many bills, orders, tallies, and debts, of that king's, they got 20, sometimes 30, per cent, to the great dishonour of the government. This great gain induced the goldsmiths more and more to become lenders to the king; to anticipate all the revenue; to take every grant of parliament into pawn as soon as it was given; also to outvie each other in buying and taking to pawn bills, orders, and tallies; so that, in effect, all the revenue passed through their hands. And so they went on till the fatal shutting of the exchequer in the year 1672; of which in its place. Since the happy revolution in 1688, our legislators have put it out of the power of the crown alone to make anticipations on parliamentary grants, which can only be done by a clause or clauses in such respective statutes.

By a treaty of commerce now concluded between the queen regent

of France, in the minority of Louis XIV, and the king and kingdom of Denmark, it was stipulated, ' that French ships, or ships hired or ' laden by Frenchmen *, passing the famous Sound of Denmark, whither- ' soever they may be bound or may come from, or what goods soever ' they may have on board, shall not be obliged to pay any more toll ' than that agreed this same year in a table of this toll with the Dutch.' And the French shall pay the same for sea-beacons and fires as the Dutch pay. And that both kingdoms shall in general enjoy freedom of commerce in each other's respective kingdom.

In the Collection of orders, ordinances, and declarations of parliament, (printed for E. Husband, printer to the house of commons, in folio, 1646) we have a list [*p.* 665] of the public navy, and also of the merchant ships, set forth in the summer 1645, by order of parliament, viz.

	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
One ship (Vice-admiral Blyth) of - -	875	280	50
One of - - - - -	600	170	40
One (Rear-admiral Owen) of - - -	575	170	40
One of - - - - -	557	170	38
One of - - - - -	520	170	38
One of - - - - -	559	160	38
One (under Vice-admiral Batten) of -	650	260	36
One of - - - - -	512	160	36
One of - - - - -	500	150	36

The rest consisted of 17 smaller ships, from 400 tons, 110 men, and 28 guns, down to 80 tons, 45 men, and 8 guns; so that here is only one ship which could at all be admitted, in our days, into a line of battle.

The Royal sovereign, built ten years before, and perhaps several other large ships of war were either still under the king's command, or else were not as yet judged necessary. There were also six pinks and frigates, of each 50 tons burden; and eighteen merchant ships, from 405 tons, 121 men, and 29 guns, down to 106 tons, 59 men, and 12 guns. Probably this was the greatest part of the parliament's naval force. Yet, at this time, there arose a great coolness and jealousy between this parliament and the Dutch republic; the Dutch, through the prince of Orange's influence, having shewn a manifest partiality to the king's side, which the parliament at this time closely argued with the states-general, in a long and sharp declaration or remonstrance, printed in the book of ordinances. The parliament therefor soon found it needful to increase their marine, as foreseeing a storm from that quarter.

1646.—By an ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament; in

* The French had at this time so few ships of their own that this distinction was very necessary. *A.*

the year 1646, it was enacted, that from the 24th February 1645, old stile, the court of wards and liveries, and all wardships, liveries, premier-feifins, and oustre-les-mains, be taken away; and that all tenures by homage, and all fines, licences, seizures, and pardons for alienation, be likewise taken away: as also, that all tenures by knights-service either of his majesty or of others, or by knights-service or soccage in capité of his majesty, be turned into free and common soccage. Which ordinance was amply confirmed by an act of the protector and his parliament in the year 1656.

The removal of these antient Norman badges of servitude, or something too near akin to slavery, was thought so reasonable, though now enacted by the lords and commons without the king, with whom they were at war, that, upon the restoration of Charles II, it was confirmed by an act of the legislature, as will be seen in its place. Servitude or vassalage is in its consequences ever obstructive of commerce and industry, and therefor ought to be abolished in all free and wise governments. In a fawning letter from Sir Robert Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's secretary, to King James of Scotland in the year 1601, amongst other points he exhorts him in the words following, 'to dissolve the court of wards,' (in England) on the supposition of his undoubtedly succeeding the queen, 'being the ruin of all the noble and antient families of this realm, by base matches and evil education of children, by which no revenue of the crown will be defrayed.' [*Appendix to Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland, V. ii, p. 117, ed. 1759.*]

By another printed ordinance of the lords and commons, we see somewhat of the state of the commerce of the English American plantations, reciting, 'that whereas the several plantations of Virginia, Bermudas, Barbados, and other places of America, have been much beneficial to this kingdom, by the increase of navigation, and of the customs arising from the commodities of the growth of those plantations imported into this kingdom; and as goods and necessaries carried thither from hence have not hitherto paid any custom, for the better carrying on of the said plantations, it is now ordained by the lords and commons in parliament, that all merchandize, goods, and necessaries, for the supportation, use, and expence of the said plantations, shall pay no custom nor duty for the same, the duty of excise only excepted for three years to come, except to the plantations in Newfoundland: security being given here, and certificates from thence, that the said goods be really exported thither, and for the only use of the said plantations: provided always, that none in any of the ports of the said plantations do suffer any ship or vessel to lade any goods of the growth of the plantations, and carry them to foreign parts, except in English bottoms, under forfeiture of the before-named exemption from customs.' Hereby the foundation was laid for the naviga-

tion acts afterwards, which may be justly termed the commercial palladium of Britain. We shall also see this wise proviso farther legally enacted after the restoration of King Charles II, by the famous acts of navigation.

It is but too true, that both the English and Dutch continued too long to depress Spain, and too long to encourage the preponderation of the power and strength of France, whereby, even so early as this time, the balance of power, with respect to those two nations, was much endangered. Thus the Orange party in Holland, jealous of the opposite democratical party, made Admiral Van Trump, in the years 1644, 45, and 46, block up the ports of Graveling, Mardyk, and Dunkirk, until they at length fell finally into the hands of France: and, in recompense, France made many seizures of Dutch ships in the Mediterranean, &c. whereby, it is said, the democratical merchants of Amsterdam alone lost ten millions of guilders.

According to Savary's *Dictionnaire universelle du commerce*, the manufacture of fine woollen cloth was now first set on foot at Sedan by three Frenchmen, who had a patent for twenty years, to be the sole directors of the manufacture of black as well as coloured cloths: and for their encouragement, they had each a pension of 500 livres for life, and their children were thereby nobilitated in France, and their foreign workmen declared to be denizens of France, free from being quartered on by soldiers, and from all taxes and excises. The directors were also allowed 8000 livres yearly for carrying on that manufacture during the said term. And the success has even exceeded expectation, the Sedan cloths having been brought to great perfection.

Thus we see, that Cardinal Mazarine trode in the steps of his predecessor Richlieu, and we cannot wonder at the improvements made by France in almost every species of manufacture, when we see such great and early encouragements given to the promoters of them.

1647.—At this time the feebleness and decline of Spain were very apparent. Her want of manufactures, product, and other necessaries, within herself, for supplying her vast American colonies, occasioning all the gold and silver brought thence to be paid away as fast as they received it, to the English, Dutch, French, Germans, and Italians, for all kinds of necessaries for the colonies. Moreover, the scarcity of people in Spain, compared to the great extent of that country, was now sadly felt, partly occasioned by the expulsion of so vast a number of Moors and Jews, and partly by permitting such numbers of people to go over from time to time entirely to settle in America; so that Spain was become more than half desolate, and even those still remaining in it were become the most idle, lazy, and indolent, people of any civilized nation. It was certain, they could not find people enough of their own for cultivating their lands, and were obliged to employ poor French people,

as indeed they have to this time done, to come every year over the Pyrenean mountains into Spain, for getting in their harvests. This melancholy situation is by some authors said to have put the Spanish court upon consultation, about the middle of this century, whether it might not be adviseable for the king and his court, &c. to remove to and settle entirely in America, in consideration of their not having a sufficiency of people for the joint preservation of the Spanish dominions both in Europe and America. In the next succeeding reign of King Charles II, Spain grew still more feeble : yet, after all, she has since, through wiser counsels, been able to weather most of her misfortunes, and is, in our days, in a more prosperous condition than she had been for above 130 years backward.

The lords and commons of the English parliament now wisely and absolutely prohibited the exportation of English wool. They also issued a proclamation for supporting the privileges and charters of the society of the merchant-adventurers of England, who, in this year, had removed their foreign residence or comptoir from Delft to Dort. And our woollen trade at this time was in a very prosperous condition.

Yet, through many various misfortunes, and especially the many encroachments and cruelties of the Dutch company, the English East-India company's trade seems to have been at this time almost quite sunk, or at least much decayed.

It was about this year that the Caribbee island of Marygalante was begun to be planted by the French. Such parts of it as are plain and not quite barren they cultivated very well, chiefly for the growth of tobacco : but it is said to be in general very mountainous. Columbus, in the year 1493, named it after his own ship.

England's wealth and commerce at this time must have been very considerable, since, notwithstanding the interruptions which a six years civil war must have occasioned, the lords and commons had raised upwards of forty millions sterling for the war against the king, between the years 1641 and 1647, or about 16,666,666 : 13 : 4 per annum, [*Royal treasury of England*, p. 297, 8vo, 1725] beside what the king had raised in the counties where his interest was predominant.

1648.—The pitch and tar manufacture of Sweden was in early times a very considerable part of their commerce. The principal ports from whence those articles were of old exported to the rest of Europe, were Stockholm and Wyburg. But Queen Christiana having, in the year 1648, erected a joint-stock tar company, exclusive of all others, whereby they were said to have doubled their capital every three years, those monopolists laid such exorbitant prices on pitch and tar, they obliging themselves by that charter to take off all that was made in the kingdom, that even such parts of Sweden as before made no tar were then obliged to fall into the making of it, whereby the quantity was greatly

increased in such parts of Sweden as were not within the limits of that company's patent, which almost ruined them. However, by fresh aids they recovered again, and so lately as the beginning of the eighteenth century, their monopoly brought some distress upon this kingdom, which in the end was productive of much good, as will appear under the year 1703.

The long and bloody wars between the house of Austria on one side, and France and Sweden on the other side, at length brought on the famous treaty of Westphalia. England had indeed no concern therein, being too deeply engaged at home; yet as this memorable pacification considerably affected all the other great potentates of Christendom, it well deserves a due animadversion in this work, as far as more immediately relates to our subject.

I) In the German empire France obtained a considerable accession of dominion. Sweden got a great part of Pomerania, with the archbishopric of Bremen, now secularized and converted into a dukedom, and also the bishopric since called the principality of Verden: the duke of Bavaria gained all the upper palatinate, and was made an elector of the empire.

II) Spain, growing continually more feeble, by this treaty found herself obliged to conclude a solid and perpetual peace with the states-general of the seven United provinces of the Netherlands, by renouncing all former claims and pretensions, and acknowledging them to be free and independent sovereigns. And indeed if the Spaniards had good reasons for agreeing to this peace with the Dutch, as it was commonly believed that their war with them had cost no less than 1,500,000,000 of ducats, the Dutch on the other hand had ground to be equally pleased therewith, not only for the immediate advantage and honour thereby redounding to them, but likewise because they now began too plainly to perceive the scale of France to preponderate; and that, if Spain should be reduced too low, France might become (as has since been often experienced) a very dangerous neighbour to them, by robbing Spain of many of the noblest and strongest towns of her Netherlands.

III) This treaty adjusted the security of the trade and navigation to both the East and West Indies. The rule of *uti possidetis* being now to take place between Spain and Holland, not only in both the Indies, but also (with respect to Holland and Portugal) in Brasil, and on the west coast of Africa, as far as Spain had any claims. Spain was moreover hereby to keep her navigation to the East-Indies in the same manner they then held it, without being at liberty to extend it farther *. Nei-

* Spain's only communication with the East-Indies, then and ever since, was from New Spain. This condition was therefore prudently stipulated by the Dutch. A.

ther were the inhabitants of the Spanish Low countries to frequent the Spanish settlements in the East-Indies*.

IV) With regard to the West-Indies or America, the subjects of Spain and Holland were mutually to abstain from sailing to, or trading in, any of the harbours, places, &c. possessed by the one or the other party there.

V) The river Scheldt, as also the canals of Sas and Swyn, and other mouths of rivers disemboguing themselves there, were stipulated to be kept shut on the side of the lords the states-general †.

VI) It was stipulated that the Hanse towns should enjoy all the same rights, privileges, &c. in the dominions of Spain, which by this treaty were, or should in future be, granted to the subjects of the states-general; and reciprocally, the subjects of the states-general were to enjoy the same privileges, &c. in Spain as the Hanseatics; whether for establishing consuls in the capital ports of Spain, or elsewhere, as should be needful, or for the freedom of their merchants, factors, &c. and in like sort as the Hanse towns have formerly enjoyed, or shall hereafter obtain, for the security of their navigation and commerce. The Dutch were also to enjoy the same privileges, &c. in Spain as the king of Great Britain's subjects did; and honourable places were to be appointed for the interment of such of the subjects of the states-general as should happen to die in the Spanish dominions. The king of Spain, moreover, obliged himself effectually to procure the continuation and observation of the neutrality and amity of the emperor and empire with the states-general of the United Netherlands. [*General Collection of treaties*, V. ii, p. 335, ed. 1732.]

There was also a separate article relating to the freedom of commerce on both sides; against the carrying of contraband goods to the enemy's countries; and respecting the searching of ships, passports, &c. needless here to be particularized. It is sufficient upon the whole to observe, that the states-general of the United Netherlands by this honourable treaty gained the solid and lasting means of greatly enriching their people, by improving and extending their commerce, already grown to an amazing height in East-India, as well as in Africa and Europe. And here we cannot omit a circumstance which, though in itself it may appear inconsiderable, demonstrates the superiority of the Dutch in this treaty. The count of Oldenburg earnestly requested the states-general to be included in the treaty: but by decrees of the 23d of May and the 6th of August it was denied him; 'because he had for many years de-

* This was urged to good purpose by Great Britain and Holland against the emperor Charles VI, when he set up the Ostend company to trade from Flanders to the East-Indies. A.

† This was for preventing the revival of the trade of Antwerp, which still languishes under the deprivation of its maritime commerce. A.

manded toll on the Wefer, in order to difcourage and obftruct commerce, efpecially that of this ftate.'

Spain at this time was become fo feeble in point of naval affairs as to be obliged to hire Dutch veffels for carrying on her American commerce.

On the other hand (as fortune is feldom favourable every where) the Dutch Weft-India company was this year driven out of Angola in Africa by the Portuguefe.

1649.—It is faid that the Englifh Ruffia company remained fole mafters of the commerce to Archangel till the death of King Charles I, when it feems the Dutch, having by that time gained a powerful influence at the Ruffian court, the minifters thereof laid hold of that opportunity, on pretence of revenge againft a nation who had murdered their king, to introduce the Dutch into the Archangel trade, upon condition of paying 15 per cent on all imports and exports. Whereby they reaped fuch advantage that the Polifh envoy, in 1689, affirmed they had in that year 200 factors at Archangel. [*Harris's Coll. of voyages*, V. ii, p. 223.] This feems to be a more probable ftate of the Ruffian trade than that of the author of the Relation of the earl of Carlifle's embaffy to Ruffia in the year 1663, who, in his introduction, infinuates that the czar Alexis Michaelowitz had abolifhed the company's privileges purely out of refentment of the difloyalty of fome of the members of our company to their late fovereign: for in fact their privileges were abolifhed the year preceding King Charles's death. It is true indeed that this czar had expreffed great indignation againft thofe concerned in King Charles's death, and that he had lent his fon King Charles II, while in exile, 40,000 crowns, (King Charles I having lent this czar's father 40,000 dollars, befide forces) which was punctually repaid. But this refentment of the czar was no other than a political pretext, as appears by the earl of Carlifle's embaffy: for although his lordfhip remonftrated, that, as the foundation of the good correffpondence between the two nations was laid in the exclufive privileges granted to the Englifh company, who firft eftablifhed the traffic to Archangel, fo the king his mafter earneftly defired their re-eftablifhment: yet the czar perfifted in his refufal, even alleging that one Luke Nightingale had been fecretly fent to him by King Charles I, to defire the abolition of thofe privileges; (a moft improbable thing) to which other frivolous reafons were fuperadded. But it feems the true reafon was the Dutch contract, as above: although it was alleged that the company had carried foreign merchandize through Ruffia without paying any cuftom, which had occafioned a general complaint of the Ruffia merchants, factors, and tradefmen, that the Englifh engroffed all their trade, and grew vafly rich, whilft the czar's own fubjects were thereby impoverifhed. It was farther fhamefully alleged, that all the Englifh merchants, to whom the privileges were firft granted, were dead, and that their privileges expired

with them. To all which the earl of Carlisle replied, that it was well known that many of the English in Russia were loyal, and testified an abhorrence of their king's murder; that Nightingale was an impostor, and was never employed by the king; and that our company had never neglected to furnish the czar's treasury with cloth, tin, lead, pewter, and all other English commodities, at a cheaper rate than either the Dutch or the Hamburgers could do, although they hardly could ever be paid without bribing the czar's officers. He also utterly denied the company's being guilty of importing tobacco, of trading in prohibited goods, of carrying foreign goods through the country custom-free. And with respect to the allegation, that as the first merchants were dead, their privileges died with them, those privileges were ever understood to have been granted to the English nation, and not to any particular persons, and were therefor perpetual. The czar's commissioners trifled most egregiously in their conferences with Lord Carlisle: so that being tired with delays, he got a private audience with the czar, in which he represented in the strongest terms the reasonable grounds of King Charles's desiring the restoration of the company's privileges, confirmed by this very czar at his accession in the year 1645; that the English first opened a profitable trade for Russia as well as for England, at the expense of many lives, and the loss of ships and money; that the English had fought the enemies of Russia in the East (or Baltic) sea, when the neighbouring princes had leagued together to shut up Narva; that they had lent sums of money for the wars, furnished soldiers and commanders to fight the enemies of Russia, and had made peace for them with the neighbouring princes. Yet after a great deal of pains taken by that lord, the czar and his ministers persisted in their refusal of restoring our company's exclusive privileges. So he returned unsuccessfully home in 1669: and all that could be obtained was only, that the company might trade to Russia on the same footing as the Dutch. And thus from thenceforth they have remained a regulated company, much resembling the other regulated ones of the Hamburg and Turkey companies; each member trading on his own private bottom, paying a small sum on admission, and certain annual dues, for defraying the general expense of the company.

The Caribbee island of St. Croix had, it seems, in early times been subject to many masters in a short space. The French historian of the Caribbees observes that the English and Dutch had long contested the property of it; and that at length they divided it between them: yet in the year 1649 the English obliged the Dutch inhabitants to quit the island. Soon after, the Spaniards of Porto Rico invaded it, burnt their houses, killed all the English who resisted, and obliged the rest to transport themselves to Barbuda. But whilst those Spaniards were about to return back to Porto Rico, two armed French ships arrived there

in 1650 and overpowered the Spaniards, obliging them to return forthwith to Porto Rico. Here the French settled themselves, and have held it ever since.

The Danes have held the Caribbee island of St. Thomas for many years past, (though the exact year of its first settlement be uncertain.) It is one of the cluster of numerous small islands situated to the east of Porto Rico, called the Virgin islands, most of which are uninhabited and barren: is about seven leagues in compass; a free port; and by its situation very capable of commerce, especially of a contraband fort, with the neighbouring islands and territories of other European nations, in which it has often been very successful.

We have before related, that in the year 1636 King Charles granted a monopoly patent for the sole coining of copper or brass farthings, though they were not then to be forced upon poor people. Yet it appears from Mr. Drake's History and antiquities of York that in this year, 1649, there still were private tradesmen's copper halfpence in that city, of many of which (and particularly one of this year from the collection of James West, Esq.) he has exhibited the prints. He alleges, that these began first to be in use in the time of the usurpation: and indeed the practice of such private copper coins was not effectually restrained until the 24th year of King Charles II, (1672) when the king's public ones took place in their stead by his proclamation: whereby farthings and halfpence, made and used till then by private persons in trade and commerce, were expressly prohibited to be either paid or received in trade any more. This was a very needful and much-wanted regulation, more especially in retail trades.

An ordinance of the English lords and commons made in this year directs the new gold coins of their commonwealth to be of 20s, 10s, and 5s value; and their silver ones of 5s, 2s, 1s, 6d, 2d, 1d, and $\frac{1}{2}d$.*

In Thurloe's Collection of state-papers [V. i, pp. 127, 226] under this year we learn, that Mr. Strickland, the English commonwealth's resident in Holland, acquainted the English council of state, that the states-general of the United Netherlands had just concluded a treaty with the king of Denmark, whereby they farmed of him the toll of the Sound for about L35000 sterling yearly. So that all nations as well as the Dutch themselves were now to pay this toll at Amsterdam, which was always before collected at Elsinore. And even the Swedes, who before claimed an exemption from this toll, were now compelled to pay it at Amsterdam likewise.

* Such small pieces as silver halfpence must have been very troublesome; and there could have been no use for them, if regular legal copper money was then in circulation. We have seen in our own days the quarter-guineas of gold coin, and all the

silver coins under sixpence, laid by as curiosities, rather than useful circulating money. How much more minute and trifling must silver halfpence have been, which were then worth no more than the twenty-fourth part of our present shilling. A.

In the same collection, [*V. i, p. 227*] we see a paper of this year, entitled, Some considerations offered relating to the embassy for Sweden, whereby we learn, that wise men, even so long ago, foresaw of how much consequence our continental plantations in America might prove to us in respect of naval stores. The words are these, viz. ‘ the Swedes cannot be ignorant how that in time our plantations may furnish us with those commodities we have from them, and the utility of the sending their commodities to us, and the danger of the loss of such a branch of trade may oblige them to an union with us: whereas they cannot run that hazard in a breach with Holland.’

How much to our shame is this judicious remark; since, after so long a space, we have done so little for bringing that to perfection, which probably might well have been done in half the time, to our inestimable benefit, had we set about it more effectually? Yet so far have we there advanced already in raising sundry kinds of naval stores, that in half a century more we have reason to hope to be quite independent of a nation, which has sometimes taken no small advantage of our necessity.

The magistrates of the city of Bruges invited the English company of merchant-adventurers to return to that city, which was their antient residence; to which the company replied in substance, that their city must first take off the lycent and other town-rights; that our company must be sure of the free exercise of their religion there; and they must also be freed from all tolls whatsoever in sailing up from the port of Sluyce to Bruges. The last point, I apprehend, was not in the power of Bruges to grant, since the town, port, and territory, of Sluyce were possessed by the states of the United Netherlands; which probably was the main reason for our company’s not complying with that invitation: for as the residence or comptoir of this company was at this time at Dort in Holland, it is not likely, that the Dutch (with whom too the English commonwealth was not at this time in very good terms) would ever agree to lose so great a benefit by its removal to Bruges in the dominions of another potentate. [*Thurloe, V. i, p. 129.*]

Of how great benefit it would prove to the British commerce and dominions on the continent of North America, to civilize and christianize the native Indians (even abstracting from a reasonable hope of a blessing from heaven on such endeavours) needs not to be told to wise and experienced persons, who know how much the French in Canada were benefited thereby, to our great detriment; they having had great numbers of priests amongst their Indians for that end: they also brought the poorer French of both sexes to intermarry with the Indians; whereby they in some measure became one common nation together. This has been far from being the practice in our English plantations: yet we ought to do justice to the New-England clergy and people, by acknowledging that they have done much more than all our other colonies to-

ward christianizing their pagan Indians. To second such endeavours the rump parliament this year erected a corporation for propagating the gospel amongst those Indians, consisting of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants: and by an act of that same session of parliament, collections were made all over England for that end, whereby that corporation was enabled to purchase an estate of about L600 per annum. This corporation was legally established and incorporated at the restoration of King Charles II, the famous philosopher Mr. Boyle being then appointed their first president. And it remains a corporation to this day, continuing to send over missionaries to the frontiers of New England, &c. with treatises of instruction and devotion for the use of the Indians. They have also erected sundry schools for instructing the children of the Indians. There is also continued to this day an annual collection all over New-England for the same purpose.

The salt-ponds of the island of St. Martins in the West-Indies induced the Spaniards to build a fort on it: yet about this year they dismantled it and quitted the island; whereupon the Dutch from St. Eustatia took possession of it. The French, however, pretending to have been possessed of it before the Spaniards, sent also a colony thither. And their countryman, whom we have already had frequent occasion to quote, says, (in 1658) that the French and Dutch then lived there friendly together.

1650.—The English colonies of Virginia, Barbados, Antigua, and Bermudas, being in disorder on account of their zealous attachment to the royal family, the rump parliament, in the year 1650, by an ordinance prohibited all correspondence with them, unless by special leave from the council of state. That ordinance also granted permission to all merchant-ships, as well as national ships of war, to seize on the ships and merchandize of those, then stiled rebellious inhabitants. And whereas many disaffected royalists resorted thither in foreign ships, a clause was inserted for prohibiting (under forfeiture of ships and goods) any foreigners from resorting to, or trading thither, without a licence, on any pretext whatever. This prohibition was probably on a temporary and political consideration; yet we shall soon see this English republic endeavour absolutely to confine the commerce with our colonies to the people of England alone.

By this time the commerce of the seven United provinces of the Netherlands was arrived at its zenith; for testimony whereof we have the authoritative opinion of Sir William Temple, in the 6th chapter of his Observations on the United provinces, written in the year 1673.

‘ I am of opinion (says that great author) that trade has for some years ago past its meridian, and begun sensibly to decay among them: whereof there seem to be several causes; as first, the general application that so many other nations have made to it within these two or

‘ three and twenty years. For since the peace of Munster, which restored the quiet of Christendom, in 1648, not only Sweden and Denmark, but France and England, have more particularly than ever before busied the thoughts and counsels of their several governments, as well as the humours of their people, about the matters of trade. Nor has this happened without good degrees of success, though kingdoms of such extent, that have other and nobler foundations of greatness, cannot raise trade to such a pitch as this little state, which had no other to build upon; no more than a man, who has a fair and plentiful estate, can fall to labour and industry like one that has nothing else to trust to for the support of his life. But, however, all these nations have come of late to share largely with them; and there seem to be grown too many traders for trade in the world, so as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great populous village the first grocer, or mercer, that sets up among them, grows presently rich, having all the custom; till another, encouraged by his success, comes to set up by him, and share in his gains: at length so many fall to the trade that nothing is got by it, and some must give over, or all must break.’

We shall not presume dogmatically to combat so great a man’s opinion concerning this pretty comparison: yet we may here observe that possibly every one may not admit the parallel exactly to hold with regard to the commerce of the world in general, which, doubtless, has sundry new resources; new countries still to be discovered and traded to; and the trade to other countries before known may be still greatly increased: moreover the vast improvement of the American plantations since Sir William Temple’s time, as well as of the East-India trade, seems to evince, that although the Dutch trade be long since past its meridian, yet the general commerce of Europe is visibly increased since the year 1673, when he wrote.

Nothing can more effectually demonstrate the benefit of commerce in general, and the prodigious increase of it in Holland at this time, than the great pensionary De Witt’s account (in his Interest of Holland) of the single province of Holland being able, in the year 1650, to sustain the weight of, and pay the annual interest on, so great a debt as 140,000,000 of guilders, contracted by their war with Spain, besides other debts not at interest, amounting to 13,000,000 more. ‘ A capital debt (says our author) upon interest, which will not be believed by other nations, nor possibly by our successors in Holland, to have been born by so small a province, and at the same time many other heavy taxes, for the defence of themselves and their allies.’

The worsted manufactures of Norwich and its neighbourhood, known by the name of Norwich stuffs, being now arrived at a great pitch of reputation by their great vent in foreign parts as well as at home, the

rump parliament in the year 1650, by their act [c. 36] established a corporation of the worsted weavers of the city of Norwich, in the county of Norfolk, for rectifying abuses therein, and keeping up the goodness of that valuable manufacture: which corporation was again farther confirmed in the years 1653 and 1656, since which, the reputation of those stuffs, both for beauty and goodness, has greatly increased; and very great profit has accrued to the nation by their large exportation to foreign parts.

De Witt in his Interest of Holland [*part iii, c. 2*] relates that Amsterdam was now increased to 600 morgens (or acres) of ground, and contained 300,000 souls. In the year 1571 it contained only 200 morgens; so that in 79 years it had increased to three times its former magnitude.

That great author, who being the first minister of state of Holland, was undoubtedly perfectly well acquainted with this subject, farther observes, that the whole province of Holland contains scarcely 400,060 profitable morgens of land (downs and heath being excluded). And that therefore the eighth part of its inhabitants cannot be sustained by what is raised in it; and they are therefor indebted for their bread to the prodigious granaries of Amsterdam. On this subject the anonymous author of the Happy future state of England, [*p. 105, folio, 1689*] observes ‘how meanly the achievements of Venice, and the efforts to aggrandize their republic appear in history, notwithstanding the longevity of that state, when compared with those of Holland; seeing from the same great author (De Witt) it appears, that in the year 1664 the province of Holland alone paid near one million and an half sterling to the public charge of the whole seven United provinces, over and above the customs and other domains:’ and ‘that the very religion of popery occasions the Venetians to be more circumscribed with regard even to their regulations of traffic than the Hollanders are.’ Yet this author, in making such a parallel, might have more minutely considered the very different circumstances and situation, &c. of those two famous republics. Venice shut up in a deep gulf, remote from the main ocean, bordering for above three centuries past on the Turkish empire, during which it has thereby been kept in perpetual alarm, as well as by the Barbary corsairs in the Mediterranean. Holland, on the other hand, placed as it were in the very midst of Europe, and therefor much better situated for corresponding, both by sea and land, with most countries of the world, as well as happily situated also for its immense fisheries; whereas Venice has no such advantages.

The Caribbee island of Anguilla was now first settled on by some English people, whose posterity still hold it. It is reckoned of much the same nature with Barbuda, viz. chiefly for breeding cattle and raising corn. The people are reckoned few in number, poor and lazy, with-

out government, laws, or clergy. Yet in the year 1745 they, with only about 100 men, repulsed 600 French invaders with great bravery, and killed 150 of them.

About this time the French made a great settlement on the great island of Madagascar, (to which they gave the name of l'isle Dauphin) and erected a fort near the south-west point of the island. Yet, after keeping possession of it for many years, they at length abandoned it; its commerce not answering the charge of keeping up the forts, garrisons, &c.

The favourers of the new English commonwealth, observing the great conveniency of the banks and lumber offices of the free states of Italy, and of those of Amsterdam, first began, about this time, to publish several projects for those purposes in London; and one Samuel Lamb, a merchant, in the year 1657, addressed a large folio pamphlet to Cromwell the protector on this subject, though nothing was done in consequence thereof.

1651.—In the year 1651 the rump parliament, taking into their consideration, that the interest of money in sundry parts beyond sea was lower than the legal interest of it in England, whereby those English merchants, who carried on their commerce on credit with other men's money, undoubtedly traded to disadvantage in respect to the merchants of other countries; and that high interest keeps down the price of land, prudently reduced the legal interest of money from eight to six per cent; [*Thurloe, V. i, p. 472*] which rate of interest was confirmed after the restoration.

Sir Thomas Culpepper senior, in the preface to his second tract against the high rate of usury, published in 1641, remarks that 'within half an age we have seen many improvements of land, and a vast increase of the bulk of trade, by the abatement of interest.' He farther remarks, 'that it will seem incredible to such as have not considered it, but to any that will cast it up, it is plainly manifest that £100, at 10 in the hundred, in 70 years multiplies itself to £100,000. So if there should be £100,000 of foreigners money now managed here at 10 per cent interest, (and that doth seem no great matter) that £100,000 in 70 years space would carry out ten millions of money!' As in our present times Britain is obliged to pay to foreign nations the annual interest of many millions of our national debt, the above remark is an useful argument in favour of the present low interest thereon.

The rump parliament of England now made another most excellent and memorable law for the advancement of our shipping, navigation, and plantations. It had been observed with concern that the merchants of England, for several years past, had usually freighted Dutch shipping for fetching home their own merchandize, because their freight was at a lower rate than that of English ships. The Dutch shipping were thereby made use of even for importing our own American products; whilst

our own shipping lay rotting in our harbours: our mariners also, for want of employment at home, went into the service of the Dutch. To these considerations were superadded the haughty carriage of the states of Holland upon the parliament's demand of satisfaction for the murder of their envoy, Dr. Dorislaus, at the Hague; and for the insult put upon the ambassador they sent afterwards, whose proposals the states also had received very coldly: all which jointly considered determined the parliament to enact, that no merchandize, either of Asia, Africa, or America, including also our own plantations there, should be imported into England in any but English-built ships, and belonging either to English or to English-plantation subjects, navigated also by English commanders, and three-fourths of the sailors Englishmen: excepting, however, such merchandize as should be imported directly from the original place of its growth or manufacture in Europe solely. Moreover, no fish should thenceforward be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence to foreign parts, nor even from one of our own home ports to another, but what is caught by our own fishers only. This was the first famous general act, commonly called *the act of navigation*: and as it was nine years after confirmed (like the preceding one for the reduction of interest of money) we shall then be more particular in relation to the benefits arising therefrom. Yet it is highly proper here to observe that this law grievously affected the Dutch, who till now had been almost the sole carriers of merchandize from one country of Europe to another; the greatest part of their imports into England being thereby cut off: for till this law was enacted, all nations in amity with England were at liberty to import what commodities they pleased, and in what shipping they pleased. By authority therefor of this law, the English frequently searched the Dutch ships, and often made prize of them: whereupon the states sent over four ambassadors to expostulate with the rump and Cromwell; who in their turn made five several demands on the states, viz. 'first, the arrears of the tribute due for fishing on the British coasts; secondly, the restitution of the spice-islands to England; thirdly, justice on such as were still alive of those who committed the cruelties at Amboyna and Banda; fourthly, satisfaction for the murder of their envoy Dorislaus; and fifthly, reparation for the English damages sustained from the Dutch in Russia, Greenland, &c. amounting to so great a sum as £1,700,000.' Thus it is plain that the navigation-act proved the occasion of the cruel naval war, which broke out in the year following: for these five demands were made with so much peremptoriness as convinced the states, that it was time to prepare for a war with England.

In the mean time the novelty of this navigation-act, and the ignorance of some traders, occasioned at first loud complaints, that though

our own people had not shipping enough to import from all parts whatever they wanted, they were nevertheless by this law debarred from receiving new supplies of merchandize from other nations, who only could, and till then did, import them. Those complaints were however over-ruled by the government, who foresaw that this act would in the end prove the great means of preserving our plantation trade intirely to ourselves, would increase our shipping and sailors, and would draw the profit of freights to ourselves*.

In this same year a project was laid before the English commonwealth for obtaining of the court of Spain the pre-emption of all Spanish wool. The projector observed, that this proposed pre-emption would totally dissolve the woollen manufacture of Holland, which, by means of that wool, hath of late years mightily increased, to the destruction of the vent of all fine cloths of English manufacture in Holland, France, and the East country; and hath drawn from us considerable numbers of weavers, dyers, and clothworkers, now settled at Leyden and other towns in Holland; by whose help they have very much improved their skill in cloth, and have made in that one province, one year with another, 24,000 to 26,000 cloths yearly. That the Dutch have of late years bought and exported from Biscay four fifth parts, at least, of all their wools, and have sold there proportionably of their own country stuffs and sayes. That the French have also considerable quantities of wool from Biscay, which they work up into cloth at Rouen and other parts. The projector proposed a joint stock to be raised for engrossing all the Spanish wool, whereby to compel the French also, who had already prohibited our cloths, and also the Dutch and all other nations, to take of us all the cloths they had need of. But this project did not take place; and was indeed a piece of fine-spun theory scarcely reducible to practice. [*Thurloe, V. i, p. 201.*]

Although the Portuguese first, and after them the English, had, in their voyages to East-India, visited the harbours and country about the Cape of Good Hope, with an intent to make a settlement there; yet neither of those two nations had hitherto had courage enough effectually to settle amongst so barbarous a people as the Hottentots were, who had formerly killed a number of Portuguese on some such attempt. Neither indeed were there found any good harbours for the security of shipping in those tempestuous seas. But the Dutch having more perseverance, and observing the country to be fruitful, and that its situation

* The advantages of increasing the number of home-built vessels and native seamen were understood so long ago as the year 1381, as appears by an act of parliament, 5 Ric. II, c. 3. The same measure of policy has been frequently refused, (though, indeed, not persevered in) particularly in the year 1440, when it was proposed by the commons, but rejected by King Henry VI; in the years 1485 and 1489 [*Ad. i Hen. VII, c. 8;* 4 Hen. VII, c. 10]; in 1541 [*32 Hen. VIII, c. 14*]; and in 1593, when Queen Elizabeth restricted certain privileges to goods carried in English vessels. King James I, in his commission of inquiry in 1622, directed the attention of the commissioners to the same object. [*Pædera, V. xvii, p. 414.*] And Charles I also confirmed and revived the laws in favour of English shipping. [*Pædera, V. xix, p. 129.*] M.

would prove very commodious for the supply of water and provisions for their Indian voyages, they are said, in this year 1651, to have first settled at the Cape, where they built a good and spacious fort, and contracted friendship with the Hottentots, or rather rendered themselves formidable and also necessary to them; whereby the Dutch have established a noble colony there for many miles north and north-east of the cape, where they have planted the Madeira grape, producing there a much nobler and richer wine than the original grape. Yet some will have it, that their vines came from Persia, and others say from the Rhine. Thither also have the Dutch transplanted cinnamon trees from the isle of Cylon. They are also said to raise there considerable quantities of hemp, &c. So that the duties and the revenues which their East-India company raises there (for they all belong to them) are said to be more than equals their expense for this colony. There the company have warehouses and houses for their officers within the fort, and employ a great number of officers, servants, and negro slaves. They have also an hospital for their sick sailors, &c. with an excellent garden, wherein all the curious and useful herbs, plants, &c. of Europe, Asia, and Africa, are successfully cultivated. It is, in short, a very hopeful prospect for the Dutch republic and their East-India company, who have greatly augmented the number of its plantations, by means of the French protestants, who emigrated to it upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes. So that it will be no wonder if, in another age, this Dutch colony vies with the finest countries, and proves the envy of the rest of the nations, of Europe. The Dutch company having hereupon abandoned St. Helena, our English company took possession of that island.

The English commonwealth testifying a great inclination for the advancement of commerce, we find in this and some following years, abundance of printed projects for promoting particular branches thereof; some of which have been adopted, and successfully put in practice, in our own times: others, indeed, though well enough suited to certain free cities in the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Poland, &c. wherein such projectors had resided, did not, however, so well suit with a great nation. Such, of the former kind, were the proposed projects of charity banks, and lombards, or lumber houses; of the later the making transferable all promissory notes between man and man, so as to circulate as our modern bank notes do; such was also the plausible projects of one William Potter, in his Key of wealth, and of Henry Robinson, &c. long since forgotten, who urged the erection of a land bank, wherein all payments above £10 or £20 should by law be directed to be made in bank credit; and that, besides the principal bank in London, there should be, perhaps, 100 subordinate banks in different parts of England, all centering in the capital bank of London: wherein, for the support of the credit thereof, a general mortgage of lands was pro-

posed, for which each mortgager should have credit in bank to the value of his land. The condition of such mortgage to be, either to pay so much money, with interest at 6 per cent, within a year from the day that bank-credit should any way fail to be current; or, in default of such payment, the said mortgaged lands to be forfeited, without redemption, and to be divided amongst the proprietors of the credit in bank. Other projectors proposed banks on the plan of that at Amsterdam. Others proposed a general register of houses and ships, as well as of lands. A court-merchant, for the summary recovery of all debts, &c. Also some very ill-judged projects for uniting into corporations all merchants trading into any one country, for the sake of what they called uniformity in trade. Most of those projects, after the restoration of Charles II, and some after the accession of William III, were again proposed to the public, with some variation in their form, merely for concealing their being only old projects palmed upon men for new ones. Such, for instance, was Dr. Chamberlain's land-bank project, which was carried so far as to have an act of parliament in its favour in the year 1696.

The magistrates of Bruges again wrote to the English merchant-adventurers company, to remind them, that in the days of Philip the Good, and Charles the Bold, dukes of Burgundy, and also of the archduke Maximilian, their city greatly flourished in commerce and in the greatest plenty of all kinds of merchandize, so as to obtain the reputation of the greatest emporium in all Europe! but as nothing sublunary is permanent, all these advantages are withdrawn, and adverse fortune is come in their place: so that this city, once the seat of wealth, riches, and honour, has since been the seat of war, which obliged the foreign merchants to abandon it, as did also the said society with their commerce in woollen cloths, &c. But now a settled peace being established between the Belgic provinces and foreign states, some foreign merchants are preparing to resettle at Bruges: and as they are informed of the willingness also of this society to resettle there, they are hereby invited to come to the port of Ostend, and thence by water-carriage to Bruges, with their cloths, &c. to be afterwards dispersed throughout Flanders, Brabant, Liege, Lorrain, &c. by most commodious navigations, by rivers and canals. To this the company courteously answered, that, as their letters were intirely silent in the two most material articles, viz. the free exercise of their religion, and the duties to be paid, they desired a peremptory answer thereto; since the English parliament, out of their zeal for the worship of God, and for the honour of their nation, could never admit of a treaty for residence, till those two articles be first agreed to. [*Thurloe, V. i, p. 198.*] So we heard no more of this residence: and we apprehend that it was now, or soon after this time, that

this society began to make Hamburgh their principal, and soon after their sole, residence and staple for the woollen manufacture.

1652.—We now come to the commencement of the first very bloody naval war between the two most potent republics which the world had ever seen since those of Rome and Carthage. We have observed, that the new English act of navigation of last year had curtailed the bulk of the commerce between England and Holland, consisting principally in foreign merchandize imported into, and English merchandize exported from, England in Dutch vessels. In vain, as we have also seen, did the Dutch remonstrate against the act, the English commonwealth being bent on a war with the Dutch: for besides the five former demands of the English commonwealth, satisfaction was now insisted on for the Dutch ambassador's having held a private correspondence with King Charles II, and also for not giving the honour of the flag to all English ships of war. The states-general therefor prepared for war by fitting out a vast fleet of 150 warlike ships, great and small, though certainly not equal to ships of war in our days. De Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, [*part iii, c. 6*] speaks of it as a thing incredible, 'that the states of Holland, during the chargeable war against England, from 1652 to 1654, should be able, in the space of two years, to build 60 new capital ships of war, of such dimensions and force as were never before used in the service of the state.' All our histories are full of the particulars of this war, which is therefor superfluous for us to enlarge on. On the side of the Dutch were the great admirals, Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt; the first of whom, upon his gaining some advantage by the accidentally great superiority in the Channel over Blake, in contempt of England's pretensions to the sovereignty of the sea, sailed down the Channel with a broom at his main-top-gallant-mast head, to shew he would sweep the seas; for which he paid dearly next year: and on the English side were the great Blake, with Monk and Deane. It is sufficient to observe, that in this and the following year almost incredible destruction and captures were made of merchant ships, as well as of ships of war and sailors, on both sides; there having been, in only nine months of the year 1652, four general naval engagements, besides lesser ones. Whilst all the great popish potentates, and particularly France, were pleased to see the two most powerful protestant ones destroying each other.

This year Mr Edwards, an English Turkey merchant, brought home with him a Greek servant who understood the roasting and making of coffee, till then unknown in England. This man was the first who sold coffee, and kept a house for that purpose in London. Prosper Alpinus, a learned physician of Venice, who flourished about the year 1591, was the first who wrote of the nature of the coffee plant and berry: our great Lord Bacon, in his *Natural history*, was the next; and the inge-

nious Mr. John Ray afterwards. Some relate, that coffee has not been generally used in Arabia, where it grows, and in Turkey, much above 200 or at most 250 years. It was first brought to Holland from Mocha in the year 1616, though it did not come into general use there for many years after. About the year 1690 the Dutch began to plant it at Batavia in the island of Java: and in 1719 it was first imported thence into Holland. Since then the Dutch have planted a great deal of coffee in Ceylon as well as in Java; insomuch that in 1743 they imported into Holland 3,555,877 pounds of it from Java, and at the same time but 12,368 pounds from Mocha: so greatly had they improved their Java coffee. The English and French have of late years successfully planted coffee in their West-India islands, as the Dutch have also at Surinam, &c. although still inferior to that of Mocha in Arabia, from whence all coffee originally came. If the European nations should continue, as of late years, to naturalize in their own western plantations the fine productions of China, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey, it will in time bring the direct commerce to the Levant to a very narrow compass. The coffee plant is said nearly to resemble the jessamine tree; bearing a fruit resembling a cherry, within which is inclosed a sort of kernel which, when ripe, opens and divides into what are usually called coffee berries. All the coffee brought home by our Turkey ships comes only from Arabia, there being no coffee growing in Turkey properly so called, and is the very same which is brought home by our East-India ships who trade up into the Red sea. But as the former is brought over land from Arabia into Syria or Egypt, it is therefor said not to be esteemed quite so good as what is brought directly by sea from Mocha in our East-India ships. Coffee was unknown to the antients, although, doubtless, it grew always wild in Arabia. Mr. Wotton, in his Reflections on antient and modern learning, conjectures that the prohibition of wine, by the law of Mahomet, made the Arabs find out its virtues for supplying the place of wine.

Tobacco being about the middle of this century grown into much greater esteem than formerly in England, considerable quantities thereof were planted in several counties, which throve exceeding well, and proved very good in its kind: but as this not only lessened the duty on the importation of tobacco, but likewise greatly obstructed the sale of that commodity from our own colonies in Virginia, &c. which had cost so much expense in planting them, the loud complaints of the planters occasioned an act of parliament absolutely prohibiting the planting of any in England. Cromwell and his council in 1654 appointed commissioners for strictly putting this act in execution: and (that we may not have recourse again to this subject) it was again legally enacted, [12 *Car. II. c. 34*] that from the 1st of January 1660-1, no person whatever

should sow or plant any tobacco in England, under certain penalties: So that an end was effectually put to that practice.

We may clearly observe the late great increase of England's wealth by commerce, when in this year, as well as in the succeeding year, the nation was able to bear an assessment of £120,000 per month, beside other great fixed taxes.

In this year the island of Granada was first planted on by the French from Martinico, after some struggle with the natives. It is said, by the French historian of the Caribbee islands, to produce sugar-canes, ginger, indigo, and excellent tobacco.

Hackney-coaches were limited to 200 in number, daily plying in London streets.

We find that the Swedes at this time had a settlement on the gold coast of Africa, managed by an African company: for Queen Christina of Sweden made a complaint to the parliament of the English commonwealth, that their ships of war had taken two of that company's ships homeward bound, and seized all the gold, &c. in them. [*Thurloe, V. i, p. 219.*]

A virulent pamphlet was now written against the English East-India company, intitled *Strange news from India*, calculated for favouring the solicitations of Sir William Courten's heirs, acting under a separate patent of King Charles I, for trading to India. It is therein alleged, that whereas our people, in the beginning of the East-India trade, had made particular running voyages thither, only to enrich a few; they were afterward united in a joint-stock company; and since then they (being a destructive monopoly) have misemployed or mispent in one joint stock, £1,600,000, and in several joint stocks £3,600,000, impoverishing our nation by exporting much bullion. Yet, which is wonderful, not yet provided with one port or place of their own in India for a rendezvous*, whereas the Dutch company had 30 impregnable cities in India, and employed 250 sail of ships: that by the old English company's neglect of Ormus and the Portuguese prizes† their trade continued decaying from 1617 to 1634; insomuch, that their actions or shares were frequently sold from party to party, at 30, 35, to 40 per cent loss, and and some much more. That the loss of the spice islands, seized by the Dutch, is valued at £100,000 per annum consequence to the nation. That about the year 1632, and since, a treaty was on foot between King Charles I and our company on the one part, and the Dutch company on the other part, touching our claim to those spice islands: but that although £80,000 was agreed to be paid by the Dutch company, yet King Charles and our company could not agree or settle their respective shares thereof; and so the matter was dropped, and the Dutch

* The author elsewhere owns that the company possessed Madras, which indeed is not a good port. *A.*

† He should have added,—by their difference with the Dutch East-India company. *A.*

have kept possession of those isles. That this languishing condition of our company inclined the king and council in 1635 to grant a patent to Sir William Courten to trade to, and plant in, such places only where the old company did not trade. That Courten's enterprize greatly alarmed the Dutch company, who seized one of his ships bound from Goa for China, &c.

In this and other writings, in behalf of Courten's representatives, our company is accused of having combined with the Dutch company to ruin Courten's project. Mr. Courten, son and executor of Sir William, continued the trade till 1646, when, as he alleges, by the cruel usage of the English and Dutch companies, he was forced to abandon it, to the damage of several hundred thousand pounds. His complaint was revived after the restoration of King Charles II; yet we do not find that any redress was ever obtained: and indeed it was not much to be wondered at, when it is considered that Courten's original grant was made in prejudice of our East-India company's exclusive charter.

1653.—In the year 1653, the treaty concluded between Denmark and the United provinces in 1649 for farming the toll in the Sound was rescinded, and a new one was concluded at Copenhagen, whereupon the Dutch advanced the sum of 525,000 gilders to the crown of Denmark, by way of anticipation: the Danish court agreeing to repay that sum in annual payments, with 5 per cent interest. [*Thurloe, V. i, p. 482.*]

The postage of a great trading nation's letters is undoubtedly, in some degree, a kind of political pulse whereby to judge of the increase or decrease of the public wealth and commerce: yet it would be more especially so, where franking of letters by members of parliament did not take place, which, it is apprehended, was not the case as yet in England, whose council of state this year farmed the postage of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to John Manley, Esq. for £10,000 yearly, which was confirmed by the protector in 1654. By this settlement single letters carried as far as 80 miles paid 2*d*, and double ones 4*d*; beyond 80 miles 3*d*, and double ones 6*d*. We shall hereafter see this revenue greatly increased, in consequence of the increase of our general commerce, and also by additional postage.

The naval war between the two first republics of the universe still continued very fierce. In June this year happened off Dover the fifth general engagement: Monk and Deane commanded the English fleet of 100 sail; and Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and the two Evertsens, commanded the Dutch one of above 100 ships of war. After continually fighting for two days, the Dutch were discomfited, eleven of their ships being taken, six sunk, and two blown up, with but little loss on the side of the English. From this disaster Van Tromp, in a memorial to his masters the states-general, set forth, that the ships and

guns of the Dutch fleet were too slender in comparison with those of the English ; and Admiral De Ruyter expressly declared, that he would not return to sea, if his fleet were not reinforced with greater and better ships. For (as appears by intercepted letters for Holland), the English commonwealth had then actually 204 ships of war, great and small, and 35,000 seamen ; and in October this year, the principal terror of the Dutch was from our great ships. The English fleet lying on the Dutch coasts during most part of this year, was very grievous to their merchants, their homeward-bound fleets and convoys being in continual danger of falling into our hands. Their fishing ships also were kept from going out, which brought immediate calamity on their people. [*Thurloe, V. i, pp. 290, 514.*]

The Dutch fleets, however, when joined, made 130 ships, some of which indeed were East-India ships fitted up for war. Yet such was then the naval strength of Holland, that in little more than a month they fitted out 125 ships of war under Van Tromp, who, in July this same year, had another great engagement with Monk on their own coast, when there were 27 Dutch ships either sunk or burnt, but none taken, occasioned by Monk's orders, neither to give nor take quarter. Here also they lost their great Admiral Van Tromp. Ker of Kersland's second volume of memoirs says, that great admiral's ship, the largest in the Dutch navy, carried no more than 66 cannon ; but the states quickly discovered their want of great ships, and therefor, in this same year, built twenty ships of from 50 to 80 guns : yet we shall see, by a much better authority, that three years after their largest ship carried but 76 guns. On the English side there were many men slain, though only one ship lost.

So great was the naval power of England at this time, that it appears by Thurloe, [*ibidem*] that the Venetian ambassador in England came to solicit the continuance of some English ships of war in that republic's service some time longer : a sure mark, however, of the feebleness of Venice's naval power.

This year an attempt for a north-east passage was made by order of King Frederic III of Denmark, who sent out three vessels, who it seems actually passed through Waygatz straits, which neither English nor Dutch had been able in former attempts fully to accomplish. Yet in the bay beyond those straits they found insurmountable obstacles from the ice and intenseness of the cold, so that they were obliged to return unsuccessfully : and so, probably, will every one, who may hereafter attempt what, from repeated trials, has been found so impracticable. Yet, even subsequent to this date, the Dutch in their northern voyages, are said to have again tried for this passage, but without being able to proceed so far eastward as was done in this Danish attempt.

Notwithstanding what we have related concerning the Dutch settle-

ment on the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1651, others relate, that it was not till this year that the Dutch East-India company, who had before been more accustomed than other European nations to stop at the Cape of Good Hope in their India voyages for refreshments, which they purchased of the Hottentots for mere trifles, determined to make a settlement there. Voltaire, in his General history of Europe, will have it, that they, in this year, seized on a Portuguese fort there, although it does not clearly appear from other accounts, that the Portuguese ever had any fort or settlement on that cape. Yet, as it is frequently convenient, and not seldom absolutely needful, to stop at that place, it was a very wise measure in the Dutch company to secure a good refreshing station there. Others make their first settlement here to be still five years later, viz. 1658.

1654.—In the year 1654 a fleet of English merchant ships sailed to Archangel, and with them William Prideaux, who, in his letter to the governor of Archangel, styled himself only messenger of his highness the lord protector to his imperial majesty, the czar: wherein he wrote, that whereas there hath been a distance from commerce for some time by the English merchants to the said port of Archangel, they are now come thither with their ships laden with goods. So it is required of the governor, in the name of the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to know if trade shall be permitted with freedom, and if granted, on what terms. To which the governor answered, that the English company is licenced, by his imperial majesty of all Russia, to trade in Archangel in all unprohibited goods, they paying the same custom as other strangers do. And that as soon as the English have done trading at that port, they must go beyond sea, i. e. home, and not be permitted, as antiently, to go up to Moscow, nor to any other part of Russia: but what goods shall be left unfold may either remain at Archangel, or be carried back to England. Mr. Prideaux, however, is permitted to go to Moscow to acquaint his imperial majesty with his commission from the protector. [*Thurloe, V. ii, p. 558.*] We need here only to remark, that the protector, doubtless, knew beforehand, on what terms his message and ships would be received; and in order to soften the czar, he now gives him the title of emperor, which title, however, has not been generally recognized till our own times.

A letter of intelligence in this same year, from the Hague, relates, that the czar had banished the English from Archangel, at the request of the Lord Culpepper, agent for King Charles: and that the king of Poland, in this same year, had sent a minister to the protector to instigate him against Muscovy, insinuating that it would be no hard matter for our fleet to take Archangel. [*Thurloe, V. iii, p. 50.*]

Mr. Prideaux, in his letter this year to the council, complains of the

badness of trade at Archangel, partly occasioned by the Russians not permitting any foreigners to trade up into the country from Archangel, and partly because of the Dutch ships coming thither, which kept up the prices of Russia goods, and partly also by the czar's war with Poland.

Whitelocke, the English ambassador in Sweden, complained to that court, that the Swedes had seized an English Guinea company's fort on that coast. The Swedes, in excuse, alleged, that it was only a little lodge with two chambers: and they insisted on a prior grant thereof from the prince of that part of the country. [*Thurloe*, V. ii, pp. 266, 280.] Whatever might be the issue of this trifling matter, it is plain that Sweden at this time had some trade to the coast of Guinea, although they at present have no settlement any where without the Baltic sea.

The war between the two republics of England and Holland was carried on in such a manner as rendered it absolutely impossible for either nation to hold it out much longer, without reducing one of the parties to absolute subjection. It was so extremely visible that England had the superiority, that De Witt himself, though a foe to the English name, in his *Interest of Holland*, [p. 314] declares the great superiority of the English in strength of shipping, (for it was merely a naval war) and that they were now become masters of the sea. Not only men and money must soon have been wanting, but one would think that even ship-timber itself should soon have failed for supplying the loss of so many large ships: since, beside the many ships of war destroyed, the Dutch had lost 700 merchant ships in the years 1652 and 1653. Necessity therefore compelled them to send ambassadors to the protector to sue for peace, and to accept such terms as he thought fit to grant. It was concluded on the 5th of April 1654, whereby mutual friendship and commerce were re-established between them. The most remarkable commercial articles were in substance as follows, viz.

Article XIII) That the ships of the Dutch, as well ships of war as others, meeting any of the ships of war of the English commonwealth in the British seas shall strike their flag and lower their topsail, in such manner as hath ever been at any time heretofore practised under any former government*.

XXVII) The states-general shall see justice done on the authors and abettors of the barbarous murders committed on the English at Amboyna, anno 1622-3, if any of them be yet alive.

XXVIII) Certain English ships and goods having, by the influence of the Dutch, been seized and detained within the dominions of Denmark since May 1652, the states-general oblige themselves to make restitution

* This was the first formal establishment of the right of the flag. Perhaps the English republic, suspecting that the Dutch might scruple paying the honours to the flag of a commonwealth, which had been paid to that of a king, were the more determined upon making an express article for it. A.

to the proprietors, with damages, &c. for detention. And two arbitrators from each commonwealth are to meet in Goldsmiths-hall at London, and to take an oath, to proceed without respect or relation had to either state, or to any particular interest whatever, for the adjustment of this matter : and, unless they agree upon sentence before the 1st of August 1654, the aforesaid arbitrators shall from that day be shut up in a chamber by themselves, without fire, candle, meat, drink, or any other refreshment, till such time as they shall come to an agreement concerning the matters referred to them.

XXX) In case the commissioners to be appointed by both republics, to meet at London, for adjusting all damages and injuries which either nation may allege to have sustained from the other from the year 1611 to the 18th of May 1652, as well in the East-Indies as in Greenland, Muscovy, Brasil, &c. do not, within three months after their first meeting together, come to an agreement, then their differences are hereby submitted to the arbitration of the protestant cantons of Switzerland, who shall appoint like commissioners to give final judgment within six months following : which judgement shall bind both parties.

Beside these there was a secret article, whereby the states promised Cromwell, the protector, not to choose the prince of Orange for their stadtholder or captain-general.

At the same time, the English East-India company exhibited at large all their claims for damages sustained in India by the Dutch company from the year 1611 to 1652, amounting to the vast sum of £2,695,990 : 15 principal, sterling money : and the interest, say they, if computed to this time, will amount to a far greater sum : even exclusive of the islands of Poleroon and Lantore.

This vast sum is made up of seventeen articles of damages and losses, which, the English company alleged, they had sustained from the frauds and violences of the Dutch company in the Molucco isles, at Jacatra, Bantam, Poleroon, Lantore, Persia, Surat, Sumatra, and the Cape of Good Hope ; where our company, say they, in the reign of King James I, (but they name not the year) took possession of those lands at that cape, and caused a rampart to be cast up, called James's-mount, on which they planted the English colours. And they therefor now demanded, that the inheritance of those territories might always remain in the power of the English, and that they might be free to colonize and fortify there, and to trade thence at pleasure. These seventeen articles of claim may be seen at large in the Collection of treaties of peace and commerce in four volumes 8vo, printed in 1732, on which therefor we shall not here be more particular.

On the other side, the Dutch East-India company exhibited, by way of counter-demand, eleven articles, for expenses by them contributed beyond their quota, by reason of a deficiency on our company's part.

during seventeen years ; the English company's half of the expense of defending Fort Geldres in Palecat, and at the siege of Bantam ; their one third of the sums laid out in the Moluccos, Amboyna, and Banda, after February 1622, when the English left off paying their quota in those parts * ; for the Dutch company's loss by the seizure and detention of three of their ships at Portsmouth, bound to Surat ; for their half share of the loss of the pepper trade to Bantam for six years, computed to be as great as that of the English demanded in their before-named articles, viz. £600,000 sterling ; for the extra charges of the Dutch company for convoys for the merchant ships returning from India by the north seas for twenty years, and for wages extraordinary for the sailors ; for provisions lent to the English company ; for wages of the company's fundry ships and pinnaces, and the cost of others employed in the service of the joint trade, &c.

And, in fine, the Dutch company determining to outdo the demands of the English company first exhibited, they made the whole amount to no less than £2,918,611 : 3 : 6 sterling.

Thus the two companies made demands on each other, more like mighty potentates than societies of merchants : yet we are not to be surprized thereat, when we consider their immense trade to and from India and Persia, and that the several spices of those days were in much greater request than they are in our time. It is, however, more than probable that the pretensions of both were exaggerated, although, by the issue, the Dutch much more than the English. So their vouchers and documents were referred to four commissioners appointed by each company, who doubtless found it difficult enough to adjust such intricate accounts and demands to the mutual satisfaction of their constituents. Their award is dated 30th August 1654, as in the third volume of the Collection of treaties, not only by virtue of powers from their respective companies, but likewise by the authority of the protector and of the states-general : being in substance,

That, being desirous to reconcile and re-establish a perpetual agreement between the two companies, they have decided and determined as follows, viz.

I) We hereby make void, extinguish, obliterate, and altogether wipe out, and commit to oblivion, so as never to be revived at any time, and upon any pretence, by any person whatever, all the complaints, pretensions, and controversies, above mentioned, and all others whatsoever which either company may have made on each other, of what kind soever they may be.

II) We decree, that the Dutch East-India company shall restore to

* This was a most impudent demand, it being known that in the year 1622 the Dutch company had completely expelled the English from those islands. The demand was for no less than £510,000 sterling. A.

the English East-India company the isle of Poleroon in the state it is now in.

III) We decree and ordain, that the Dutch company shall pay to the English company here in London L85,000 sterling.

IV) As to the complaints and demands made in the name of some private Englishmen, who complain of having received injury and damage at Amboyna in the years 1622-3, after having heard and considered the matters which have been alleged and exhibited by the above mentioned deputies of the Dutch company in their own defence; and we being desirous that no relicts of complaint should remain, do, by virtue of the full powers and authority aforesaid, appoint and ordain, that all complaint, action, and damage of the English whomsoever, whether public or private, on the score of any injury or damage which they pretend to have suffered at Amboyna in the year 1622 of the English stile, and 1623 new stile, may be made void, terminated, and committed to oblivion. And that no person shall enter any action on that account, nor molest, disturb, or vex, the said Dutch company, nor any Dutchmen on that pretext. And, on the other hand, we also declare and ordain, that the said Dutch company shall pay here at London, before the first of January next, the sum of L3625 sterling, viz. to the nephew and administrator of the effects of Gabriel Towerfon, late of Amboyna, deceased, L700. And in like sort to the representatives of the other sufferers in the cruel massacre and tortures at Amboyna, sundry different sums to make up the sum total of L3625. And on this consideration we insist that their actions or suits be altogether set aside and cancelled, so as never to be revived hereafter by any person whomsoever.

In witness whereof we have subscribed these presents, and sealed them with our seals, the 30th of August, English stile, 1654.

John Exton, &c. (L. S.)

Andrian Van Aelmonde, &c. (L. S.)

Upon this famous award, very little remark is necessary. Certainly Cromwell had the Dutch at this time very much in his power: yet, on the other hand, it is certain, that the Dutch East-India company had committed many outrages on the English company, to their very great damage, whereby they had brought our company into very low circumstances. It is moreover but too evident, that even supposing the facts alleged against the English at Amboyna had been all clearly made out, yet the barbarities and cruelties committed there against them by the Dutch were absolutely unjustifiable in the highest degree. But as the business of Amboyna has been so frequently and unreasonably brought on the stage against the whole Dutch nation, it is but reasonable it should be hereafter buried in oblivion.

This year an act of the protector's parliament limited the number of

hackney coaches within the cities of London and Westminster, and six miles round the late lines of communication, to 300, and the hackney coach horses to 600; the government and regulation of them with respect to their stands, rates, &c. to be in the court of aldermen of London. Every such coach to pay 20/ yearly, for defraying the expense of regulating them.

The same year Cromwell and his parliament, considering how incongruous it was, that vassalage and servile superiorities should remain in one part of the republic, whilst freedom, wealth, and commerce were so much boasted of in the other part of it, enacted the total abolition thereof in Scotland. Had this been confirmed after the restoration, and a law made for obliging landlords to grant, and for enabling tenants to take, by certain encouragements, long leases of their farms, that country would long before now have worn a more favourable aspect. But, at the restoration of King Charles II, some evil-minded persons about the king possessed him with a notion that the superiorities, &c. were far from being a grievance to the crown, which might, by means of a few pensions, successfully make use of the vassal clans for keeping the rest of Scotland in subjection: in which they were not greatly mistaken.

Cromwell now concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with King John IV of Portugal, wherein were sundry advantageous articles with respect to England's freely trading to Brasil, &c. much more than since, viz. the manner and times of unloading their cargoes, and of disposing thereof, as well as of purchasing and loading their homeward-bound cargoes, as also for their freedom from troubles and losses upon account of the inquisition there; the freedom also for the English to trade to the Portuguese colonies in India: and the security of the goods of the English dying in Portugal: which, being in part confirmed by subsequent treaties, we need not now enlarge upon. [*General collection of treaties*, V. iii, p. 97.]

Cromwell also this year concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with Denmark: whereby England was to be favoured as much in the customs, tolls, &c. as the Dutch, or any other nation, the Swedes only excepted, who at this time paid no toll in passing the Sound. Neither were the English ships sailing up the Elbe to Hamburgh to pay any toll or custom, nor to be searched or stopped at Gluckstadt, nor at any other fort or place on the Elbe belonging to Denmark. [*General collection of treaties*, V. iii, p. 136, ed. 1732.]

Although England long before this time had been in possession of the greatest woollen manufacture of any nation whatever, and actually made the very finest cloth as well as stuffs, &c. yet such was the industry and application of the Dutch, that they had still the credit of dying and dressing our fine cloths better than our people could as yet do. Our fine white cloths were therefor for the most part still sent over to Holland

for that purpose, and returned back to England dyed and dressed. This accounts for an assertion in an ingenious and judicious pamphlet, entitled, the Interest of England considered, [*p.* 5, *ed.* 1694] viz. ‘ that not above 40 years before, our nobility and gentry were furnished from Holland with the finest cloth.’ Yet, soon after, our dyers and cloth-dressers got the better of this defect, although the Dutch scarlets and blacks are said by some still to retain a superior credit even to this day.

In this same year some of Cromwell’s ships reduced the forts in Nova-Scotia in the bay of Fundy, &c. which, in his treaty with France in the following year, he could not be brought to restore. Yet upon a remonstrance to him from Monsieur de la Tour, setting forth, that he had before made a purchase of Nova-Scotia from the earl of Stirling, Cromwell consented to its being given up to him. In our times, such bargains of a subject to alienate to one of another nation any such considerable part of the crown’s territory would not be deemed legal: but that country’s great importance was not well understood till long after this time. Monsieur de la Tour, however, soon after sold Nova-Scotia to Sir Thomas Temple, who was both proprietor and governor of it till the restoration of King Charles II.

In the same year Cromwell concluded a treaty of peace with Christina queen of Sweden at Upsal; which, relating solely to the general freedom of commerce and navigation on both sides, requires no particular recital. [*General collection of treaties*, V. iii, *p.* 89.]

This year Cromwell, for the support of his own peculiar interest, though much against the true interest of England, joined with France in a war against Spain, which by this time had been already too much depressed. This ill-advised war occasioned large seizures of our effects in Spain, with great losses at sea, and interrupted our profitable commerce with that country, thereby also enabling the wiser Dutch to get surer footing in the Spanish trade; and moreover, introducing into England a relish for French frippery, and, which was worst of all, destroying still more, in favour of France, the just equilibrium of power in Europe.

In this remarkable year, after the Dutch West-India company had gradually lost all their other strong holds in Brasil, their capital fort and port of the Receif was taken from them by the Portuguese, whereby, after 30 years possession of a great part of that country, they were now quite expelled from it. Yet this same loss bringing on a war between those two nations till the year 1661, the Dutch East-India company’s successes against the Portuguese in India more than countervailed the other company’s losses: they having despoiled the Portuguese of almost all their valuable possessions in India. By those conquests in Brasil, Angola, St. Thome, &c. which the states and the prince of Orange persuaded the West-India company to undertake, the greatest part of

their capital was exhausted, they having spent thereon in all 168 millions of guilders, or about 16 millions sterling. Yet their remaining conquests on the Guinea coast have proved of infinite benefit to the Dutch commerce, and would be still more so, had they more colonies in America.

By the erection of this exclusive West-India company, says De Witt in his Interest of Holland, we have quite lost our open trade to Guinea, and that of salt in the West Indies. In another place he observes, that whilst the Dutch were at war with Spain, the erection of their East-India and West-India companies was a necessary evil, because our people, says he, [*part i, c. xix*] would be trading to such countries where our enemies were too strong for particular adventurers, in order to lay the foundation of those trades by powerful armed societies. But those trades being now well settled, it may be justly doubted whether the exclusive companies ought any longer to be continued. In Niewhoff's second volume of voyages it is asserted, that, when the Dutch in the year 1660 yielded up all Brasil to Portugal, the Dutch were to receive eight millions of guilders, and also to be allowed a free trade to Portugal, Guinea, and Brasil, paying only the same custom as the native Portuguese: but this treaty is not now in force, and perhaps never existed with all these advantages.

In the same year a number of persons of distinction in London seemed earnestly to set about the herring-fishery: and for their encouragement the English commonwealth granted them an exemption from the duties on salt and on naval stores to be used in their fishery. Collections were likewise made at London and other parts for erecting wharfs, docks, and storehouses, and for purchasing ground for making and tanning their nets. Yet this attempt proved unsuccessful.

The expense of the English navy for the winter and the ensuing summer was estimated by the commissioners of the admiralty to amount to

			L850,610	0	0
More for the sea ordnance	-	-	63,208	13	8
And if Admiral Blake's and Admiral Penn's ships, &c. are to be kept up till the 1st of October, it will farther cost	-	-	108,919	0	0
More for the additional provisions of 1000 men more	-	-	26,000	0	0
Total			L1,048,737 13 8		

[*Thurloe, V. iii, p. 64.*]

1655.—The merchants of Amsterdam having heard that the lord protector would dissolve the East-India company at London, and declare the navigation and commerce to the Indies to be free and open, were

greatly alarmed, considering such a measure as ruinous to their own East-India company. [*Letter 15th January, 1654-5, in Thurloe, V. iii, p. 80.*]

This it seems was actually done about this time, but the damage thereby done to that trade obliged the protector to reinstate the company, as we shall see, three years after this time.

The Dutch, who had so great a share of the commerce of the countries bordering on the Baltic shores, frequently interposed in the quarrels between the northern crowns, the constant policy of the republic being to preserve an equilibrium between those northern potentates, as the best means to support the freedom of their great commerce to those countries. Particularly in the year 1655 the Dutch, jealous of the great success of the Swedes against Poland, stirred up the king of Denmark against them. But the Danes being worsted in this war, the Dutch sent a fleet, first to the assistance of the city of Dantzick, insulted by the Swedish fleet, and next to relieve Copenhagen, besieged by the Swedish fleet, with which the Dutch had a sea-fight, wherein they lost two admirals, but gained their main point of raising the siege of Copenhagen. The Dutch also were assisting to the Danes in the following year, in a sea-fight against Sweden near the Sound, which, in the end, brought about a peace between those two kingdoms. [*Puffendorf's Introduction, c. vi, § 16.*]

It is undoubtedly the interest of all Europe, but more especially of the free commercial states of it, that a just balance be preserved between the northern potentates, so as no one of them be permitted to swallow up, or even to be greatly superior to, the rest.

We find by a book entitled, England's grievance discovered in relation to the coal-trade, published this year, that coals from Newcastle were usually sold at above 20s the chaldron. The scope of this author was, that the coal-owners of Northumberland and of the bishopric of Durham might have liberty to sell their coals directly to the masters of ships, and have a free market at Shields, with leave to lay ballast there, whereby, says he, coals would be brought down to 20s the chaldron all the year round : whereas now the owners of coaleries must first sell their coals to the magistrates of Newcastle, the magistrates to the masters of ships, the masters of ships to the London wharfingers, and these last to the consumers ; every change of the property enhancing the price of the coals. By having a free market at Shields, our author alleges, that provisions would be had cheaper for the multitude of shipping, being above 900 sail, and also for the inhabitants there : and that coals being bought directly from the first hand, there might be as many more voyages to London in a year as now they make. That there are accounted at Newcastle 320 keels, or lighters, each of which carries yearly 800 chaldrons of coals, Newcastle measure, on board the ships ; and that

136 chaldrons of Newcastle measure are equal to 217 chaldrons of London measure.

To what this author so plausibly alleges we need only to add, that the enhanced price of coals since his time is really become a great burden to our commercial and manufacturing people, and to all the industrious poor in and near London, and that it would be doing very great service to trade, if a method could be found out for reducing it, and even for fixing them to a standard price if possible; which, with certain necessary regulations therein, some have been of opinion might be effected in peaceable times at least. It seems indeed worthy of our legislature's consideration, that two millions at least, of people should no longer have so grievous a monopoly lying upon them, and on commerce, merely for aggrandizing a few families: and this of late years a shamefully-increasing monopoly too.

While Cromwell was deliberating on the different proposals of France and Spain to gain him to their side (says the author of his life, published in 1741), one Gage, who had been a Romish priest, but now was become a protestant, returned from the Spanish West-Indies, where he had resided many years, and gave the protector so particular an account of the wealth, as well as feebleness, of the Spaniards in those parts, as induced him to determine on an attempt to conquer both the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba; as his success therein, according to Gage, would make the rest of Spanish America an easy conquest: and as, moreover Simon de Cafferres, a Spaniard, had also been consulted in it. Vice-admiral Penn was thereupon sent out with 30 ships of war and about 4000 land forces: but neither France nor Spain could penetrate into its destination. The troops landed on Hispaniola, near St. Domingo, but in an improper part of the island; and marching without proper guides through thick woods, &c. 600 of our men were slain by the Spaniards, with Major-general Holmes; whereupon they embarked with the remainder, and sailed for Jamaica; 'a place, as Colonel Modyford writes from Barbados, [*Thurloe*, 'V. iii, p. 565] far more proper for our purposes by situation than either 'Hispaniola or Porto-Rico; far more convenient for attempts on the 'Spanish fleets, and more especially for the Carthagea fleet.' Cromwell's intention was not absolutely fixed to any particular place in the West-Indies: his instructions to General Venables being discretionary. It was even left to his judgment, whether to attempt Carthagea, the Havannah, or Porto-Rico, or to settle on some part of the Terra Firma to the windward of Carthagea. They arrived at Jamaica on the 3d of May 1656, and marched directly to its capital St. Jago, from whence the Spaniards fled to the mountains and other inaccessible places with their best effects, and after some time retired to the island of Cuba, leaving their slaves in the woods to harass the English, till they should return and relieve them. But the English at Jamaica being recruited

with ships and troops from England, the Spaniards, after fundry conflicts, were obliged to abandon the island entirely. When this conquest was first undertaken, the Spaniards at Jamaica did not exceed 1500 persons in number, with about as many negros. Columbus in the year 1494 found it a pleasant and populous island; but the Spaniards are said (even by their own authors) to have put to death no fewer than 60,000 of the natives of that island, and rooted out the remainder before the English conquered it.

Simon de Cafferres also laid before the protector the following scheme, viz.

‘ With four men of war only, and four ships with provisions, ammunition, and 1000 soldiers, to sail into the South sea, round Cape Horn, and so passing by Baldivia in Chili (from which port the Spaniards had long before been driven) the kingdom of Chili might be conquered from Spain. Our people to rendezvous at the isle of La Mocha, where they might victual and water, as there were none but Indians there; and as Chili abounds more with gold and provisions than any other part of America, and has a wholesome climate; as moreover the Chilians are the most warlike of any American people, and are mortal foes to the Spaniards, by reason of their former cruelties, they probably would gladly side with any people inclinable to drive the Spaniards quite out of their country. That if this project should succeed, it would distress Spain in the most sensible and least-guarded part. That the ships of war above mentioned would serve to seize on the Spanish treasure going annually from Chili to Arica, and thence by Lima and Guyaquil, to Panama, and so over land to Porto-Bello in the West-Indies, as well as to seize on the two yearly rich Acapulco ships. Cafferres for these purposes undertook to engage in Holland some of those who went in Brouwer’s expedition against Baldivia.’ [*Thurloe*, V. iv, p. 62.] Nevertheless this, like all our former proposed expeditions into the South sea, was not found likely to answer: partly on account of the great dangers in a most tempestuous ocean; the inconstancy of the climate when there; and the almost insuperable difficulties which would be occasioned by being quite out of the reach of friendly ports.

Cromwell appointed his son Richard, with many lords of his council, judges, and gentlemen, and about twenty merchants of London, York, Newcastle, Yarmouth, Dover, &c. to meet and consider by what means the traffic and navigation of the republic might be best promoted and regulated, and to report, &c. * [*Thurloe*, V. iv, p. 177.]

* A letter from the Hague in the year 1653 has the following remark upon a former committee:

‘ A committee for trade was some time since erected in England, which, we then feared, would have proved very prejudicial to our state; but we are

glad to see, that it was only nominal. So that we hope, in time those of London will forget that ever they were merchants.’ [*Thurloe*, V. i, p. 498.]

On some occasions this severe remark has been rather too much verified. A.

The Swedish resident in Holland this year represented, that the commissioners of the Dutch West-India company in New-Netherland (now New-York) did in this summer assault the Swedish colony there by force of arms; took their forts, drove away the inhabitants, and wholly dispossessed the Swedish company of their district; although it be true and without dispute, that the Swedes did acquire that fort which they possessed by the justest title (*optimo titulo juris*), and did buy it of the natives; and in consequence have had possession of it for several years, without the Dutch West-India company ever before pretending any right thereto. Therefor the resident, in his master's name, demanded that the Swedish company might have it restored to them, &c. [*Thurloe*, V. iv, p. 599.]

Among Cromwell's instructions in this year for the council of Scotland, we find the following very good one, viz. 'that in regard there be a great many hospitals and other mortifications (mortmains) in Scotland, you are therefor to take special notice and consideration of the same; and see them particularly employed for the benefit of the poor, and other pious uses for which they were first appointed; and to obey every other thing for the relief of the poor in the several parishes, that so none go a-begging, to the scandal of the christian profession: but each parish to maintain its own poor.' [*Thurloe*, V. iii, p. 497.]

The states of Holland this year reduced the interest of money due by them, from 5 to 4 per cent, whereby they saved 1,400,000 guilders per annum. And De Witt on this very point observes, that by the zeal of their good rulers an expedient was found to discharge the province of Holland of 140 millions of guilders, (or nearly about 14 millions sterling) by reducing the yearly interest thereof from 5 to 4 per cent, and employing the yearly advance of it toward discharging the principal, which hereby will all be paid off in twenty-one years. [*Interest of Holland*, p. 466.]

This was probably the first national sinking fund ever set on foot in Europe. De Witt adds on this subject, 'that what is most to be gloried in is, that though the greatest part of the regents of Holland had lent a considerable part of their property to that province, nevertheless, the consideration of their own profit did not hinder them from cutting off a fifth part of their revenue for the necessary service of the public.' Here that able author was perhaps somewhat mistaken in his great glorying; since possibly those self-denying regents could not well tell where to get an higher interest for their money elsewhere, had they been instantly paid off, as was afterwards the parallel case of the pope's sinking fund, in the year 1686, (of which in its place) and of the several branches of our own national sinking-fund from 1717 downward.

Mr. Prideaux, the English Russia company's agent at Archangel, sent to Cromwell an account of the exports from Archangel in that same

year, 1655, so far as the date of his letter, August 15, amounting to 660,000 rubles, valuing two rubles, (then) equal to L1 sterling, though at this day of a much smaller value. The principal articles then exported were potashes, caviare, tallow, hides, fables, and cable-yarn. The rest were coarse linen, bed-feathers, tar, linen-yarn, beef, rhubarb, Persian-silk, cork, bacon, cordage, skins of squirrels and cats, bees-wax, hogs bristles, mice and goats skins, swan and geese down, goose and duck feathers, candles, &c. [*Thurloe, V. iii, p. 713.*] It is probable that the rise of the new city of Petersburg, and the subjection of the ports of Livonia to Russia, have contributed to diminish the trade of Archangel.

This same year Cromwell concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with the ministers of King Lewis XIV of France, a minor. What relates to our main subject follows, viz.

Article V) The people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, may import into France all their manufactures of wool and silk, and may sell them there without forfeiture or penalty. Provided, cloths ill-made or unfashionable be carried back into England, without paying any duty for the same. Provided also, that the subjects of France may as freely import into England, and sell their wines and manufactures of wool and silk: and that the subjects of both contracting parties shall be kindly treated, and enjoy like privileges with other foreigners.

XXIV) Relates to prizes taken at sea, on both sides, since the year 1640, the determination whereof, if not finished by commissioners within six months and a fortnight, shall be referred to the arbitration of the republic of Hamburgh.

XXV) And whereas the three forts of Pentagoet, St. John, and Port-Royal, lately taken by England in America (i. e. in Nova-Scotia) would be reclaimed by the French ambassador, and the commissioners of his highness, the protector, would argue, from certain reasons, that they ought to be detained, it is agreed to refer this point likewise to the commissioners and arbitrators in the preceding article. [*General collection of treaties, V. iii, p. 149.*]

Against the conclusion of this treaty, King Philip IV of Spain had strongly remonstrated by two ambassadors to the protector, shewing that France had secretly fomented all the conspiracies against his life and government; while on the contrary, Spain had been the first potentate which recognized the English republic: and his catholic majesty perceiving that the treaties with Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, were concluded, that with France so forward, and the treaty with him the only one deferred, at which all mankind were surpris'd, the said ambassadors had orders to press the conclusion of it. And that in case his highness inclines to recover Calais, Spain will join her forces to those of England, both by sea and land, for that end. Provided England will

assist the prince of Condé with ships and troops to land him at Bordeaux or elsewhere, so as he may have footing in France, &c. [*General coll. of treaties*, V. iii, p. 146.] But Cromwell's particular interest, as before noted, outweighed his concern for the true interest of England: for the secret article in the above treaty with France overbalanced all other considerations, viz. France's engaging that King Charles II and his brothers the dukes of York and Gloucester, the marquis of Ormond, Sir Edward Hyde, and fifteen more lords and gentlemen therein named, should be obliged to leave France within forty days after the ratification of the treaty. Thus did Cardinal Mazarine meanly abandon the English royal family and their friends, purely to enable France farther to weaken Spain, already too much enfeebled, and the balance of power in Europe thereby farther endangered. Upon this treaty the king of Spain seized upon all the effects of the English merchants in his dominions, to a considerable value; and by this war with Spain the Dutch obtained a valuable commerce with that country, formerly enjoyed by the English.

In proportion as the Spanish monarchy declined, the French increased in power, riches, commerce, and territory. France hitherto found it her interest to keep fair with the Dutch, as well on account of their shipping, which was undoubtedly very great at this time, as for the incredible quantity of French manufactures and product which the Dutch took off, and dispersed all over Europe. But when Cromwell had now entered into close measures with the cardinal-minister Mazarine, France then began to treat the Dutch with less ceremony, and to establish companies of merchants at home for the herring, cod, and whale fisheries; and to prevent the importation of whale-fins and train-oil by foreigners. France also laid a duty of fifty sols per ton on all foreign ships, both coming into and going out of her sea-ports.

This year the Jews found means to persuade Cromwell to re-admit them to settle in England (although the long parliament had before refused it) being just 365 years since their expulsion by King Edward I. The protector it is said had been persuaded by them and their friends, that commerce, by their re-admission, would be so far improved as to increase his revenue £100,000 per annum. On the other hand, the famous William Prynne, and several others, at this time published treatises against re-admitting the Jews, shewing the mischiefs which that unhappy people have occasioned in all the countries wherein they have been tolerated. In their favour Menasseh Ben Israel, an eminent Jew, who styled himself a divine and a doctor of physic, addressed the protector and commonwealth in this same year, in the following artful strain:

‘ Our people did in their own minds presage that the kingly government, being now changed into that of a commonwealth, the antient hatred towards them would also be changed into good-will; and that those

‘ rigorous laws made under the kings against so innocent a people would
 ‘ happily be repealed: so that we hope now for better treatment from
 ‘ your gentleness and goodness; since, from the beginning of your go-
 ‘ vernment of this commonwealth, your highness hath professed much
 ‘ respect and favour towards us. Wherefor, I humbly intreat your
 ‘ highness that you would, with a gracious eye, have a regard to us and
 ‘ our petition, and grant unto us, as you have done unto others, the free
 ‘ exercise of our religion; that we may have our synagogues, and
 ‘ keep our own public worship, as our brethren do in Italy, Germany,
 ‘ Poland, and many other places; and we shall pray for the happiness
 ‘ and peace of this your much renowned and puissant commonwealth.’

He proceeds to shew, that other states have thought it their interest to encourage the Jews in their dominions; as, for instance, the king of Denmark invited them to settle at Gluckstadt in Holstein; the duke of Savoy, at Nice; the duke of Modena, at Reggio; and in India there are four synagogues at Cochin for the use of the Jews, a fourth part of whom are of a white complexion, and the other three quarters are tawny. That in Persia there are great numbers of Jews, and many of them in great favour at court. That in Turkey they are most numerous, many of them living in great state, and in favour with the sultan and his bashaws; there being in Constantinople alone 48 synagogues; in Salonichi 36; and above 80,000 Jews in those two cities. That in all the Turkish dominions their number amounts to many millions of people. Next, he refutes all the accusations against the Jews, and shews the damage which accrued to Spain and Portugal by banishing the Jews out of their dominions; and the great benefit, in point of revenue, to the public, and in respect to the increase of commerce and manufactures, which would accrue by re-admitting them: so that in conclusion they were re-admitted, and have remained in England ever since, though not in such great numbers as in some other parts.

The republic of Tunis not only refused to comply with Admiral Blake’s just demands in behalf of the English commerce, (who was then with a squadron in the Mediterranean for watching the motions of the French fleet) but even treated his proposals with much insolence and contumely: and we learn by that great admiral’s letter to Secretary Thurloe, that he sailed with his squadron into the harbour of Porto-Farino, and burnt all their ships, being nine in number, with the loss of only twenty-five men killed; and then, having reduced them to reason, he returned to Cagliari in Sardinia, whence he dates that letter. [*Thurloe*, V. iii, p. 390.] He afterwards brought Algiers and Tripoli also to terms of peace.

In India the Dutch this year took the city of Calcut from the Portuguese; and in the following year (1656) they also deprived them of Columbo, their capital settlement in Ceylon, and thereby became mas-

ters of the coasts of that fruitful island, and of the whole cinnamon trade; as they before were of the nutmegs, mace, and cloves. Pepper was now the only spice that remained uningrossed by them, because it grows in too many distant parts of India to be ingrossed by any one potentate. In 1658 the Dutch took Manaar and Jafnapatnam from the Portuguese, by which, and other conquests needful to be enlarged on, the Portuguese were soon confined to their settlements on this side of cape Comorin. And thus the Dutch made themselves ample amends for their West-India company's losses at Brasil.

The old stadthouse at Amsterdam being thought too mean for the grandeur of that most opulent city, the two great commercial companies of the East and West Indies undertook to erect a new one: it was begun in 1648, and completed in this year 1655; and may truly be termed the pride and glory of that city and province, being by far the most noble and superb structure in all Europe of that kind; serving for a senate-house and bank. Whole volumes have been employed in the description of its architecture and beauty.

1656.—Charles Gustavus king of Sweden, being now at war with John Casimir king of Poland; the states-general of the United provinces, apprehensive of the disadvantage of that war to the commerce of their subjects in the Baltic, sent thither Admiral Opdam with a fleet, which, over-awing both those kings, brought on the treaty of peace at Elbing in Prussia. This conduct of the Dutch was agreeable, as we have before noted, to the general tenor of their politics, with regard to preserving an equilibrium between the potentates bordering on the Baltic shores.

The commerce of Amsterdam was by this time so much increased that, for the enlargement of that city, a great space of ground was now inclosed and built on. And the whole city, thus enlarged, was now furrounded with new walls of brick with stone gates. This, it is apprehended, is the last great enlargement of Amsterdam, in respect of private buildings; but it received a great addition to the strength of its fortifications when the French invaded Holland in the year 1672.

No marvel then if the Grand-pensionary De Witt, in his book of the Interest of Holland, in the year 1669, observes ' that Amsterdam is a ' city of greater traffic, and Holland a richer merchandizing country ' than ever was in the world. Their situation for an easy and quick ' communication with all the coasts of Friesland, Overijssel, Guelder- ' land, and North-Holland; their situation also for receiving the ' fishery, and for a repository for all sorts of merchandize to be afterwards re-shipped to all parts of the world, as demands may offer, and ' for setting out ships to freight, are great advantages. Then their acquiring the whole spice trade of India, and a great West-India trade; ' the whale fishery; the trade in Italian wrought silks, which the Ger-

‘mans were wont to bring by land-carriage from Italy, until the German wars lost them that trade; and afterwards their manufacturing the raw silk themselves; their woollen manufacture: and in short, he observes, the Hollanders had at this time well nigh beaten all nations, by traffic, out of the seas, and become the only carriers of goods throughout the world.’ [*Part i, c. 13.*] How exultingly was all this said, even by the great, and otherwise cool and moderate, De Witt! And, indeed, it is a most shining picture of their mercantile grandeur, long since in its wane, as we have elsewhere noted.

We have also, in this same year, an authentic statement of the public navy of the Dutch, in a letter from Sluyce in Dutch Flanders, in April 1656, importing, that they had 101 ships of war in their several ports, including 8 ships with Admiral de Ruyter at Cadiz. That their first-rate ships had 72, 74, 76 port-holes; the second-rates 60; and the third-rates 52 port-holes or guns. [*Thurloe, V. iv, p. 732.*] This is an undeniable proof that ships of war in those days were considerably inferior to our modern floating castles. We are here also to note, that, since the Dutch admiral’s remonstrances to their masters, that in their last war with England their ships were too small, they were built considerably larger.

We find also a statement of the naval strength of Spain, in a letter of intelligence dated in January. It says, ‘that they are now preparing at Cadiz for a war against England; that they have there from 50 to 60 ships of war, 30 gallies, and 30 fire-ships; but the want of money doth much hinder and trouble them, which they endeavour to borrow of merchants, &c. to pay when the galleons arrive; but if these do not soon arrive, the kingdom will be in a miserable condition.’ [*Thurloe, V. iv, p. 419.*] This is a true, but melancholy, picture of the state of Spain so early as at that time; yet its misery gradually increased till the death of King Charles II in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Although Jamaica had been so easily won by the English, yet, on the return of the fleet, the protector, provoked at the disaster at Hispaniola, sent both Penn and Venables to the tower. On the other hand, Spain, resenting this attack, declared war against England. Hereupon the brave English admiral, Blake, attacked the Spanish plate fleet near the port of Cadiz; and burnt or sunk all of them, excepting only one which escaped, and two which were taken and brought to Portsmouth, in which were found upwards of two millions of dollars.

In a Brief narrative of England’s rights to the northern parts of America, written this year, it is observed, ‘that the Dutch, under colour of a clause in their West-India company’s charter, enabling them to conquer what they could in America from their enemies, (i. e. Spain) had settled in the north part of Virginia; that at first they

‘ called their settlement New Virginia ; but because they would make it as much Dutch as they could, they had but very lately called it New Nedderlandt, and so named it in all their new maps *. It is commonly reported, that, by the permission of King James I, they had granted from him, to their states only, a certain island ; called therefor by them Staten (or States) island, on that coast, as a watering place for their West-India fleets.’ [*Thurloe, V. v, p. 81.*]

From hence, it is natural to conclude that this supposed allowance of that king (of which, however, we can no where find a proper evidence) to water at Staten island, encouraged so adventurous a people to take the liberty of settling on the neighbouring continent, from whence they were not quite expelled till the year 1667, when it was exchanged for the colony of Surinam.

The protector and his parliament now erected a new general post-office for the commonwealth of the three kingdoms, on much the same plan as three years before, and in the main, as till lately in our days. Single letters as far as 80 miles for twopence ; farther threepence ; to Scotland fourpence ; and double letters twice as much. These regulations were confirmed at the restoration of King Charles II.

The humour of restraining the increase of buildings in and near London on new foundations, begun by Queen Elizabeth in the early times of commerce, and continued in the two next reigns, was now revived by the protector and his parliament, by their act [*c. 24*] the preamble of which runs thus : ‘ Whereas, the great and excessive number of houses, edifices, out-houses, and cottages, erected and new-built in and about the suburbs of the city of London, is found to be very mischievous and inconvenient, and a great annoyance and nuisance to the commonwealth, &c. they now lay a duty of one year’s rent on all houses and edifices erected on new foundations in the suburbs, or within ten miles of the walls of London, since the year 1620, not having four acres of freehold land laid to the same. And a fine of £100 is also hereby laid on all new edifices which shall, from 1657, be erected within the said limits, on new foundations, not having four acres laid thereto, as afore said. Moreover, all houses, within the said limits, shall hereafter be built of brick or stone upright, and without butting or jetting out into the street.’ Out of this act were excepted, the buildings belonging to the several city hospitals ; the earl of Clare’s new market (now called Clare-market) in Clement’s-inn-fields, just then built ; the streets about Lincoln’s-inn-fields, then also in hand ; Horsley-down buildings, for the benefit of the poor of St. Olave’s parish in Southwark ; Bangor-court, in Shoe-lane, then about to be built upon the site of the bishop of Bangor’s house and garden, &c. ; and all buildings be-

* It is now called New-York. A.

low London bridge, and within two furlongs of the river Thames, belonging to mariners, ship-builders, their wives and widows; and some few other places. By this act we find that Clare-market in the fields, then called Clement's-inn-fields, was but just finished; and it is hereby declared to be a common and free market on every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday: but part of Stanhope-street adjoining was not yet quite built on, nor were all the buildings adjoining to Lincoln's-inn-fields as yet finished.

By Scobel's Collection of acts and ordinances of parliament, (from 1640 to 1656) we learn, that the whole charge of the public in this year, 1656, in England [c. 6] was fixed at £1,300,000, viz. £1,000,000 for the navy and army, and £300,000 for the support of the civil government. No part of this sum was raised by a land-tax.

And the parliament [c. 4] abolished all tenures *in capite* by knights-service, and by soccage in chief, and laid aside the courts of wards and liveries. They also enacted [c. 5] that none should dig within the houses or lands of any person for saltpetre, without leave first obtained. This act relating to digging for saltpetre removed a grievance which King Charles I imposed on his subjects, throughout his reign, of entering and digging for it everywhere, without asking leave.

There had been a general treaty of alliance concluded between Cromwell and Queen Christina of Sweden, in the year 1654. But matters relating to commerce and navigation were then deferred to a more convenient time: so Cromwell's commissioners in this year signed a treaty with the ministers of King Charles Gustavus of Sweden, wherein what relates to commerce is as follows.

Article IX) ' As to commerce to be carried on in America, it is expressly provided by law, that the subjects of no other state or republic besides shall be impowered to trade there in common, without a special licence; but if any of the king of Sweden's subjects, furnished with his recommendations, shall privately solicit such licence of the lord protector to trade to any of those (English) colonies, he will, in this respect, comply with the desire of his Swedish majesty, as far as the state of his affairs will permit.

X) ' It shall be free for the subjects of Sweden to fish and catch herrings, &c. in the seas and on the coasts which are in the dominion of this republic; provided the ships so employed do not exceed 1000 in number: and no charges shall be demanded, of those Swedish fishers, by the ships of war of this republic; but all shall be treated courteously and amicably, and shall be even allowed to dry their nets on the shore, and to purchase necessaries there at a fair price.'

The rest of this treaty relates chiefly to a mutual liberty of hiring ships of war and troops in each others country, and against Sweden supplying Spain with naval stores during England's war with that crown. [General coll. of treaties, V, iii, p. 163.]

Upon this treaty and some prior ones we may here briefly remark, that Cromwell and the parliament affected to be as punctilious and peremptory, in respect to their dominion in the four seas surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, as even the most positive and determined of the English monarchs.

1657.—All that part of Prussia lying east of the Vistula, which till lately was called ducal (in contradistinction from the other part called royal, as being immediately under subjection to the crown of Poland) had, ever since the year 1525, been vested in the house of Brandenburg, with the title of a dukedom, though still owning some kind of vassalage to the king and republic of Poland, till the year 1657, when the later gave up all kind of claim on it; and the elector of Brandenburg was now vested with sovereign and independent dominion over that duchy, since erected into a kingdom in the person of Frederic I.

In this last year of the renowned Admiral Blake's life, he destroyed a second Spanish plate fleet, (said to be much richer than that of the preceding year) at Tenerif, one of the Canary isles, burning, sinking, &c. every ship of that fleet. This great admiral's death was reckoned an irreparable loss to the protector and to his country. Amongst several other great things said of him, even by the earl of Clarendon, his following encomium on him is well worth our notice, viz. 'that he was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been ever thought very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to frighten those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water. And although he had been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.'

From March 1638 to May 1657, (according to the author of the Happy future state of England) there was coined in the tower of London, in gold and silver, the sum of £7,733,521:13:4; 'England alone (says that author) having, till the peace of Munster, in 1648, enjoyed almost the whole manufacture, and the best part of the trade, of Europe.'

In a letter written by General Monk from Scotland, to Secretary Thurloe, in September 1657, there is the following memorable paragraph: 'I understand the Portugal ambassador is come to London; and I make no question but he will be desiring some favour from my lord protector. There is a castle in the straits mouth which the Portugals have, called Tanger, on Barbary side, and which if they would part withal, it would be very useful to us; and they make little use of it, unless it be for getting of blackamoors; for which his highness may

‘ give them leave to trade for. An hundred men will keep the castle, and half a dozen frigates there would stop the whole trade in the Straits to such as shall be enemies to us.’ [*Thurloe*, V. vi, p. 505.] So it appears that a fortified post at the entry of the Mediterranean was then thought a desirable object for England: and this proposal of General Monk’s very probably occasioned the stipulation for this port and castle five years afterwards, to be a part of Queen Catharine’s marriage portion, as it accordingly was. Yet this same General Monk afterwards found a considerable garrison little enough to defend it against the continual attacks of the Moors.

De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, justly remarks, ‘ that although their ships trading into the Mediterranean should be well guarded by convoys against the Barbary pirates, yet it would by no means be proper to free that sea of those pirates; because (says he) we should hereby be put upon the same footing with the Eastlanders, English, Spaniards, and Italians: wherefor it is best to leave that thorn in the sides of those nations, whereby they will be distressed in that trade; while we by our convoys ingross all the European traffic and navigation to Holland.’

By the experience of the ill effects of former negligence, and the help of the port of Gibraltar, we have in our own times greatly gained ground upon Holland in this particular respect. *Fas est, et ab hoste doceri* *.

Secretary Thurloe received a letter from Leghorn, acquainting him that the Hollanders were making a plantation between Surinam and Carthagena in the West-Indies, aiming chiefly to trade with the Spaniards; for which purpose they were sending thither twenty-five families of Jews. ‘ If (says this letter-writer) our planters at Surinam took the same course, it would be much to their advantage; for the Spaniards there are in most extreme want of all European commodities.’ [*Thurloe*, V. vi, p. 825.] This was probably a project for settling on the Terra firma, from which they were said to be afterwards driven. Unless, perhaps, Curaçoa be hereby meant, which is a small isle near that coast, possessed by the Dutch, and very commodiously situated for that smuggling trade, the Jews there being said to be both rich and numerous; and the Dutch colonies extremely populous and well fortified. It was probably settled before this time, as were also, above 25 years before, a somewhat smaller isle near it, named Aruba; and Bonaire, another isle on that coast, which produces plenty of cotton; and the other two produce some sugar: and though Curaçoa be but about 13 leagues in circuit, and barren, yet its merchants are said to be very rich by their trade with the neighbouring Spaniards for European goods and negroes; so that it is deemed one of their best colonies in America.

* It is right to learn even from an enemy.

The following is the estimate of the public expenditure and revenue of England, Ireland, and Scotland, for the year ending 1st November 1657.

The charge of the sea	-	-	-	L994,500	0	0
Ditto of the army in the three kingdoms				1,132,489	0	0
Ditto of the civil government	-	-	-	200,000	0	0
Total				2,326,989	0	0

The present revenue, viz.

The assessment in England, Scotland, and Ireland				1,464,000	4	0
The excise and customs, estimated at	-	-	-	700,000	0	0
The other revenue, payable on the receipt of the exchequer, estimated at	-	-	-	198,000	0	0
Total				2,362,000	4	0

The revenue of Ireland for two years, ending 1st

November, 1657.	-	-	-	137,558	13	3
Expense of ditto for said two years	-	-	-	142,509	11	0
Expense more than the revenue	-	-	-	4,959	17	9
Scotland's revenue for one year	-	-	-	37,690	19	0

But Scotland's expense is not mentioned. [*Thurloe, V. vi, p. 825, and p. 444.*]

What De Witt has said of his nation's wisdom in securing their mercantile shipping trading into the Mediterranean by proper convoys, and the neglect of England in that respect, is in part confirmed, and partly, also, contradicted, by a pamphlet addressed to the protector this year, by Samuel Lamb, a merchant, entitled *Seasonable observations for the encouraging of foreign commerce: wherein he speaks 'of our merchants' shipping as having been of late the best in the world; witness 'the many single fights at sea against the Turks, to whom, it is believed, the Dutch lose ten ships for our one; and the remarkable 'sea-fights against the Hollanders themselves in the late wars; wherein 'many merchant ships, from about 300 to 500 tons, did engage against 'the enemy with the states ships, to our great advantage; the enemy 'notwithstanding exceeding us in every fight in ships and tonnage.'* This (though perhaps somewhat exaggerated) shews the stoutness of our trading ships in the Mediterranean in those times, as well as the bravery of our sailors; of which fundry old songs and ballads also give testimony, in their encounters with the Barbary pirates.

Before the commencement of the civil wars in England we find, by the East-India company's account, that they alone employed 15,000 tons

of shipping, which were accounted to be the best trading ships belonging to England, (as indeed they continue to be to the present times) from 300 to 600 tons each ship. But the East-India shipping fell off very much, by the general discouragements in their trade, and the underminings of the Dutch; and now they had scarcely one good ship remaining. Moreover, from the year 1653, or 1654, to this year 1657, by means of the multitude of interlopers, there was a sort of open trade from England to India: 'in which time (says our author, who in 1681 wrote in defence of the joint-stock company) our nation had well nigh lost all their privileges in India, which are many.' There were also grievous losses to private traders by depredations, 'a great lowering of English commodities, and advancing of Indian commodities, an increase of presents to governors, &c. to such odious excess, that at length the very private traders themselves, being without union and protection, were the forwardest petitioners for a return to a joint-stock.' Yet, on the other hand, the ingenious author of a treatise intitled *Britannia languens*, [p. 76, ed. 1680, 8vo] affirms, 'that during the years 1653-4-5-6, when the East-India trade was laid open, they afforded the India commodities so cheap that they supplied more parts of Europe, and even Amsterdam itself, therewith, than ever they did after; whereby they very much sunk the Dutch East-India company's actions.' Yet, it is generally said, that even the interlopers or separate traders were losers in the end, having also endured many indignities and injuries from the Indians. So difficult is it to come at the real truth where interest is nearly concerned on both sides.

Upon the whole, the protector now re-established the old company, with a joint-stock of £739,782, though only 50 per cent, or £369,891, was called in, or was strictly (at that time) deemed their capital stock. Yet, by the late laying open of that trade, so many lesser ships had been employed in it, that the company, though now again restored, could find few or no merchant ships large enough for their purpose. And the author just now quoted alleges, 'that although in former times the English trade into the Mediterranean did by estimation employ 80 or 100 sail of ships, from 300 to 400 tons each, yet since they employ smaller ones, which are so often taken by the Spaniards,' &c. And he says, 'he has formerly known many ships of the above, or a greater burden, built and equipped in England, purposely to be sent to Venice, to be let out to that state for ships of war, to serve them against the Turks: but the Hollanders soon cut us out of that employment also, by serving them cheaper.'

On the 9th of May this year Cromwell concluded another self-interested treaty of alliance with France against Spain and Holland, and against the solid interest of England. And as some of the secret articles have a relation to commerce, we shall remark on the following ones, viz.

It seems the Dutch admiral De Ruyter had taken two French ships of war in the Mediterranean; to revenge which France engaged Cromwell by the IVth and Vth secret articles to fit out, at the expense of France, from 30 to 40 ships of war; part of which were to cruise before Ostend and Dunkirk, and the rest in the Channel, to take all the ships of Holland and Zealand in the French king's name. And article IX and X, that an English fleet was to block up Ostend, Newport, and Graveling, whilst Louis did the same on the land side. And Louis promises to leave those ports (when taken) in the full possession and property of the protector: as on the other hand (article XI) Louis was to enjoy all the other towns, harbours, and places, which should be conquered in the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, none excepted, whoever is or has been the possessor. Article XV and XVI, both parties agreed to assist the king of Sweden in his intended conquest of the city of Dantzic, Louis also promising to furnish money for the conquest of the Danish forts in the Sound; and the protector engaging to send a fleet with land forces to block up the passage of the Sound, to the end that, with Sweden's assistance, he might be enabled to keep the trade with those countries and those of his allies free and undisturbed. The plausible or probable ground for these two remarkable articles of this alliance and enmity against Denmark was, because Christiern IV had increased his toll on foreign ships passing the Sound: which toll (we have seen) having been farmed to the Hollanders in 1649, it was probable they and the crown of Denmark had jointly aimed to make the most of against all other nations, though contrary to former stipulations.

By article XVII the protector was to have the disposal of any countries and forts which should be taken from Denmark, according to his good pleasure: but the ships and merchandize of the French king's subjects should pass and repass the Sound as freely as those of England.

1658.—Cardinal Mazarin (the prime-minister of France) having got intelligence that the court of Spain, in order to gain Cromwell, had some time before proposed to assist him in the conquest of Calais for England, took pains to convince the protector, that Dunkirk would be of much greater importance to England, as really is known to be true: and as Cromwell's main dread was lest France should be assisting in King Charles's restoration, he, after some deliberation, agreed to Mazarin's proposal. Whereupon, on the 23d of March 1658, new stile, Sir William Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador at Paris, signed a convention with the French court, whereby it was stipulated that Dunkirk, Mardike, and Graveling, (when taken) should be put into the protector's hands; which was confirmed by a second convention five days after. Whereupon Dunkirk was attacked by the joint forces of England and France, and surrendered on midsummer-day 1658, to the French, who, the day

following, delivered it up with all its forts into the hands of Sir William Lockhart, for the protector. This great acquisition occasioned no small jealousy in the Dutch, who were very far from being pleased to see England thereby rendered masters of both sides of the Channel. Moreover, though France at this time yielded it to Cromwell for the sake of his present friendship, in assisting to the greater enfeebling of Spain, and the consequent raising of her own power, yet the French court soon foresaw how dangerous Dunkirk would prove in other hands than their own, and more especially in the possession of England, even then the first maritime potentate of Europe; wherefor they soon found means, (four years after) to get it surrendered to them.

Though clocks and clock-makers were introduced into England at least as early as the year 1368, yet we have not discovered either the time or the certain place in which they were first made; as is also the case of several other inventions. Nuremberg in Germany has often been named as the most probable place of the invention of watches, (or rather the revival of them about 70 years ago) though I do not find any certainty thereof. The first pendulum clock is said to have been invented by Huygens in the preceding year, 1657; yet others ascribe it to Galileo. Be this as it may, we may be assured that the present watches are of a much later invention than clocks, though they, in fact, were but a necessary consequence of the other. The Emperor Charles V was the first who had a watch; though some say it was only a small table clock. Others say, that emperor had a watch, of some kind or other, in the jewel of his seal-ring. Spring pocket watches were the production of this century. Foreigners ascribe the invention to Huygens, but the English to Dr. Hooke, about this year. It has since been brought to greater perfection in England than anywhere else.

This year the Swedish fleet besieging Copenhagen, where the Danish king then was in great distress, the Dutch fleet under Admiral Opdam defeated that of Sweden, and thereby seasonably relieved the Danish king and his capital city. The next year Admiral De Ruyter joined the Danish fleet, and defeating that of Sweden, brought about a pacification at Roschild between these two northern crowns, through the mediation of England and France.

1659.—Yet in the following year (1659) the Swedes, under their king Charles Gustavus, were so successful in a fresh war against Denmark as to oblige that crown to restore the fine province of Scania, or Schonen, to Sweden, after Denmark had been in possession of it for three centuries. This concession threw much weight into the scale of Sweden; but seems, however, to have reduced both crowns nearer to an equilibrium than before, with reference to the European states trading into the Baltic sea.

The Danish court having farther distressed the trade of other nations

by increasing the tolls in the passages into the Baltic, called the Sound, and greater and lesser Belt; the two commonwealths of England and Holland, and the court of France, had entered into a joint treaty at the Hague, not only for obliging Denmark and Sweden, then at war, to agree to the above peace, but by the VIth article of that treaty it was stipulated, 'that no new duty, toll, or other impost, on account of beacons, light-houses, anchorages, or any pretences whatever, be for the future raised in the Sound or the two Belts, by any person whatsoever, upon the said three states, or either of them, or upon their subjects. And with respect to the duties or tolls which are paid there by virtue of the treaty made at London between the late protector (Oliver) and the crown of Denmark, and of another treaty made between the said crown and the United provinces in 1645, they shall never be augmented upon the three states, nor on any of them, for any cause or pretext whatever. And if it happens that there are more favourable and advantageous conditions in one of the said treaties than there are in the other, with regard to the toll, or the manner of raising it, the said three states, and each of them, shall for the future enjoy the more favourable conditions equally; as also all other privileges and exemptions; and shall be guarantees thereof one to the other.'

It seems that, before this definitive treaty, the Danes often varied the tolls they exacted from ships passing the Sound. Sometimes they laid a rose-noble on every ship, beside one per cent for luffage; sometimes three and one-half per cent; and at other times a thirtieth part of all the cargo was demanded and taken. Queen Elizabeth sent four solemn embassies to Denmark in order to get those tolls moderated, and fixed at some certainty; though all to very little purpose. The Swedes likewise had sometimes pretended to a toll for their castle of Helsingburg, on their side of the Sound: but now this joint treaty and mutual guarantee of the three potent states before mentioned seemed to put an end to all new demands or impositions whatever.

The advantageous peace concluded this year at the Pyrenees with the declining kingdom of Spain gave the French full leisure to improve their foreign commerce, and more especially their trade to Turkey for woollen goods; which, by the help of Spanish wool, they soon after brought to such perfection, that they have long since been enabled, in a great measure, to get ground of the English Levant, or Turkey company, as well as of the Dutch and Venetians; their very able statesman Colbert having soon after this time most assiduously applied himself thereto, without sparing any expense for the improvement of every branch of commerce; such, for instance, as premiums, remission of customs and taxes, warehouses rent-free, &c. Yet in order to get their woollen cloth at first introduced into Turkey, they are said to have made use of the names of the English traders thither, and of the repu-

tation of English cloth, calling their cloth by the name of drap de Londres.

By the Pyrenean treaty Spain yielded to France so much territory and so many strong fortresses in the Netherlands, and on the side of Catalonia, Burgundy, and Lorrain, as made the scale of France still much more preponderate; the enumeration of which countries and fortresses may be seen in all the accounts of that peace; which was indeed a very unfortunate one for Spain, and much altered the balance of power in respect of those two nations, and in some measure therefor affected the safety of the rest of Europe.

The island of Barbados was by this time become rich and populous; for, in a pamphlet, entitled Trade revived, printed this year, the author, treating of the value of our American plantations, describes 'Barbados as having given to many men of low degree exceeding vast fortunes, equal to noblemen. He says, that upwards of 100 sail of ships there yearly find employment, by carrying goods and passengers thither, and bringing thence other commodities: whereby seamen are bred and custom increased, our commodities vended, and many thousands employed therein, and in refining sugar at home, which we formerly had from other countries. And all this out of that very small, dry, and rocky island.' By this account it should seem, that our other Caribbee isles had scarcely begun to cultivate sugar. This also seems to be the first account of sugar-refining in England, though probably earlier in some other countries, (for which see the year 1503.)

According to Doctor D'Avenant, who was inspector-general of the customs of England, the entire coinage of England for a complete century of years, taken from the registers of the royal mint, viz. from 1558 to 1659, was as follows.

Gold coined in Queen Elizabeth's reign	-	L1,200,000
In King James I's reign, about	-	800,000
In King Charles I's reign	-	1,723,000
Total gold,		L3,723,000
Silver in Queen Elizabeth's reign	-	L4,632,932
In King James I's reign	-	1,700,000
In King Charles I's reign	-	8,776,544
By the parliament and Cromwell	-	1,000,000
Total silver,		16,109,476
Total gold and silver,		L19,832,476

Yet, adds the doctor very properly, 'all this money was not co-existing in this year 1659. For Queen Elizabeth not only called in

and recoined all the debased silver coin of the three preceding reigns, but, by varying the standard, there were fresh fabrications occasioned, so that the same bullion was coined over and over.' And this able author conjectures, that in the year 1600 our whole gold and silver coin together did not exceed 4 millions; and that at the time he wrote (1711) there might be 12 millions of gold and silver coin in being. [*New dialogues on the present posture of affairs*, p. 71, ed. 1711, 8vo.]

This very curious account is well worth our observation: and as our commerce is allowed by all men to be very considerably increased since the year 1711, being the space of fifty-one years, I conceive we may reasonably conclude, that the present gold and silver coin of Great Britain actually existing cannot be less than 16 millions: although it be not so easy to determine the proportion between the quantity of the gold and the silver coin.

Having nothing farther to add of the times preceding the restoration of King Charles II, we must do the rump parliament and Cromwell the justice to remark, by way of recapitulation, that they certainly made sundry very good and successful regulations and laws for the improvement and increase of commerce and shipping, most of which were confirmed by the parliament immediately after the restoration: which plainly evinced the public sense of their utility, viz.

I) The reduction of the legal interest of money from 8 to 6 per cent, greatly to the advantage of the landed and trading interests.

II) The navigation act, whereby not only the trade to and from our American plantations was secured to ourselves alone, but likewise our mercantile shipping was considerably increased, as was also the number of our sailors, and of all trades depending on shipping.

III) Tenures by knights-service, wardships, and all other kinds of servile tenures, were for ever abolished in England.

IV) All kinds of monopolies were likewise quite abolished.

V) Their granting full liberty of conscience to all peaceable people, inviting multitudes of such to return with their families and fortunes from New-England, Holland, Germany, &c. whither they had been driven by Laud's unchristian and mad persecution, &c. and hereby not only the number of industrious people was increased, which is the most solid wealth of any nation, but likewise new manufactures were introduced, and the old improved and increased.

This measure was, however, not agreeable to the zealous royalists, and therefor it was not confirmed till the accession of William and Mary, when the nation's eyes were fully opened to see the prejudice and folly, as well as wickedness, of denying that freedom of conscience to others which we ourselves would think we had a right to in like circumstances.

VI) Vassalage was abolished in Scotland, and better order was esta-

blished in that country for providing for the poor, punishing vagrants, and suppressing robberies, than had before been in use.

But this benefit to Scotland was far from being confirmed after the restoration, though so reasonable and beneficial. The first four, however, were wisely confirmed, as what the nation could not have been easy without, having before so fully experienced their beneficial and most salutary effects.

1660.—On the 3d of May 1660, a final peace was concluded at the monastery of Oliva in Polish Prussia, between John Casimir king of Poland, and his confederates the Emperor Leopold, and Frederic William elector of Brandenburg, on the one part, and Charles XI, king of Sweden, on the other part, Louis XIV, king of France, being guarantee. What is necessary for us to observe, is, the great additional weight thrown into the scale of Sweden, by Poland yielding to her the large, fair, and fruitful, province of Livonia, most of which, however, had been long before conquered and possessed by Sweden. On the other side, Sweden yielded to Poland the cities and forts she held in Polish Prussia. The emperor yielded to Holstein all that he held in that duchy, and the elector of Brandenburg yielded to Sweden all that he had held in western Pomerania.

We are now again returned to the legal constitution of England, of king, lords, and commons, by the restoration of King Charles II on the 29th of May, in this year 1660: and the first act of parliament relating to our subject, is that for a subsidy granted to him of tonnage and poundage, and other sums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported: the preamble to which act runs thus, viz.

‘ The commons assembled in parliament, reposing trust and confidence
‘ in your majesty, in and for the guarding and defending of the seas
‘ against all persons intending, or that shall intend, the disturbance of
‘ your said commons in the intercourse of trade, and the invading of
‘ this your realm, for the better defraying the necessary expenses there-
‘ of, which cannot otherwise be effected without great charge to your
‘ majesty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the lords *, in
‘ this your present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the
‘ same, to the intent aforesaid, give and grant unto you, our supreme
‘ liege lord and sovereign, one subsidy called tonnage, that is to say, of
‘ every ton of wine of the growth of France, that shall come into the
‘ port of London, by way of merchandize, by your natural born sub-
‘ jects, L4 : 10, and by strangers and aliens L6, and into the outports
‘ L3 by natural born subjects, and by aliens L4 : 10; and for every
‘ butt or pipe of muscadels, malmseys, gites, tents, alicants, bastards,
‘ sacks, canaries, malagas, maderas †, and other wines whatsoever, com-

* The bishops were not yet reinstated. A.

† This is the first time this wine is mentioned by that name. A.

monly called sweet wines, of the growth of the Levant, Spain, and Portugal, or any of them, or of the islands belonging to them, or elsewhere, that shall come into the port of London, brought by English subjects, L2 : 5, and by aliens L3, and into the outports, by English subjects L1 : 10, and by aliens L2 : 5 ; also for rhenish wines, by natural born subjects L1 per aum, and by aliens L1 : 5, as in a book of rates herein after referred to: and also one other subsidy called poundage, i. e. of all manner of goods and merchandize exported or imported, either by denizens or aliens, 12d for every 20s, as in the book of rates valued, or *ad valorem* : and for English product or manufacture exported by aliens, 12d more for every 20s over and above the first 20s ; excepting, however, all manner of woollen cloths, commonly called old draperies, and all wines which shall have paid the above named tonnage, and also fish brought by Englishmen, and all fresh fish and bestial imported, and all other goods mentioned to be custom free in the said book of rates *. And we do hereby grant to our liege lord and sovereign another subsidy, i. e. on every short woollen cloth exported by Englishmen, called broad cloths, not exceeding twenty-eight yards in length and sixty-four pounds weight, the sum of $\frac{3}{4}$, and proportionably if of greater length or weight : and of lesser lengths and weight, exported by Englishmen, also $\frac{3}{4}$, and by aliens $\frac{6}{8}$. English merchants shipping goods, &c. in foreign ships from England shall pay double duties, as if they were foreigners. But herrings and other sea fish exported shall be duty free. And it is hereby enacted, that no rates shall be imposed on Englishmen without the authority of parliament. No king's collectors, &c. shall take more fees than were customary in the fourth year of the late King James.

Other goods, when at certain prices, may be exported, viz. gun-powder, when not exceeding L5 the barrel ; wheat L2 per quarter ; rye, beans, and peas, L1 : 4 ; barley and malt 20s per quarter ; oats 16s ; beef, per barrel, L5 ; pork L6 : 10 ; bacon, per lb. 6d ; butter, the barrel, L4 : 10 ; cheefe, the hundred, L1 : 10 ; candles, the dozen pounds, 5s.

Provided always, that his majesty may, by proclamation, at any time when he shall see cause so to do, and for such time as shall be therein expressed, prohibit the transportation of gun-powder or any sort of arms or ammunition.

And be it farther enacted, that over and above the rates herein before mentioned, there shall be paid to your majesty on every ton of wine of the growth of France, Germany, Portugal, or Madeira, brought

* Neither tea, coffee, nor chocolate, are mentioned in this new book of rates, though they all occur in an act of parliament of this same year. A.

‘ into the port of London, or elsewhere, L3 within nine months after importing; and of every ton of all other wines L4. The importer to give security for payment. Yet if any of those wines shall be re-exported within 12 months after, then the aforesaid additional duty shall be returned; and the importer, paying ready money, shall be allowed 10 per cent discount.

‘ Provided, that the priſage of wines, or priſe-wines, shall pay no tonnage, customs, nor ſubſidy, in virtue of this act, nor of any thing therein contained.’ [12 Car. II, c. 4.]

As the laſt reduction of intereſt from *eight* to *ſix* per cent was enacted by an uſurped power, the preſent parliament could not conſiſtently take direct notice of it by way of confirmation, though in effect they do it by the preamble to the act, [c. 13] that none ſhall take above L6 for the loan of an hundred pounds for a year; thus expreſſed: ‘ and whereas, in freſh memory, the like fall from 8 to 6 in the hundred, by a late conſtant practice, hath found the like ſucceſs to the general contentment of this nation, as is viſible by ſeveral improvements: and whereas nevertheleſs it is the endeavour of ſome at preſent to reduce it back again in practice to the allowance of the ſtatute ſtill in force,’ (i. e. to 8 per cent) ‘ to the great diſcouragement of ingenuity and induſtry in the huſbandry, trade, and commerce of this nation: be it therefor enacted, that from and after the 29th of September 1660, none ſhall take above 6 per cent, as above, and that all bonds and aſſurances whatever made after the time aforeſaid, for payment of any principal money to be lent or covenanted to be performed, upon, or for any uſury, whereon there ſhall be reſerved or taken above the rate of L6 in the hundred, ſhall be utterly void; and the taker of any higher intereſt or uſury, ſhall forfeit for every ſuch offence the treble value of the money ſo lent, &c.’ [12 Car. II, c. 13.]

Two things are worth remarking in this act, viz. firſt, that the word uſury was ſtill the legal term for the lawful intereſt of money; ſecondly, that it does not take the leaſt notice of the unlawfulness, in point of religion or conſcience, or the ſin of taking uſury or intereſt for the loan of money, as has been expreſſed in the preceding acts for reduction thereof. Upon this reduction, Sir Joſiah Child remarks, as he alſo did in treating on the two former reductions, that in about 20 years after the like reduction by the rump parliament in 1651, notwithſtanding the long civil wars and the great complaints of the deadneſs of trade, there are more men to be found upon the exchange now (1688) * worth L10,000 than were then worth L1000; and that L500 ſixty years be-

* His *Brief obſervations concerning trade and intereſt of money* were firſt published in 1688, 4to. He made a ſhort addition to it in the ſame year, and by degrees his judicious writings on commerce have ſwelled to a ſizeable 8vo volume. A.

fore with a daughter, was esteemed a larger portion than £2000 in his time; that gentlewomen in those days esteemed themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid now would be ashamed to be seen in; that, beside the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and household furniture, there were 100 coaches now to one kept formerly; all which, and much more, he solely ascribes to the abatement of interest, which he calls the *causa causans* of all the other causes of the riches of the Dutch as well as of ourselves, increased to six times what it then was: 'hereby also,' says he, 'we are enabled to pay a greater tax in one year than our forefathers could in twenty.' 'I can,' says he, 'myself remember, since there were not used in London so many wharfs or quays for landing of merchants goods, by at least one third part, as now there are, and those that were then could scarce have employment for half what they could do. Lands in the country now yield twenty years purchase, which would not then have yielded above eight or ten at most. The same farms or lands to be now sold would yield treble,' and in some cases six times, the money they were sold for fifty years ago. Ireland has also been vastly improved in its lands, since great part of it has been lately possessed by the industrious English, who were soldiers in the late army.' In brief, he lays it down as a constant rule to judge whether any country be rich or poor, to know what interest they pay for money. 'Near home,' continues he, 'we see it evidently in Scotland * and Ireland where, 10 and 12 per cent being paid for interest, the people are poor, despicable, ill clothed, and their houses worse provided, money intolerably scarce, notwithstanding their great plenty of all provisions. In France, where money is at 7 per cent, lands yield about eighteen years purchase. In Italy, money will not yield above 3 per cent upon real security, and there the people are rich, full of trade, well attired, and their lands will sell at 35 to 40 years purchase: and that it is so, or better with them in Holland, is too manifest. In Turkey 20 per cent is their interest, which makes commerce there to be engrossed by a few, as is always the case where interest is very high, and was the case in England in Elizabeth's and James I's time, when interest was at 10 per cent. In Spain, the usual interest is 10 and 12 per cent; and there, notwithstanding they have the only trade in the world for gold and silver, money is nowhere more scarce; the people poor, despicable, and void of commerce, other than what the English, Dutch, Italians, Jews, and other foreigners bring to them, who are to them, in effect, as leeches who suck their blood and vital spirits from them.' Our author, however, seems to have been aware of a very

* He must be mistaken with respect to Scotland, where interest was reduced by act of parliament to 8 per cent in the year 1633. A.

strong objection against a precipitate reduction of the legal interest of money in a nation, without duly attending to what may very properly be termed the natural interest of money in such a nation, i. e. at what interest money may generally be borrowed on good security, so that such proposed legal reduction of interest should not be very different from the natural interest of money at the time: wherefor he observes, 'that the matter in England was, at that time, prepared for an abatement of interest; for, says he, the East-India company do now borrow what they want at 4 per cent.'

Yet notwithstanding all that this able and experienced gentleman has said upon this favourite subject of his, it seems to us, that he has not sufficiently considered another point, viz. that low interest for money in any country, is at least as much the effect, as the cause, of wealth and commerce. An increase of commerce brings an increase of wealth, which is ever attended with an increase of money, and such increase of money will naturally and necessarily produce a low rate of interest, as plenty of any thing whatever necessarily causes its cheapness. A wise nation may indeed facilitate the reduction of their legal interest, by good and prudent preparatory regulations, and thereby contribute to the increase of commerce and to the encouragement of agriculture; but such reduction of the legal interest is to be done with great circumspection, and ever with a due regard to the current natural interest of money at any such proposed time.

In this same session of parliament the first legal act was passed for the general encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation. 'Wherein,' says its preamble, 'under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of this kingdom are so much concerned.'

The principal enacting clauses are,

I) 'No goods or commodities whatsoever shall be imported into, or exported from, any of the king's lands, islands, plantations, or territories, in Asia, Africa, or America, in any other than English, Irish, or plantation built ships, and whereof the master and at least three-fourths of the mariners shall be Englishmen, under forfeiture of ship and goods.'

II) 'None but natural-born subjects, or naturalized, shall henceforth exercise the occupation of a merchant or factor in those places, under forfeiture of goods and chattels *.'

III) 'No goods of the growth, product, or manufacture, of Asia, Africa, or America, shall be imported into England, but in such ships as do truly belong to English people, either here or in the king's lands

* This is an improvement upon the act of navigation of 1651. It was common to have Dutch merchants acting as factors and agents in English colonies. A.

‘ or plantations in those parts, and navigated as in the first clause above *.’

IV) ‘ No goods or commodities of foreign growth, production, or manufacture, which shall be brought into England, Ireland, Jersey, or Guernsey, &c. other than in ships built and navigated as aforesaid, shall be shipped from any other place but the place of their growth, production, or manufacture, or from those ports where they can only be, or usually have been, brought, under forfeiture of ship and goods †.’

V) ‘ Such salted fish, train-oil, and whale-fins, (as have been usually caught, &c. by the English or Irish) not caught, cured, &c. by English or Irish, nor imported in vessels truly English, and navigate as above shall pay double aliens customs.’

VI) ‘ No goods or provisions shall be carried coast-wise, from one English port to another, in vessels whereof any stranger, not naturalized, is owner, in whole or in part, and which shall not be navigated as before.’

VII) ‘ No goods of the growth, &c. of Russia, as also no masts, timber, or boards, foreign salt, pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, flax, raisins, figs, prunes, olive-oil, corn, sugar, pot-ash, wines, vinegar, and spirits, shall be imported in any ships but such whereof the true owners are English, and navigated as aforesaid: nor any currants, or other goods, of the Turks dominions, but in English-built ships, and navigated as aforesaid; excepting only such foreign ships as are of the built of that country of which the said goods are the growth, &c. or of such port where the aforesaid goods can only be, or most usually are, first shipped for transportation; and whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners at least are of the said country or place.’

VIII) ‘ To prevent the colouring or concealing of aliens goods, all the foreign goods before-named, which shall be henceforth imported into England in ships not belonging to England, and not navigated as aforesaid, shall be deemed aliens goods, and shall pay all strangers customs and port-dues.’

IX) ‘ To prevent the like frauds in colouring the buying of foreign ships, no foreign-built ship shall enjoy the privileges of one belonging to England, till first the owners make it appear that they are not aliens: and they shall swear that they gave a valuable consideration (to be then specified) for such ship, and that no foreigner has any share

* This clause secured the East-India, Guinea, and Levant companies, and also the American colonies, from foreign ships. *A.*

† So lately as about the year 1755, twelve ships from Appenrade in Denmark were guilty of a breach of this clause, by bringing timber to Liverpool, not of the growth of Denmark, and

were obliged to compound for their delinquency: as were also two other ships from the same port next year for timber brought into Leith. So necessary is it for merchants to be acquainted with the mercantile laws of the countries they propose to trade to. *A.*

‘ therein. Of all which a certificate shall be produced, and a register kept *.’

X) ‘ This act shall not extend to merchandize from any place within the straits of Gibraltar, if they be brought from the usual ports there, though not from the place of their growth, production, or manufacture, so as the ship and crew be qualified as above. The like as to all East-India commodities brought from any place east of the Cape of Good Hope. Moreover, English ships, navigated as above, may import from Spain, Portugal, the Canaries, Azores, and Madeira, all sorts of goods of the plantations of Spain or Portugal.’

XI) ‘ Bullion, prize-goods, corn, and salt, and fish from Scotland, in Scotch-built ships, and three fourths of the mariners the king’s subjects, are excepted out of this act; and seal oil from Russia, in English ships, with three fourths English mariners.’

XII) ‘ French ships in our ports shall pay 5/ per ton, so long as English ships in French ports pay 50 sols per ton †.’

XIII) ‘ No sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dying woods of the growth or manufacture of our Asian, African, or American, colonies, shall be shipped from the said colonies to any place but to England, Ireland‡, or to some other of his majesty’s said plantations, there to be landed; under forfeiture as before. And to make effectual this last clause, (for the sole benefit of our own navigation and people) the owners of the ships shall give bonds, at their setting out, for the due performance thereof.’ [12 Car. II, c. 18.]

These were called enumerated commodities; and by the acts of the 15th, 22d, and 23d of this reign (the first for the encouragement of trade, and the others for preventing the planting of tobacco in England, and for regulating the plantation-trade) the enumerated commodities in the first act were expressly prohibited to be carried to Ireland till first landed in England. By the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne, rice and melasses are made enumerated commodities; but by the 3d of King George II, rice is again rendered unenumerated. By the 8th of King George I, for encouraging the silk manufacture, beaver, and other peltry of America, are made enumerated. And by the 2d of King George II, pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, yards, and bowsprits, from our plantations are also made enumerated commodities; and all other plantation goods are called unenumerated. And by the 8th of George I, c. 18, copper ore of the plantations was made an enumerated commodity; i. e. such a one as must be first landed in England before it can be

* Ever since this act passed, there is an officer established at the custom-house, called *the surveyor of the act of navigation*, who keeps a register of all British-built vessels. A.

† The Dutch were exempted from this imposition of 50 sols per tun by the treaty of Ryfwick, much to the damage of France, (as the French

council of trade affirm in their report in 1701) since that duty, which before produced from 6 to 700,000 livres, now (1701) produces but 100,000. A.

‡ Ireland is left out in all subsequent acts, and expressly excepted in that of 22, 23 Car. II, c. 26. A.

landed in foreign parts. These enumerated commodities will probably be hereafter found necessary to be altered with the unforeseen changes necessarily happening in our American and European commerce.

This is the substance of this very long act, here so necessary to be inserted, as being perhaps the most important statute in behalf of commerce, that ever was enacted in this, or possibly in any other, nation: insomuch that Sir Josiah Child, in his Discourse on trade, thinks it deserves to be called our *Cbarta maritima*. There wanted not, however, authors who at first (as in a former one, enacted by the rump) found fault with it, affirming that it would be destructive to our commerce, &c. In Roger Coke's Discourse of trade, published even so late as 1670, he affirms, 'that in two years after the navigation-act of the rump parliament, in 1651, the building of ships in England became one third dearer than before, (at which none but such a head as his would have wondered) and that seamen's wages became so excessive dear, that we have wholly lost the Muscovy and Greenland trades, whereby we gave the Dutch and other nations the power of driving the trade of the world.' Yet, quite on the contrary, we, by this navigation-act, have gradually obtained a vast increase of shipping and mariners: for by patience and steadiness we have, in length of time, obtained the two great ends of this ever-famous act, viz.

The bringing our own people to build ships for carrying on such an extensive commerce as they had not before. Sir Josiah Child was of opinion, 'that without this act we had not now (in 1668) been owners of one half of the shipping or trade, nor should have employed one half of the seamen we do at present.' So vast an alteration had this act brought about in a few years; insomuch that we are at length become, in a great measure, what the Dutch once were, i. e. the great carriers of Europe, more especially within the Mediterranean sea.

By this act we have absolutely excluded all other nations from any direct trade or correspondence with our American plantations; and were it not for this act (says that able author) we should see 40 Dutch ships at our own plantations for one of England. That, before the passing of this act, and whilst our American colonies were but in childhood, the ships of other European nations, more especially of the Dutch, resorted to our plantations both to lade and unlade; and their merchants and factors nestled themselves amongst our people there, which utterly frustrated the original intent of planting those colonies, viz. to be a benefit to their mother-country, to which they owed their being and protection. It could not therefor be thought strange that, when our planters were become able to stand on their own legs, and to supply considerable quantities of materials for exportation, (as was now the case of Virginia for tobacco, and of Barbados for sugar, ginger, cotton, &c.) our legislature thought it high time to secure to ourselves alone those increasing benefits which had been produced at our sole charge and trouble. And in this respect

Spain had long before set us a just and laudable example, since followed by the other principal European nations who have planted in America.

We may here also note, that, till this act took place, the Dutch in a manner engrossed the whole trade to Sweden; whereas hereby our English ships have since got a share of the trade thither.

Such immense benefits obtained by this act may well be our justification for enlarging so much on it: since the history of our commerce must have been left very imperfect, without duly illustrating what has been one great means of increasing our commerce and naval power. De Witt in his *Interest of Holland*, [*part i, c. 22*] treating of the expediency of Holland's easing their own, and charging foreign, manufactures with duties, observes, 'that in this same year, 1660, the English settled their rates of customs and convoy-money so well, to favour their own people as much as possible, and to burden all foreign masters of ships and merchants, (he meant by this navigation-act) that it is to be feared the English merchants may in time bereave the Dutch of much of their trade;' than which, there cannot be a stronger approbation or commendation of our navigation laws.

We have seen, under the years 1645 and 1656, that wards, liveries, and tenures in capite and by knight's service, were abolished by the long parliament, and also by the rump. And the people of England having enjoyed the benefits thereof for fifteen years, it could not but be very acceptable to them to have it confirmed after the restoration. The preamble to the acts shews, what opinion this parliament had of those old slavish dependencies of the people on the crown and on the great lords, viz.

'Whereas it hath been found, by former experience, that the court of wards and liveries, and of tenures by knight's-service, either of the king or others, or by knights-service in capite, or soccage in capite of the king; and the consequents upon the same have been much more burdensome, grievous, and prejudicial, to the kingdom than they have been beneficial to the king. And whereas, since the intermission of the said court, anno 1645, many persons have, by will and otherwise, made disposal of their lands held by knight's-service, whereupon diverse questions might possibly arise, unless some seasonable remedy be taken to prevent the same: be it therefor enacted, that the court of wards and liveries, and all wardships and liveries, premier-seizens, and also voyages-royal, and ouster-le-mains, values and forfeitures of marriages, by reason of any tenure of the king's majesty, or of any other knight's service, fines for alienations, seizures, and pardons for alienations, escuage, tenures by homage; and also aide pur filemarier, and purfaire fitz chevalier, be taken away and discharged. And that all tenures before mentioned be utterly abolished, and all tenures of any honours, manors, lands, or any estate of inheritance at the common law, held either of the king or

‘ of any other person, be hereby turned into free and common foccage, from that time for ever.’ By this act also, purveyance of provisions, &c. for the king’s household was taken away, so as ‘ no money or other things shall be taken, imposed, or levied, for any provision, carriages, or purveyance for the crown. Nor shall the subject’s timber, fuel, corn, cattle, hay, straw, victual, carts, carriage-horses, &c. be taken away without their free and full consent: neither shall the crown hereafter have any pre-emption, in market, or out of market; but the subjects shall freely buy and sell how, and to whom, they please, under proper penalties and forfeitures.’ This famous law, which took away all servile tenures and dependencies on the king and great lords, and absolutely prevented the arbitrary treatment of the people by the king’s officers, under pretence of purveying or providing for his table, journies, &c. was looked on as a second magna charta for the people of England. It was therefor judged but reasonable that the crown, which had hereby lost many emoluments and much power and influence, should be recompensed some other way: by this same act therefor the duties of excise on malt-liquors, cyder, perry, mead, spirits, or strong waters, coffee, tea *, sherbet, and chocolate, were settled on the king during his life, by way of additional revenue to the tonnage and poundage act already recited. [12 Car. II, c. 24.]

The parliament again prohibited the exportation of live sheep, wool, woollen yarn, and fullers’ earth, of the produce of England and Ireland, upon the forfeiture thereof, and of the ships carrying them, and also a penalty of 20s for every sheep, and 3s for every pound of wool, and three months imprisonment for the master of such ship. A clause was, however, added in behalf of the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, allowing them annually to export thither 3300 tods of un-kemed wool, each tod not exceeding 32 pounds. [12 Car. II, c. 32.] This licence, it is said, gave birth to the great stocking-trade of those isles, and thereby sunk the stocking manufacture of Somersetshire, and some other parts of England. This was the first legal act for the express and general prohibition of the exportation of wool by English subjects. Sundry additions and penalties have since been enacted for corroboration thereof; yet such is the force of the temptation to gain, that to this day the complaints of exportation to France and Holland are as loud as ever: and though numberless schemes and proposals for new laws and penalties have so often been offered to the public, yet none of them have been hitherto judged practicable in every respect.

In this memorable year the parliament passed an act against planting

* According to an author quoted by Dr. Johnson, ‘ Tea was first imported from Holland by the earls of Arlington and Ossory in 1666. From their ladies the women of quality learned its use. Its price was then three pound a pound, and con-

tinued the same till 1707.’ [Johnson’s Works, V. x, p. 261, ed. 1787.] The act of parliament shews that this author was mistaken; but it may be presumed, that the use of tea was very rare at this time. M.

tobacco in England or Ireland; which first takes notice ' of the great concern and importance of the colonies and plantations of England in America: and that all due and possible encouragement should be given to them; not only as great dominions have been added thereby to the imperial crown of England; but also, that the strength and welfare of the kingdom very much depend on them, in regard to the employment of a very considerable part of its shipping and seamen, and of the vent of very great quantities of its native commodities and manufactures; as also of their supplying us with several commodities formerly furnished us by foreigners. And forasmuch as tobacco is one of the main products of several of those plantations, it is hereby prohibited to be planted in England or Ireland; as depriving the king of a considerable part of his revenue by customs: besides that, tobacco of our own growth is, by experience, found not to be so wholesome as our plantation tobacco.' [12 *Car. II.*, c. 34.]

The earl of Clarendon (lord chancellor) in his own defence, upon his impeachment in parliament, observed, that soon after King Charles's restoration, he used all the endeavours he could to bring his majesty to have a great esteem for his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them: and that he was confirmed in his opinion and desire by the entries at the custom-house, by which he found what a great revenue accrued to the king from those plantations: inasmuch, that the receipts from thence had repaired the decrease of the customs, which the late troubles had brought upon other parts of trade.

As the ingenious author of the Present state of England, [*Part iii.*, p. 259, *ed.* 1683] observes, that asparagus, artichocks, oranges, and lemons, were then but of a late date in England*; we imagine they may have been first produced with us, about the time of the restoration; and probably cauliflower was rather somewhat, though very little, later than this time; as were also sundry kinds of beans, peas, and salads, now in common use.

In the same year, the rates of the post-office, for England and Ireland, were established by act of parliament, letters of one sheet, to any place not exceeding 80 miles, to be charged 2*d*; above the distance of 80 miles, 3*d*; from London to Berwick, 3*d*; from Berwick to 40 miles distance, 2*d*; from Berwick farther than 40 miles, 4*d*. From any part of England to Dublin, one sheet, 6*d*; from Dublin to any part of Ireland, 40 miles distance, 2*d*, and double for a greater distance. Letters of two sheets to pay double, and larger packets in the proportion of quadruple postage per ounce. The foreign letters we omit, for brevity's sake, as they are in every counting house. [12 *Car. II.*, c. 35.] This revenue was found to bring in £21,500 when it and the wine licences were settled in the year 1663 on the duke of York. All the foregoing

* Have oranges and lemons ever been cultivated in England but as matters of curiosity? *M.*

acts being made without the bishops, and the parliament being dissolved the 20th of December 1660, the next parliament thought fit to re-enact them all. [13 *Car. II, c. 14.*]

By a resolution of a committee of the British house of commons, on the 28th of March 1735, it appears that the privilege enjoyed by members of parliament of franking their letters, was co-eval with this establishment, viz. 'it is the opinion of this committee, that the privilege of franking letters by the knights, citizens, and burgesſes, chosen to represent the commons in parliament, began with the erecting a post-office within this kingdom, by act of parliament. And that all letters, not exceeding two ounces, signed by, or directed to, any member of this house, during the sitting of every session of parliament, and forty days before, and forty days, after every summons or prorogation, ought to be carried and delivered freely, and from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, without any charge of postage.'

Soon after the restoration of Charles II the French began to invade the island of Newfoundland, till then solely possessed by England. They first settled on the southern coast of it, by the help of their colony in Canada, and strongly fortified themselves at Placentia, where they continued to encroach on the English in the wars of King William and Queen Anne.

It is certain that there is a vast profit accruing to the public from the Newfoundland fishery. It breeds great numbers of excellent seamen. It keeps up a great number of shipping. It employs many various trades. It perhaps gains us almost £400,000 per annum increase to the national stock of treasure, from Portugal, Spain, and Italy, to which countries most of the fish is carried; what is shipped for Britain and Ireland being but inconsiderable, when compared with what is sent to those countries; and some also is sent to the sugar islands. Computations have been made, that a ship of 100 tons usually carries to market as much fish as yields £3000, of which £2000 is said to be clear gain; which shews, that the fishery is of all trades the most profitable. There were usually two different ways of conducting that trade. Some victual and man their ships from Poole, Dartmouth, Biddeford, and other western ports, and resort early to the banks of Newfoundland, to fish on their own proper account. Others sail directly to the land, and purchase their cargoes of those fishers, or else of the inhabitants from off their stages. The banks are vast shoals, or submarine mountains, to which the cod resort in infinite numbers. Train-oil is drawn from their livers in considerable quantities. On those banks, and on the coasts of Newfoundland, there have been seen 600 or 700 vessels of different nations fishing at the same time.

This year Sir Thomas Modyford, an eminent planter in the island of Barbados, after acquiring a vast fortune there, removed to Jamaica,

where he instructed the planters in the cultivation of the sugar-cane; for which, and his other great improvements, he was afterwards appointed governor of Jamaica, and so continued from 1663 to 1669.

About this time, the Dutch attempted the conquest of Goa, the chief settlement of the Portuguese in East India; but it being then probably in a better condition than since, they were not able to take it, although they blocked up the bar of that city for twelve years together. Goa was still a magnificent city, full of churches and monasteries: some accounts say, to the number of eighty; and that its district extended forty miles along the coast, and fifteen miles within land. That there were then about 30,000 persons in its district, who lived by the church, being equal in number to the laity there, (a most wise nation surely!) besides 50,000 native Indians. Yet it is no wonder that most of the laity are described to be poor, since the clergy swallow up the bulk of its riches. Goa is, in our time, much decayed, occasioned chiefly indeed by the Portuguese having lost most of their settlements and factories in India. Yet it was described some years ago as having 140,000 people of all sorts under the Portuguese dominion, in the isles of Goa, South Salset and Bardes, whither three or four large vessels went yearly from Portugal, now probably not so many.

We may here observe, that the parliament this year passed an act in favour of the Dutch or Flemings at Colchester, who in Queen Elizabeth's time brought the manufacture of bayes into England. Hereby the governor of the Dutch bay-hall in that town, and the Dutch people belonging to that community, were confirmed in all the privileges and immunities which they had at any preceding time enjoyed. And all bayes made in that town were directed to be carried to their row-hall, to be searched and stamped, before they be sold. [12 Car. II, c. 22.]

The coins of King Charles II consisted of the same pieces with those coined in the second year of his father, and were all hammered, till the year 1663, when milled money was coined.

In this remarkable year was the royal society of London formed and incorporated by King Charles II; of which the author of this work does not presume to give the complete and perfect character and eulogium. It is sufficient for his purpose only to remark, that its improvements in astronomy and geography are alone sufficient to exalt its reputation, and to demonstrate its great utility even, to the mercantile world, without insisting on its many and great improvements in other arts and sciences, some of which have also a relation to commerce, navigation, manufactures, mines, agriculture, &c. Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, observes, 'that to this illustrious society the world is indebted
' for the late discoveries relating to light, the principle of gravitation,
' the motion of the fixed stars, the geometry of transcendent qualities,
' and an hundred other discoveries, which, in this respect, might justly

'denominate the age we speak of, to be the age of the English, as well as the age of Louis the XIV.'

In 1666 the great Colbert, emulous of this glory of England, advised King Louis XIV, at the request also of several men of learning, to establish the French academy of sciences, which, in 1669, became an incorporated body like ours of London, as sundry others have since been in other countries of Europe.

So greatly was the commerce, and consequently the wealth, of England increased by this time, that several political writers, and particularly the anonymous author of the Happy future state of England, thought by some to be the earl of Anglesey, are of opinion, that the revenue of England at the restoration was quintuple of what it was at the reformation from popery, in the reign of King Henry VIII. This, we apprehend, may be probable enough, yet no author, that we know of, has clearly made it out to be precisely such a proportion of increase, and therefor we shall leave it as we found it, rather than mislead our readers by positive assertions, void of absolute proof, which is not easy to come at.

While the East-India trade from England remained, in a manner, free and open, viz. from 1653 to 1657, an incident in India had almost made an open breach between our two houses of parliament, after the restoration, and made a great bustle for some years.

In the year 1657 Thomas Skinner, a merchant, had fitted out a ship for India, where he arrived the next year. At the same time the East-India company had a new charter from Cromwell, and their agents seized his ship and merchandize, together with his house and island of Barella, which he had bought of the king of Jamby. They even denied him a passage home; and he was obliged to travel over-land to Europe. For several years after the restoration Skinner made lamentable complaints to the king, who at length recommended his case to a committee of the council, and next to the house of peers, from whom also Skinner petitioned for redress. The peers directed the East-India company to answer, who pleaded their exclusive privileges and trade in and to India, and also demurred to the lords jurisdiction, as not coming to them regularly, by appeal from an inferior court. The lords overruled this plea, and in 1666 appointed Skinner's case to be pleaded at their bar, yet the company found means to get it postponed to the year 1667, when they again demurred as before, and at the same time petitioned the house of commons against the proceedings of the house of lords, which they alleged to be contrary to law. The lords hereupon were greatly inflamed, and finally gave Skinner £5000 damages, to be paid by the East-India company. This inflamed the house of commons, who not only passed some very warm votes against the house of lords, but sent Skinner prisoner to the tower. The lords were thereby farther inflam-

ed, and voted the company's petition to the house of commons to be false and scandalous. The commons thereupon resolved, that whoever should execute the sentence of the lords in favour of Skinner should be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of their house. Those violent heats obliged the king to adjourn the parliament seven times, and the quarrel reviving in the session of 1670, the king called both houses to Whitehall, and prevailed on them to erase all the votes, &c. of both houses on this subject. Thus it ended, after many elaborate disquisitions on the jurisdiction of either house of parliament; nor does it clearly appear, that Skinner ever had any redress at all.

1661.—In the year 1661 the king granted a new, or supplemental, charter to the English Levant, or Turkey, company, which, after ratifying and confirming that company's first charter, granted in 1605, directed, that no person residing within 20 miles of London, excepting noblemen and gentlemen of quality, should be admitted into the freedom of the company, unless first made free of the city of London. So all persons, who from thenceforth desired to trade to Turkey, and were not free of the city of London, were put to a considerable additional expense in taking up the freedom, which has been since frequently found fault with.

The English East-India company, notwithstanding the disorders in it of late years, being supposed still to exist, as established by Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I, obtained of King Charles II a new exclusive charter, dated the 3d of April 1661, by the old name of the governor and company of merchants of London trading to the East-Indies. It was to consist of a governor, a deputy governor, and twenty-four committees, (since called directors) to be annually elected; the limits of their trade the same as in the former charters. They, their sons at twenty-one years of age, their apprentices, factors, and servants, employed in this trade, might freely trade to India, in such manner only as a general court should direct. The company to have perpetual succession, to make bye-laws, and impose penalties not repugnant to the laws of England; might export only £50,000 in foreign silver annually. And in time of restraint to be allowed six good ships, and six good pinaces, with 500 mariners, to sail yearly to India, unless the king should judge proper to stop them from going, in order to reinforce his royal navy for defence of the realm, on urgent occasions. None other should trade to India without their licence, on pain of forfeiting ships and goods, one half to the crown, one half to the company. They might admit into their freedom all such apprentices, factors, and servants of any freeman of the company, and all such others as a majority of their general courts should chuse. The company must import, within six months after every voyage, at least as much silver as they carried out. All their gold and silver exported must be shipped at London, Dart-

mouth, or Plymouth Adventurers to have votes in proportion to their stock paid in on the respective voyages L500 stock to have one vote ; and any such freemen as have paid in less than L500 might join together, and make up L500, or one vote, jointly. The company to have and enjoy all plantations, forts, factories, &c. in East India ; may erect new fortifications there, or at St. Helena, immediately under their command ; to have time for the payment of the king's customs, half in six months, and the other half six months after. And if any goods, which shall have paid custom, are lost, the custom to be returned to the losers ; may appoint governors, judges, &c. thereof, and may judge all persons living under them, both in civil and criminal causes ; may make war and peace with any prince or people that are not christians, (within their limits) as shall be most for the benefit of their trade, and may recompense themselves on the goods, estates, or people there, who shall injure them ; may build, plant, and fortify at St. Helena, and elsewhere within their limits ; may transport such numbers of men as they shall think fit, being willing thereunto, and govern them there, in such legal manner as the company shall think fit, and may inflict punishment, fines, &c. for misdemeanours ; may seize the persons of all English subjects, sailing in any Indian or English vessel, or inhabiting there without the company's leave first obtained, and may send them to England. Persons in the company's service, appealing from the sentence of the governors, &c. in India, to be sent home to receive sentence of the company, agreeable to the laws of the land. Governors, &c. in India, may examine, upon oath, all factors, masters, purfers, &c. for discovery of injuries.

First proviso, that this company may not trade to any place within their limits, already possessed by any christian prince or state in amity with his majesty, without the consent of such prince or state.

Second proviso, that in case the continuance of this charter, or of any part thereof, shall hereafter appear to the king or his successors not to be profitable to the crown or kingdom, then, after three years warning given to this company by the crown, this present charter shall be void to all intents and purposes. The rest is only a repetition of the clauses in Queen Elizabeth's charter of the year 1600, to which therefore, for brevity's sake, we refer.

Thus the very same persons and capital stock, re-incorporated by Cromwell in the year 1657, were now again established and confirmed by this charter ; in which, however, there were some powers relating to punishments of delinquents, &c. that were afterwards deemed illegal and arbitrary.

By this charter it appears that this company had not (in the manner of our modern East-India company) one sole transferable joint-stock, but that every one, who was free of this company, paid in a certain sum

of money to the company, on fitting out their voyages, for which he had credit in the company's books, and had his proportionable dividend on the profits of such respective voyage; the whole investments being made by the company in their corporate capacity. And they were not hereby made an irrevocable corporation, but might be dissolved on three years notice.

The Portuguese having recovered the rich and extensive province of Brasil from the Dutch, and the Dutch, on the other hand, having expelled the Portuguese from their forts and settlements at Coulan, Cananor, Cochin, Cranganor, and Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, in East-India, they now terminated the war by a treaty, whereby each power retained the dominions and settlements then actually in their possession.

About this time many protestant dissenters in England and Scotland, to avoid persecutions and restraints in matters of conscience, removed to New England.

By an act of parliament [13, 14 *Car. II, c. 2*] for repairing the highways and sewers, and paving and keeping clean the streets in and about London and Westminster, and for reforming annoyances and disorders there, regulating and licencing of hackney coaches, and enlarging several strait and inconvenient streets and passages, it appears that many new streets were then scarcely finished in and about St. James's parish. The street or way from the end of Petty-france to St. James's-house *; a street from St. James's-house up to the high-way †; a street in St. James's-fields, commonly called the Pall-mall, and also a street extending from the Meuse to Piccadilly ‡, and from thence towards the stone-bridge, to the furthestmost building near the Bull, at the corner of Air-street, were hereby directed to be paved, at the rate of 1/4 for every square yard, out from the houses or garden-walls to the middle of the way, at the expense of the proprietors of the houses, &c. The other ways were to be kept in repair out of the money arising from 400 hackney coaches hereby directed to be licenced, at L5 to be paid annually for every coach. The rates of the coaches by the day, by the hour, and by the ground, hereby established exactly the same as at this day. Candles, or lights in lanthorns, were to be hung out by every household-er fronting the streets, in London, Westminster, and suburbs, from michaelmas to lady-day, from its being dark until nine in the evening. The following streets and narrow passages are also directed to be widened, viz. the street or passage near Stocks in London; the street or passage from Fleet-conduit to St. Paul's church in London; the passage from the White-hart inn from the Strand, into Covent-garden; the street and passage by and near Exeter-house and the Savoy, being ob-

* It is not very clear what street was thus described. *A.*

† Now St. James's street. *A.*

‡ Now the Haymarket. *A.*

fructed by a rail and the unevenness of the ground thereabouts; the passage and street of St. Martin's-lane out of the Strand; the passage or street of Field-lane, commonly called Jackanapes-lane, going between Chancery-lane and Lincoln's-inn-fields; the passage and gatehouse of Cheapside, into St. Paul's church-yard; the passage against St. Dunstan's church in the west (being obstructed by a wall); the street and passage near the west end of the Poultry, in London, and the passage at Temple-bar. All these were deemed very incommodious to coaches, carts, and passengers, and prejudicial to commerce and trading. All which shew very plainly, how inelegant, as well as inconvenient, a great part of the city of London was at this time; and also how much the liberty of Westminster was constantly increasing in new streets and buildings, the consequence of our increasing commerce and wealth. So much is the great contiguity of London altered since then, that some part of this description is difficult to be traced at this present time.

An act for regulating the making of stuffs in Norfolk and Norwich says, 'the trade of weaving stuffs hath of late times been very much increased, and great variety of new sorts have been invented; so that the power given by the statute [17 *Edw. IV*, c. 1] is not sufficient for regulating the same; and the wardens by the same act appointed, being but eight, are too few for governing and ordering the trade; wherefor there shall be twelve wardens and thirty assistants for regulating the manufacture of worsteds and Norwich stuffs.' [13, 14 *Car. II*, c. 5.] From this act we may infer that those light manufactures were much increased.

The silk manufacture of London was now become so considerable, that the preamble to an act for regulating the trade of silk-throwing observes, that the said company of silk-throwsters (as it is expressed in their petition) employ above 40,000 men, women, and children therein. It was therein enacted, that none should set up in that trade without serving seven years apprenticeship, and becoming free of the company. [13, 14 *Car. II*, c. 15.]

After this time we find divers acts of parliament in this and succeeding reigns for regulating the silk manufacture at home, and the importation of raw and thrown silk from foreign parts, many of which were temporary, others have been repealed or altered, and the rest of little information to the generality of readers, until we come to the year 1722.

Another act was passed, prohibiting the exportation of live sheep, wool, woollen yarn, fullers earth, fulling clay, and tobacco pipe clay. [13, 14 *Car. II*, c. 18.] Additional laws have since this time been made for this very important end. But once for all, we shall take the liberty to remark, that they have by no means answered the end, though re-

inforced by feverer penalties. So difficult a task it is effectually to master an evil, of which immediate and considerable gain is the object.

An act of parliament of the 9th of King Edward III having prohibited the melting of any silver halfpenny or farthing for any purpose whatever, and another act of the 17th of King Richard II having prohibited the like melting down of silver groats and half groats, those denominations being the highest silver coins then in use, the goldsmiths and refiners at this time taking advantage of the strict letter of those two acts, concluded that there was no penalty for melting the silver coins of an higher denomination than were then in being. A law was therefor made this year [14 *Car. II, c. 31*] against melting down any of our silver coins, upon the penalty of forfeiting the same and double the value. Yet in this, as well as in the laws prohibiting the exportation of our wool, the temptation of immediate profit gets the better of all restraints whatever.

The parliament of Scotland, who in most matters relating to commerce, more especially since the union of the crowns, wisely followed the English, this year passed a navigation act, for encouraging of shipping and navigation; but it was not to extend to importations from Asia, Africa, and America, Russia and Italy, till so declared by a subsequent act, or by the privy council, or the council of trade, nor to corn in time of dearth. Goods shipped in foreign vessels, or belonging to aliens, were to pay double duty.

They also passed an act for erecting companies for the improvement of the herring and white fisheries. And in this and succeeding reigns, down to the consolidating union of the two kingdoms, they granted sundry bounties on the exportation of fish of all kinds, and made sundry good laws (especially since the restoration) for the regulation of their commerce, and of their linen and woollen manufactures, &c. All which being now of little or no use, we have not thought it necessary to enlarge on them*.

The laws prohibiting the use of logwood, which was supposed pernicious to the goods dyed with it, were repealed, it being now found (says the act, intitled, Frauds and abuses in his majesty's customs prevented and regulated), 'that the ingenious industry of these times hath taught the dyers of England the art of fixing the colours made of logwood, *alias* blockwood, so as that by experience they are found as lasting and serviceable as the colours made with any other sort of dying wood.' [13, 14 *Car. II, c. 11.*]

* The Scottish parliament, at the same time, reduced the interest of money to *8 per cent.*, 'free of all retention or other public burdens whatsoever.' [*Parl. I, Car. II, c. 49.*] *M.*

At this time King Charles II shamefully delivered up to France the country of Nova Scotia, and such part of Canada as was held by our people*.

The treaties of alliance made by King Charles with Sweden and Denmark contain nothing new or particular concerning commerce. [*General Coll. of Treaties*, V. iii, pp. 240, 253, 254, 263.]

Many and loud complaints had been made by the merchants and clothiers of Exeter and other parts of the west of England (whom the company of merchant-adventurers called interlopers), as particularly in the year 1638, to the house of commons, and also in the years 1643 and 1645. They now again complained to the parliament, and in their remonstrance termed that company monopolizers and obstructors of the sale of our woollen manufactures. As it is possible that some such objections, however slightly grounded, may some time or other be hereafter renewed, and as it will also throw some light upon the state of our justly-favoured woollen manufacture, and will give a distinct state of that company's condition at that time, we shall as briefly as possible set down their objections, with the company's answers.

In general it was objected,

That confining the whole trade of the manufactures of wool sent to Germany and the Netherlands, being the greatest staple commodity of England, to one particular company of men, who call themselves the only merchant-adventurers, is detrimental to all in general, and particularly to those of Exeter and Devonshire: For,

I) They make the clothiers take what price they please, by not buying their goods brought to market, until necessity obliges them to sell even for loss. They moreover frequently stint or limit the number of cloths to be shipped, and allot to each merchant how much he shall ship for his particular proportion; so that the governor, deputy, and committees, may serve themselves and friends with the greatest share; which is not only prejudicial to the rest, but does also hinder the putting off so much more cloth abroad.

II) The company confine the vent of this great staple commodity to a few places at home, as the trade of all the west countries to London; whereas Exeter and other places ought to have liberty to ship off their goods from the nearest port, whereby much charge might be saved †.

III) By the two resolutions of the house of commons in 1624, for liberty to all merchants, as well as those called merchant-adventurers, to export dozens, kerfies, and new manufactures, as well as dyed,

* I doubt if any part of Canada was then possessed by our people. Historians are so careless in their accounts of those countries, that they seem not to have thought them worthy of their attention. A.

† The restriction of the staple for cloths to one or two towns in each foreign country, e. g. Rotterdam for all Holland, was also complained of, as prejudicial to the manufacturers at home and to the consumers abroad. A.

dress'd, and coloured cloths, into Germany and the Netherlands, the English traders increased in number, and the Dutch fell off so much, that they did not make 4000 cloths in the year 1632. But the company being again encouraged by means of their purse, &c. the Dutch again increased to 20,000 cloths in the year, and many of our manufacturing people settled in Holland.

IV) This company make their embarkations but thrice in the year, which hinders the clothiers from selling their goods but just at those times, and that only to two towns beyond sea.

V) The heavy impositions and fines they lay on the manufacturers amount to near as much as the king's customs, inasmuch that from 1616 to 1641, they raised, as per their own books, £182,295, beside what duties they received beyond sea; whereby the cheapness of our commodities is hindered, and the Dutch are encouraged to improve their manufacture of woollen goods, as they have greatly done for the last forty or fifty years.

VI) The company strictly tie their members to trade only to two towns, viz. Hamburgh and Dort, the later of which is inconveniently situated for vending the goods into the inland parts.

VII) In the company's present condition, they are indebted for vast sums, which cannot be discharged but by raising it on our manufactures.

VIII) The company arrogate powers of imposing oaths, and levying fines and taxes, on their fellow subjects, though they were never yet established by law, and have been complained of from time to time these 160 years.

IX) This monopolizing company did in all transport but 225 pieces of woollen goods from midsummer to michaelmas 1661; and yet five or six Exeter merchants, not free of the company, did within the same quarter of a year buy and export beyond sea 9254 pieces. The company employ ships but seldom, in comparison of other merchants, nor the fourth part of the mariners that other merchants do.

X) The unlimited power given to this company by their charter is a great inconveniency, and repugnant to the statute [12 Hen. VII, c. 6]; for they are thereby empowered to make what rules and ordinances they shall think fit for the support of their privileges, and may not only compel those of their fellowship, but even all others using trade with woollen manufactures in their precincts to obey the same*.

On the other hand, the company in their vindication replied in substance as follows, viz.

* Parker (in a pamphlet called Free trade, 1645), says that this fellowship in the marts abroad levy a fine of £40 sterling upon every Englishman on his arrival for liberty to buy and sell his own goods, which obliges merchants not belonging to their fellowship to shun those marts, to the great prejudice of the sale of the woollen cloths of this realm.

I) The company do not pretend to be the only merchant-adventurers, although their charters stile them the merchant-adventurers of England: yet they count it their honour, that they are no company of one city, town, or burgh, but a national corporation, and dispersed all over the kingdom: that they all meet together in their marts abroad, where their consultations are for the interest of the whole kingdom in the clothing trade, and where a majority of the freemen and traders present governs in all matters. Yet nothing can be concluded in that chief mart town beyond sea, but by the concurrence of that other court which resides in the United Netherlands, and of this here in London. And this court at London maintains a correspondence all along with all other their distinct courts, as of York, Hull, and Newcastle: and Exeter once had one of their most considerable courts in it, though now there be only one member there.

II) They deny their opponents accusations of stinting the exportations, or of distressing the clothiers in the sale of their goods; as also their confining the vent of the western counties to London, seeing any freeman may ship his goods directly abroad from the next port, as from York, Hull, Beverley, Newcastle, Hartlepoole, Stockton, Norwich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Ipswich, Colchester, and all other ports of England, where they have members.

III) As the statute [12 Hen. VII, c. 6] relates only to a freedom of commerce during the four marts, for which also they were to pay the company ten marks, that act can be of no force at present, seeing those marts are in disuse in the Netherlands. And it is enough that the fellowship submits to the parliament's pleasure to admit all men that can relish government on such conditions and limitations of fines as they shall direct.

IV) In answer to the sum of £182,295 said to be raised on the trade by the fellowship in 25 years time, they say, that when they were dissolved, in order to make room for Sir William Cockayne's project of dying and dressing cloths before exportation, the fellowship was indebted a good sum of money; that after their charters were restored, they were engaged in several services to the king and queen of Bohemia, and to King James and King Charles I; to which, if the charge of fix several residences, and of courts abroad and at home be added, it will appear they were no ill husbands, and that this sum was not so burdensome to be raised on the manufactures in so long a tract of time. For the imposition laid on cloths is but about 1 per cent; and, in recompense for this 1 per cent, the company's immunities abroad, and their freedoms there, by treaties, from taxes, tolls, watch and ward, &c. which others not free of the fellowship must pay in the Netherlands and Germany, are worth 3 per cent to their members.

V) It is true, they owe a large debt, occasioned partly by the misfortunes of the civil wars, &c. and partly by the opposition of the interlopers, and they think it reasonable that it should be paid off, though very gradually, by contributions or taxes on the commerce.

VI) If the fellowship be not as yet established by any law, it is now submitted, whether it is not more than time it should be settled by act of parliament.

VII) The fellowship take care that the rich overgrown traders shall not ingross the whole traffic, but there shall be room for younger and smaller traders to employ their stocks.

VIII) They carefully inspect the true making of cloth.

IX) They have done more, and been at greater expense, to prevent the exportation of our wools and fullers-earth, than all the other corporations and merchants in England.

Lastly, they insisted, that unless their corporation be supported, and even legally established, all the privileges and advantages, which our commerce has for many ages enjoyed in foreign parts beyond other nations, must necessarily fall with their fellowship, and the kingdom at home be left without a shadow of regulation in its greatest concernment.

After this time we hear no more of this company's complaints against separate traders, nor, on the other hand, of any uneasiness of merchants not free of it, the terms being quite easy, if they incline so to be. They have long since fixed their residence solely at Hamburgh, where they have considerable privileges, and drive a great commerce for supplying many provinces of Germany with our manufactures of wool, &c.

Toward the close of this year, a marriage treaty was concluded between King Charles and the Princess Catherine, sister to Alphonso VI, king of Portugal. It is said, that the real fortune which Alphonso agreed to give with his sister was £300,000 sterling. It is almost foreign to our purpose to remark, that France greatly forwarded this match for the farther weakening of Spain; and that Spain for the prevention thereof, proposed to our king three several protestant princesses: but it is much to our purpose to note, that Portugal, hoping for great assistance from England against Spain, not only agreed to the above large sum, but likewise to cede to King Charles for ever the town and port of Tangier on the Barbary shore, at the very entrance of the Straits, and also the town, port, and island of Bombay, with the rest of the isle of North Salsset on the coast of Malabar in East-India. Tangier had been possessed by the Portuguese ever since the year 1463, when King Alphonso V took it from the Moors. To this port King Charles granted all the privileges and immunities of a free port, in order to make it

a place of trade, for which, as well as for the security of our Mediterranean commerce, it was very advantageously situated *.

King Charles at first proposed to preserve Bombay and Salfet as part of his royal domain, and therefor sent the earl of Marlborough thither with five ships of war and 500 soldiers. But he met with so many difficulties from the Portuguese viceroy of Goa, &c. that after losing many men by sickness, &c. he did not get absolute possession of Bombay till the year 1664, and even then not all the territory agreed to be yielded with it. It was soon after found, that the king's expense in maintaining it greatly exceeded the profits of it, and that his people there undersold the English East-India company's agents, whereby, and by violences committed on the natives by the king's soldiers, &c. great confusions were likely to ensue: these considerations induced him to make a grant in full property for ever of that port and territory to our East-India company, by charter dated 27th March 1668, to hold it in free and common soccage of his imperial crown, on reimbursing the expenses of it, and paying an annual rent of £10 in gold on the 30th September yearly, at the customhouse in London. It has been by degrees greatly improved by that and the present East-India company, both in strength, commerce, and healthfulness, and some say, they lately had 60,000 people on that isle of different nations under our company's protection: though the Portuguese had scarcely 1000 people on it. It is extremely well situated for the trade of that extensive coast, and now enjoys a considerable commerce.

King Charles, by his commission under the great seal, now constituted his brother the duke of York, the lord chancellor Clarendon, and sundry other persons of distinction, to be the council of the royal fishery company of Great Britain and Ireland; and mighty matters were expected from so pompous a title: yet all came to nothing, though it must be owned, that the king freely granted them all the immunities, and even more, than were granted by the commonwealth in 1654; with authority to set up a lottery, and to have a voluntary collection in all parish churches. Moreover, all houses of entertainment, as taverns, inns, alehouses, &c. were to be obliged to take one or more barrels of herrings, at the stated price of 30s per barrel; and 2/6 per barrel was to be paid to the stock of this company on all foreign-caught fish imported.

1662.—The statute [13, 14 *Car. II, c. 6*] for enlarging and repairing common highways, so as they should all be made 24 feet in breadth, was become very necessary, since the great increase of carts, waggons, &c. by the general increase of our commerce. This act, being only temporary, was revived and farther enforced by an act [8, 9

* See General Monk's opinion of this place, as noticed under the year 1657. 4.

Gul. III, c. 15] which ordered, that where two or more cross highways met, a stone or post should be erected, with an inscription in large letters, directing to the next market town to which each of them leads. It is much to be wished that the statute-breadth of the highways was better observed than it has been hitherto.

It was in the year 1662 that the English from the north continent of America began to cut down the logwood trees, growing in infinite quantities on the uninhabited coasts of Yucatan, and more especially in the bay of Campeachy, where they made a settlement for that end, as it was not near to any Spanish settlement or inhabitants. Their first settlement was near Cape Catoche, next at the Laguna de Terminos, which was found more convenient, and where the English buccaneers were afterwards obliged to settle, upon the treaty of Madrid between England and Spain in the year 1667; which treaty, though it made no particular mention of America by name, expressly stipulated 'a general firm and perpetual amity between the two crowns, as well by land as by sea, and between all the countries under the obedience of either of the kings.' By the year 1669, that English settlement was considerably increased, and much logwood was carried thence to New-England and Jamaica. In the year 1670, Sir William Godolphin concluded at Madrid the first treaty between England and Spain, which expressly related to America, and therefor is usually called the American treaty; whereby the then possessions of both nations in America are confirmed. This gave encouragement to many more of our people to join the logwood-cutters, as it was in a desolate and unplanted country, and the Spaniards had not hitherto made any complaints about it. For it was not till the year 1672 that they began to interrupt our logwood-cutters there, or to make the least complaint to our court against their settling in that bay. Soon after, however, they became so uneasy at that settlement and our logwood-cutting, that they actually made prize of all English vessels they met in the American seas, which had logwood in them, of which the earl of Arlington, the English secretary of state, in the year 1674, complained in a letter to Sir William Godolphin our minister at Madrid. For as the sole advantage our court had in view by concluding this famous American treaty of 1670, was, that our people might, without interruption, trade to our own colonies, and peaceably enjoy our possessions in America, we were therein greatly frustrated by the court of Spain's orders to make prize of all ships having logwood in them. So that this treaty has ever since afforded a pretence for the Spaniards to seize our ships sailing along their American coasts, though with no intention of carrying on any contraband trade; and on some occasions they have even seized vessels for having a quantity of pieces of eight on board, if found near their American coasts. Yet, excepting two or three months in the year 1680, that the Spaniards, by a con-

considerable force, dislodged our logwood cutters from the Laguna de Terminos and the island of Trist, our people, till very lately, have remained in possession thereof. But as the controversy remains undetermined to this day, it is to be feared it may still occasion much altercation *.

At this time a statute was made [13, 14 *Car. II, c. 12*] for the better relief of the poor of England; whereby a corporation, chosen out of the magistrates of London, Westminster, and the suburbs, on both sides the Thames within the weekly bills of mortality, was established, for erecting work-houses for employing the poor. A subsequent act [23 *Car. II, c. 18*] enabled that corporation to levy a certain assessment on parishes not exceeding one fourth part of the assessment to the poor, for any respective year. Yet, to the shame of the nation, nothing has been effectually done for answering that truly great and good end even to this day, so many difficulties being started to every scheme hitherto proposed to the public.

This year the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, of London, petitioned the house of commons to erect the merchants trading to France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, into four new corporations for confining those trades entirely to English natives; the pretext for which was, that most part of the trade of exporting the commodities of England was in the hands of aliens, whom they would have to be obliged by law to pay double duties on all draperies exported by them. They also, and sundry merchants of London in behalf of themselves and the English merchants of the outports, petitioned that the merchant-adventurers, the Levant, the Eastland, the Russia, and the East-India, companies already established, might have further privileges confirmed to them by parliament, exclusive of foreigners. But the commons were wiser than to listen to petitions for adding new fetters to our export trade.

King Charles II having lavishly consumed the large supplies granted by parliament, was now put upon the most pernicious project that could have entered into the thoughts of the monarch of the first commercial kingdom in Europe, by yielding to France the town and port of Dunkirk, with all its fortifications, sluices, dams, &c. and likewise the fort of Mardyke, with the wooden fort, and the other great and small forts between Dunkirk and Bergh St. Wynox, together with all the arms, artillery, ammunition, &c. We have seen that Dunkirk had been surrendered by France to Cromwell four years before, by a stipulated agreement, for the succours which that protector had given to France against Spain. Our passive parliament seemed to content themselves with Charles's poor pretence, that, as it was only surrendered to an usurper, he had a right to dispose of it as he pleased. It was concluded at Lon-

* A more copious explanation of this subject by the board of trade will be found under the year 1717. A.

don by the French ambassador, the Count D'Estrades, and by the earl of Clarendon lord chancellor, the earl of Southampton lord treasurer, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, (all Englishmen) under a commission from the king. As for the price, it was almost as shameful as the delivering up the place was criminal, viz. 5,000,000 of livres, or about £250,000 sterling. Had that number of millions been sterling money instead of French, fatal experience has long since demonstrated its being inadequate to so inestimable a jewel. We ought, however, to do justice, as far as we fairly can, to one of the four commissioners, who, rather than lose their private emoluments, so shamefully gave up the nation's interest, viz. the earl of Sandwich, who at first proposed the absolute demolition of Dunkirk, and destroying its harbour in such a manner as to render it for ever useless, which, next to its remaining in our hands, was certainly the best scheme. For, as to what sundry writers have remarked, of its being better to have been sold to Spain or Holland, that might be true with respect to the time we are upon, but who could answer for the hurt that place might in future times have done to us in the hands of either of those nations, as power is perpetually fluctuating? there was therefor nothing for a wise king and an honest English ministry to choose but to preserve, strengthen, and improve, that place, let the expense be more or less, whereby we should have remained masters of both sides of the greatest commercial thoroughfare in the universe. Marshal Schomberg, then in England, advised the king to keep it, as his naval strength would effectually prevent its being taken, and the holding of it would keep both France and Spain in a dependence upon him: in which opinion, says Bishop Burnet, he was singular; and yet there was more truth and judgement in this opinion than all that was said and written on this point. For, with regard to the most solemn treaties, which France's necessities have since obliged that crown to stipulate for the demolition of its fortifications and the filling up of its harbour, &c. we have more than once seen how easy it has been for such a powerful nation, void of all shame and honour, to restore both the one and the other*.

Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, informs us that the French royal council of commerce was erected this year; and that the king himself presided therein once in every fortnight. Need we to wonder then at

* The price, which however, was a matter of little consequence, was £400,000. [*D'Estrades*, quoted in *Macpherson's Hist. of Great Britain*, V. i, p. 51.] It is not easy to give any good reason, why Mr. Anderson, and many thousands besides, should be so exceedingly angry at getting rid of the useless expense of keeping an indefensible post in a foreign country, which has not a harbour ca-

pable of receiving large ships. As for the possession of it making us masters of both sides of the strait, it is evident, that our floating castles may command the strait without having forts or harbours on both sides, but that both shores covered with great guns can never command such a passage without ships. *M.*

the progress that nation has since made in commerce, thus so eminently encouraged by so discerning and potent a prince *.

The king in council this year issued his proclamation, intimating, 'that notwithstanding the navigation act passed two years ago, several letters or warrants had, through misinformation, been obtained from him, by which the Lubeckers ships, merchants, and mariners, were licensed to come into England, &c. freed from the penalties of the act, upon pretence of a former custom. But the council having considered the ill consequences of trenching on that act, and the damages which such a toleration would bring upon the English owners of shipping, and their merchants and mariners, it was ordered by his majesty in council, that all such letters, licences, or warrants, should be recalled and declared void.'

The following improvements were made upon the act of navigation.

I) No foreign-built ships shall enjoy the privileges of English or Irish built ships, even although navigated as that act directs; and although the owners likewise be Englishmen, prize ships only excepted.

II) Whoever shall export or import goods to or from any port of this kingdom (capable of a ship of 200 tons burden) to or from any port of the Mediterranean beyond the port of Malaga, in any ship that hath not two decks, and carries less than 16 cannon, shall pay to the king one per cent on their loadings, beside all other duties.

III) And in order to encourage the building of good and defensible ships, it was farther enacted, that for seven years to come, whoever should build ships with three decks, or with two decks, a half deck and a fore-castle, with five feet between each deck, mounted with at least 30 cannon, should, for the first two voyages, receive one tenth of all the customs paid on their cargoes exported or imported. [14 *Car. II.*, c. 11.]

The two last clauses were designed by way of precaution against the Barbary rovers.

Other good statutes were made this year, such as those prohibiting the exportation of wool and fullers-earth, yarn, and undressed hides, and the importation of foreign bone-lace and other French frippery wares, which drew incredible sums of money from us, and turned the balance of the trade with France very much against us.

The English American plantations were by this time so much cultivated and improved, that the demand for servants and labourers was greatly increased; and as their mother country could by no means afford numbers sufficient for their supply, and they were not then so

* The new council, or board of commerce, established in the year 1701, is subordinate to this royal council. A.

well supplied with negroes from the African coast as they wished for, since the trade thither had been laid open, a third exclusive English African or Guinea company was this year incorporated for that end, at the head of which was the duke of York, joined with many persons of rank and distinction, who undertook to supply our West-India plantations with 3000 negroes annually. If this new company's accounts are to be relied on, it seems, that while the trade was laid open in the times of the late civil wars, our forts on the Guinea coast were demolished by the Dutch and the Danes, by which, and by the capture of ships belonging to the company, and to separate traders, to the value of £300,000, the stock of the second company was ruined.

This new company, supported by the king's brother, &c. and knowing the king's inclinations to make war against the Dutch, afterwards got Sir Robert Holmes to be sent out with a squadron of fourteen ships to the coast of Guinea, to attack the Dutch forts, &c. prior to a formal declaration of war; of which more in its place.

Toward the close of this year, King Charles sent Admiral Lawson to Algiers, who obliged that piratical state, and also those of Tunis and Tripoli, to sign articles of pacification, which they kept just as long as they stood in fear of our ships of war in the Mediterranean.

The Dutch, according to some authors, had taken Formosa from the Portuguese in the year 1635. The ports of that island were extremely commodious for their China and Japan trades: yet Candidius, a Dutch clergyman (in his account, in Churchill's voyages) says, 'the Dutch had built a fort in one of the islands called Pehou, near the mouth of the great river Chincheo in China, from whence they intercepted the Chinese trading to the Philippines. This obliged the Chinese to agree with the Dutch to grant them the harbour of Togowang in Formosa, in lieu of the other, where they might build a fort, whence they traded with the Chinese, who, however, this year drove them out of the island.'

The first wire-mill in England was set up by a Dutchman at Sheen near Richmond.

Connecticut, a province of New-England, had its first charter dated 23d April 1662. It was one of the six charter colonies of the continent of British America.

1663.—We have exhibited under the year 1629 some fruitless efforts (from England) to plant the country then named Carolana, now Carolina; but the succeeding discontents in England, and the consequent civil wars, occasioned Carolina to remain unplanted till now, that the king granted his first charter (dated the 24th day of March 1662-3) to the Lord-chancellor Clarendon, the duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkley, Lord Ashley chancellor of the exchequer, Sir George

Carteret vice-chamberlain, Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colleton, whose eight names, given to several of its rivers and counties, will probably be remembered there to the end of time. Their limits, by this charter, run from the 36th degree of north latitude (being the south border of modern Virginia) to the 31st degree, or the south border of modern Georgia, along the Atlantic ocean, and stretching westward without limitation to the South sea. The territory was granted to them in perpetual property, on paying an annual quit rent of twenty marks.

The antient fund for keeping the roads of England in repair was a rate levied on the landholders in proportion to their rents, together with the actual service of the men, the carts, and horses, of the neighbourhood, for a limited number of days. But now, by the increase of inland trade, heavy carriages by waggons and pack horses were so exceedingly multiplied, that those means of repairing the roads were found totally inadequate; neither was it just, that a neighbourhood should be burdened with the support of roads for the service of a distant quarter of the kingdom. It was therefor necessary to devise more effective, and at the same time more equitable, means of supporting the public roads; and the present method of making and repairing the roads at the expense of those who actually wear them, and reap the benefit of them, was now first established by an act of parliament [15 *Car. II, c. 1*] for repairing the highways in the shires of Hartford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, by which three toll-gates (or turnpikes) were set up at Wadefmill, Caxton, and Stilton.

Parliament settled the revenues of the post-office and the wine-licences on the duke of York, the king's only brother, which were afterwards considerably increased. They were now, by most authors, reckoned together to bring in only £21,000 per annum; yet the following proviso of this same act shews they were much mistaken, viz. 'no-
' thing herein contained shall make void the grant made by his majesty
' to Daniel O'Neale, Esq. of the office of postmaster-general, for four
' and a fourth years from lady-day 1663, under the yearly-rent of
' £21,500 for all the said term (except the last quarter, which is paid
' aforehand), so as the said rents be paid unto his said Highness James
' duke of York.' [15 *Car. II, c. 14.*]

In the year 1653, the post-office revenue (as we have already noted) was let to farm for £10,000 yearly: yet I cannot perceive upon what grounds Dr. D'Avenant, in his Essay on the public revenue and trade of England [*part I, p. 125*] could remark, that for some years this post-office revenue hardly bore its own expense, unless he meant the times anterior to the year 1653. But he adds, that when he wrote (1698), it had been so much improved under a management,

as that its gross produce, by a medium of three years, amounted per annum to about £90,440 : 15*.

For the encouragement of agriculture and trade, permission was given to export all kinds of grain, when wheat should be currently sold in England at 48/ a quarter, and other grain in proportion; and they might be imported when above those prices, on paying 5/4 of custom, with poundage, per quarter for wheat, &c. [15 *Car. II*, c. 17.]

By this same statute it was enacted, 'that for the farther improvement of former navigation acts, no merchandize of the growth, production, or manufacture, of Europe shall be imported into any of the English plantations or factories in Asia, Africa, and America, (Tangier only excepted), but what shall be laden in England, and in English-built shipping, and navigated by at least three fourths English mariners, and shall be carried to those places directly from England, and no where else, on forfeiture of ships and ladings, excepting, however, salt for the fisheries of New-England and Newfoundland, and wines from Madeira and the Azores, servants, victual, and horses, from Scotland or Ireland; and that none of the product of the English plantations (viz. sugar, tobacco, cotton, ginger, fustic, and other drugs) shall be carried any where (except to other plantations) till they be first landed in England, under forfeiture of ships and cargoes.' And here Ireland was first left out, though inserted in the 12th of this king, c. 18, § 9.

'And for the encouragement of the herring and North-sea, Iceland, and Westmony fisheries, no fresh herring, cod, haddock, &c. shall be imported into England, but in English-built ships, navigated, &c. as before.'

'And forasmuch as the planting of tobacco in England doth continually increase, notwithstanding the act of the 12th year of this king, [c. 34] a farther penalty of £10 is laid upon every rood or pole of land so planted in England, Ireland, Jersey, or Guernsey, excepting, however, tobacco planted in the physic-gardens of either university, or in other private gardens for surgery, so as the quantity exceed not half a pole of land in any one garden.'

In this act of parliament we have the first legal licence for the exportation of foreign coin and bullion for the benefit of commerce, in the remarkable words following, viz. 'and forasmuch as several considerable and advantageous trades cannot be conveniently driven and carried on without the species of money and bullion, and that it is found by experience that they are carried in greatest abundance (as

* *Management* here means the government making the most of the revenue, in contradistinction to *farming* it at a certain sum. In comparing the two sums, the charges of management must be deducted from the gross produce. *A.*

‘ to a common market) to such places as give free liberty for exporting
 ‘ the same, and the better to keep in and increase the current coins of
 ‘ this kingdom, be it enacted, that it shall be lawful to export out of
 ‘ any customhouse or port of England, all sorts of foreign coin or bul-
 ‘ lion of gold or silver, first entering the same at the customhouse,
 ‘ without paying any duty or custom for the same.’

It is strange our legislature should have been so late in coming into this measure, though so much earlier practised by other wise and mercantile nations, bullion and foreign coin being undoubtedly as much a mercantile commodity as any other instrument of commerce whatever. Mr. Thomas Munn, in his judicious treatise, entitled *England's treasure by foreign trade* (8vo, 1664) has fully shewn, of what benefit the free exportation of money was in Tuscany, under the year 1630. He has also no less clearly shewn the absurdity of the old English laws for obliging merchants-strangers, importing into England, to lay out their produce in the commodities of our realm; as also the laws for obliging all merchants exporting corn, fish, ammunition, &c. to bring home money or bullion in return: and in fine, ‘ that nothing but an
 ‘ overbalance in foreign trade, or exporting more in value of our own
 ‘ product and manufacture than we import of those of other nations,
 ‘ can either increase our bullion, or even keep what we have already.’ Mr. Polexfen, however, (an able and strenuous opponent of the East-India trade) in his *Account of the East-India trade*, 1696, on the other hand, remarks, ‘ that till the licence granted by this act to export fo-
 ‘ reign coin and bullion, the East-India company did not export
 ‘ above L40,000 in bullion yearly; but now it began to be ex-
 ‘ ported in much greater quantities, and that it was no less than
 ‘ L600,000 sterling per annum, taking any number of years, when the
 ‘ trade was carried on without any great obstruction.’ Yet possibly that company might before have exported much more than L40,000, though they did it clandestinely till this law gave permission.

In the same statute there is the following clause, viz. ‘ that whereas a
 ‘ great part of the richest and best land of England cannot so well be
 ‘ otherwise employed as in the feeding and fattening of cattle; and
 ‘ that by the coming in of late of vast numbers of cattle from beyond
 ‘ sea already fattened (meaning from Ireland); such lands are in many
 ‘ places much fallen in rents and values, to the great impoverishment
 ‘ of this kingdom, it was now enacted, that for every head of great cattle
 ‘ imported (except the breed of Scotland) between the 1st of July and
 ‘ 20th of December in any year, and of the breed of Scotland between
 ‘ the 24th of August and the 20th of December in any year, there shall
 ‘ be paid or forfeited 20s to the king, and also 10s to him that shall inform
 ‘ or seizeth the same, and other 10s to the poor of the parish where such seizure
 ‘ shall be made; and for every sheep so imported 10s, to be recovered and

‘levied in manner aforefaid.’ This act was to continue no longer in force than to the end of the firſt ſeſſion of the next parliament, but has ſince been made perpetual. We ſhall here only remark, that the nation, in the opinion of many, has often had ground to repent thoſe reſtraints in favour of the grazing countries, and to the prejudice of the reſt of the kingdom.

Two other well-intended ſtatutes were made this year for the encouragement of the linen and tapeſtry manufactures of England, and diſcouragement of the very great importation of foreign linen and tapeſtry, and for regulating the packing of herrings. It was alſo thereby enacted, that for the preſervation of the ſpawn of fiſh at the iſles of Iceland and Weſtmony, no ſhip ſhould fail thither until the 10th of March in any year, neither ſhould any toll or other duty be taken at Newfoundland for any fiſh caught there. [15 *Car. II*, cc. 15, 16.]

Before we cloſe this year, we cannot forget to do juſtice to an excellent little treatiſe on commerce, now publiſhed by Samuel Fortrey, Eſq. intitled England’s intereſt and improvement; which, in only 43 ſmall 12mo pages, treats moſt judiciously of all the principal branches of our foreign and domeſtic commerce; of the benefit of increaſing our induſtrious people by naturalization; the improvement of our lands by incloſures, and the breeding of cattle; of the exportation of horſes; the improvement of mines; our manufactures; our fiſheries; of diſcouraging the wear of foreign manufactures, more eſpecially French ones, whereby that country gets ſo great a balance from us; of the benefit of the act of navigation, and of our foreign plantations; the regulation of our coin; lowering the intereſt of money, &c.: a treatiſe which, though written 100 years ago, will well bear reading over even at this day.

Rhode-iſland and Providence plantation, two provinces of New-England, had this year a charter to the whole freemen or inhabitants of each colony, who are empowered to elect their own repreſentatives; and thoſe of the later alſo elect their governor and council. The report of the board of trade to the houſe of lords, in January 1733-4, obſerves of theſe two colonies, and of Connecticut, ‘that almoſt the whole power of the crown is delegated to the people; and, as their charters are worded, they can, and do, make laws, even without their governors conſent, and directly contrary to their opinions; no negative voice being reſerved to them as governors, in the ſaid charter.’ This was careleſſly granted by a very careleſſ monarch; and is what no wiſe miniſtry nor council would have deliberately adviſed.

1664.—In the year 1664 the Engliſh again took poſſeſſion of the iſle of St Lucia, having previously treated with the native Caribs for the purchaſe of it (ſays the author of the *British empire in America*, whom, nevertheleſs we muſt very cautiously truſt on many occaſions). Five

ships of war carried thither about 1500 men, who, being joined by 600 Caribs in their canoes, had the island and fort yielded to them without resistance, on condition that the French governor and his garrison (of only 14 men) with their artillery and baggage, should be escorted to Martinica. Yet it seems, two years after, the English, for want of supplies, abandoned it again, and burnt their fort; though but two days after they were gone, a bark, with necessaries, arrived there from Lord Willoughby governor of Barbados. In the treaties of King Charles and King James with the French court, and in those of Ryswick and Utrecht, there are general stipulations for restoring to the crown of Great Britain all islands and countries which may have been conquered by France, and such as had been in the possession of the king of Great Britain before such respective war began. But such general stipulations signified little with the French. This island had at sundry times been inhabited by both English and French planters at one and the same time in several parts of it: and so it remained till about the year 1719, when we shall again resume its farther history.

In Mr. Munn's valuable treatise, named England's treasure by foreign trade [*p.* 177] he relates, that there was in those times exported, one year with another, to the value of £2,200,000 of our native commodities: 'so that (says he) if we were not too much affected to pride, monstrous fashions, and riot, above all other nations, 1,500,000 of our money might plentifully supply our necessary wants, (as I may term them) of silks, sugars, spices, fruits, &c.: so £700,000 might be yearly treasured up in money, to make the kingdom exceeding rich and powerful in a short time.' But this was far from being the case at that time; for by a report of Dr. Charles D'Avenant, inspector-general of the customs,

Our imports in the year 1662 amounted to	-	-	£4,016,019
Our exports to	-	-	2,022,812
So that the balance against us was no less than			£1,993,207

A most melancholy account truly, more especially as coming from this able author, who possessed that important office in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne.

This year King Charles entered into a treaty with James duke of Courland concerning Tobago, one of the Caribbee isles in America*.

* In the title of the treaty Tobago is said to have been discovered, fortified, and cultivated, by the duke's subjects, till they were driven out by the Dutch, whereupon the duke submitted it to the king's protection, and held it by a grant from the crown of England. The Dutch, however, soon after took possession of Tobago, and retained it for some years.

This treaty is rather curious than useful, as shewing that a duke of Courland attempted to become a commercial potentate.

I) ' The king grants to the duke and his successors full liberty of
' trade and commerce for such ships as properly belonged to him and
' his heirs (but not to those of his subjects) in any rivers or havens
' within his majesty's dominions on the coast of Guinea, for goods not
' exceeding £12,000 in value: and he may build store-houses, under
' protection of the king's forts there.

II) ' In consideration whereof, the duke makes over to the king his
' fort of St. Andrew, on the Guinea coast, and all his other forts there,
' together with their guns and ammunition; the duke paying 3 per cent
' on all goods imported or exported.

III) ' On the other hand, King Charles grants to the duke and his
' heirs the island of Tobago, to be enjoyed by him under the king's
' protection: provided, the duke shall suffer none others but the king's
' and his own subjects to remain on that island.

IV) ' The duke farther agrees, that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his
' subjects, shall export any of the product of that island, nor import,
' otherwise than out of, or into, some ports belonging either to Eng-
' land or to Courland, or the port of the city of Dantzick.

V) ' And, in return for the protection of England, whenever the
' king shall be at war with any nation but Poland, the dukes of Cour-
' land, when required, shall, at their cost, furnish one good ship of war
' of 40 cannon, to be sent to such port as the king shall name, for one
' year at a time, to be manned, victualled, and paid by his majesty.'

[*General collection of treaties, V. iii.*]

In this year the English clergy voluntarily resigned the power, they had enjoyed for so many ages, of taxing themselves in their own convocation. In the troublesome times preceding the restoration, the clergy, having no proxies nor regular convocations, submitted to be taxed with the laity; and the court, finding that method easier, (and perhaps too bringing in a better revenue) was glad to accept of this resignation: and so it has continued ever since; whereby, however, the convocations of the clergy have greatly lost their former weight with the crown.

King Charles, on making war with the Dutch, intended to drive them out of New-Nidderland and New-Belgia, (since called New-York and New-Jersey) both which they had greatly improved. He therefor made a grant of them to the duke of York; and even some months before the formal declaration of war he sent thither Sir Robert Carr with a squadron of ships and 3000 land forces. They landed at the entrance of Hudson's river, and immediately attacked the town of New-Amsterdam (now New-York) and reduced it without any difficulty, the Dutch there not knowing of any rupture with England. The English found the houses of that city handsomely built of brick and stone: and its situation being on an island before the entrance of the river, on an high land, it makes a beautiful appearance from the sea. It has since been

much enlarged and improved, so as to be justly deemed one of the first cities of British America. The major part of the Dutch at New-York remained there, as the great number of Dutch names to be found even at this day in that city and province sufficiently testify; and those who desired to remove were permitted to take their effects with them, the province being soon re-peopled with English. Fort-Orange (since named New-Albany, from the duke of York's Scottish title) a great way up Hudson's river, was soon reduced, as were also Staten-island, Long-island, &c. And the first English governor, Colonel Nichols, is said to have been the first who concluded a league with the famous Indian nations of the Iroquois, behind this province; in consequence of which league France, at the treaty of Utrecht, engaged to observe peace with those Indian nations as inviolably as with the English of this province, which extended north-westward into the country, for 200 miles, to Lake-Champlain, although the French afterward encroached on our territory, by building forts near that lake: but its breadth on the sea-coast is not above 30 miles. New-York has long been one of the most prosperous colonies on that continent, which some, in part, ascribe to that spirit of frugality which the Dutch carried thither, and which is said to be seen amongst them in some degree even at this day. New-York exports to our sugar-islands great quantities of flour, peas, bisket, bacon, butter, pork, &c. and receives in return sugar, melasses, rum, cotton, ginger, pimento, &c. and also Spanish money, which pays Great Britain for all the various necessaries they receive from thence.

The king's grant to his brother comprehending the country, since called New-Jersey, the duke of York in the same year re-granted part of that country to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, who gave it the name of New-Jersey, or East and West New-Jersey, Lord Berkley assigned his part to William Penn, and three others, as did afterwards Sir George Carteret, to Penn, and eleven others, in the year 1681. The former assignees also sold many shares to the earl of Perth, Sir George Mackenzie, and many other Scots: and many of the Scots being soon after persecuted for their religious opinions, went and settled there; and, amongst others, the famous Mr. Robert Barclay, (who might not unfitly be termed the apostle of the quakers) went thither as governor, with his family. In 1683 Lord Neil Campbell, son of the marquis of Argyle, succeeded him as governor of East-Jersey: so that New-Jersey continued to be two separate proprietary governments till 1702, when, as will be seen in due time, they were united under one regal government.

Colbert, the able minister of France, now began to put in execution his deep-laid schemes for the advancement of the commerce, manufactures, and naval power, of that kingdom, the foundation whereof had been laid by the great Richlieu. For that purpose he granted number-

less immunities, indulgences, premiums, pensions, protections, &c. to foreign artists, artificers, manufacturers, &c. from all parts, to settle with their families and workmen in France. He got his king to appropriate a million of livres annually for the improvement of the woollen manufacture alone: and it is generally believed, that it was owing to Colbert, that the mischievous practice of running our English and Irish wool into France, (vulgarly called *owling*) was first set on foot; whereby they gradually brought forward their present great woollen manufacture, having till this time been chiefly supplied with woollen goods from England.

Notwithstanding former fruitless attempts, he also this year erected an exclusive French East-India company for 50 years, on the ruins of a China company erected in 1660, which came to nothing soon after: their limits being from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to the farthest Indies, and from the straits of Magellan and Le Maire westward into all the South seas: which companies immunities, &c. were much augmented in the year following. It was to be under 21 directors, 12 whereof were for Paris, and nine for the sea-ports. Soon after, they possessed and fortified Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast, which has since been their capital settlement; their principal trade on that coast being in muslins and calicoes of many various kinds: yet, partly from the difficulties of settling trade by any nation before unacquainted with India, and partly by their war with the Dutch in India, they did not prosper for a great number of years after this time.

On the ruins of their former Canada and West-India companies Colbert at the same time erected a new exclusive West-India one for 40 years; its limits being, 1st, that part of the continent of South-America lying between the rivers of Amazons and Orinoko, with the adjacent islands: 2dly, in North-America, all Canada behind Virginia and Florida: and, 3dly, all the coast of Africa from Cape Verd southward to the Cape of Good Hope.

Colbert saw, how much the Dutch had increased their power and wealth by their extended commerce, though France, which naturally abounded with all things, was in a manner destitute of commerce and naval strength: he therefor got King Louis to make him protector of both those companies, to whom he lent six millions without interest. Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, says, that from the year 1635 to 1665 the colonies of Martinica, Canada, &c. had been in a languishing state, and rather chargeable than profitable: but that now (1665) they began to flourish; and that, in the year 1664, the king sent a fresh colony to Cayenne island, first settled on by France in 1635, and another colony in that same year to Madagascar, which had been settled on by France in 1650, but afterward deserted: yet, 10 years after Louis reversed all these grants to that company, and laid the trade open to all his subjects.

King Charles this year made war on the United Netherlands in a very extraordinary manner, without a formal declaration of it till some months after, for which no other grounds are generally assigned by historians than jealousy on account of rivalry for commerce and naval power; set on likewise secretly (as it is said) by the arts of the French court and of Rome, for weakening both sides. The English fleet under Admiral Holmes took several forts near Cape Verd from the Dutch, for the benefit of the English African company, at the head of which was the duke of York; which forts the Dutch admiral De Ruyter retook the same year. Holmes also erected a new fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, and named it James-fort, which we still hold. Thence sailing southward, he mastered all the Dutch forts on the Guinea coast, except St. George del Mina and Acheen; though De Ruyter soon regained all again: whereupon the English fleet, commanded in chief by the duke of York, made prize of 130 Dutch merchant ships. A war was then formally declared, for which the parliament voted £2,500,000. What is already in all histories, and also not very material for our subject, was, that the grand fleet of England, in 1665, consisting of 108 ships of war and 14 fire-ships, under the duke of York, attacked the Dutch fleet under Opdam of 103 ships of war and 11 fire-ships, and quite defeated it; many of the later being taken, sunk, and burnt: and, in the same year our fleet took eight Dutch ships of war, two East-India ships, and many other merchant ships.

Had the English East-India company better fortified their isle of Poleroon, which produced fine nutmegs and mace, (but according to others only cloves) it had not been so easily taken, as it was in this year by one single Dutch ship from Batavia; whereby the English were quite excluded from all the spice islands, which the Dutch company has absolutely possessed to this day.

This year a general valuation was made of the English East-India company's capital, the market price on the exchange of London being then only 70 per cent: and it appeared that their stock was (as their writers say) intrinsically worth 130 per cent: and that in the remaining quarter of this year, and the compass of next year, they are said actually to have divided 50 per cent profit on their capital stock: but this seems somewhat exaggerated.

There was a private company of merchants of Dieppe in Normandy, who, in early times, had carried on a trade to the river Senegal on the west coast of Africa; where, by means of a small settlement on an island at the mouth of a branch of the river, they had carried on a considerable trade. That branch of trade fell afterwards to certain merchants of the city of Rouen, who this year yielded it to the French West-India company. The later company being dissolved 10 years afterwards, the old Senegal company resumed that commerce till 1681,

when Colbert transferred it to a much larger number of merchants, whose privileges also being thought too extensive for their capital stock, a new Guinea company was thereupon erected, to whom most of their privileges were assigned; and yet the old Senegal company continued to be a thriving society. A single member thereof, however, in the year 1694, by their after ill management, bought out their privileges, and erected a new company, who, by misfortunes, were obliged to make over their privileges to some rich merchants at Rouen, who, with various success, carried on the Senegal trade till the year 1718, when it was united to the East-India company. The Guinea company, on the accession of King Philip V to the throne of Spain, had a grant of the asiento negro trade; which trade was, by the treaty of Utrecht, conveyed to the South-sea company: and thus the main commerce of France was united to what they called their India company, comprehending not only the East-India, the American, the Guinea, but also the Senegal trade, by the wild schemes of the duke regent and Mr. Law.

An act of parliament was passed this year for preventing the commanders of merchant ships from delivering such ships to Turkish and other pirates without fighting; whereby, according to its preamble, not only merchants were much prejudiced and discouraged, but the honour of the English navigation was likewise much diminished: to which such commanders were much encouraged by a practice of those pirates, who, after they have taken out the goods, as an encouragement to masters of ships to yield, do not only restore the ship with such goods as are claimed by masters or seamen, but do many times pay the master all or some part of the freight. It was therefor now enacted, that where any merchandize shall be laden on board any English ship of the burden of 200 tons or upwards, mounted with 16 guns or more, if the master shall yield the said goods to any Turkish or other pirate without fighting, he shall thenceforth be incapable of commanding any ship; and the ship so delivered back to him, and also the goods, shall be forfeited, to make good the loss sustained by the owners of the goods detained by such pirates, pro rata; and the owners to have their action against such master for the remainder. And if an English ship, though it be under the said tonnage and guns, be yielded to any such pirate not having at least double his number of guns, without fighting, the master shall be liable to all the penalties aforesaid. Also, every mariner, refusing to fight such pirates when required by the master of the ship, shall forfeit all his wages and his effects in such ship, and shall be imprisoned for six months, and kept during that time to hard labour. Moreover, mariners, laying violent hands on their master to hinder him from fighting such pirates, shall suffer death as felons. Masters or mariners, wounded in defence of their ship from pirates, shall, on their return home with their ship, re-

receive a compensation from the owners of the ship and goods, not exceeding two per cent of the value of the ship and goods so defended, to be distributed among the captain, master, officers, and seamen, of such ship, or the widows and children of the slain, by direction of the judge of the admiralty-court, in due proportion. And whereas it often happens that masters and mariners of ships, having insured or taken up on bottomry greater sums of money than the value of their adventure, do wilfully cast away, burn, or otherwise destroy, the ships under their charge, to the great loss of merchants and owners, such master, &c. shall suffer death as felons.

1665.—In the year 1665 the Dutch admiral De Ruyter not only retook most of the forts which Sir Robert Holmes had taken from Holland, but he also took our own fort of Cormanteen, which they hold to this day by the name of Fort Amsterdam. They also seized the isle of St. Helena, which was a refreshing place for our East-India shipping, and therefor was retaken even the same year.

Under the year 1645 we have given the rise of banking by goldsmiths in London; and observed how much they improved that new branch of their business after the restoration, by taking advantage of the king's perpetual necessities, from his unfrugal management of the public revenue, which he was constantly anticipating; partly proceeding from their readiness to lend him at extravagant interest, and their taking to pawn the king's bills, orders, and tallies. Nevertheless, the number of bankers increased so much, and the money came so fast into their hands, by people to whom they paid a moderate interest* for the same, that all the public demands fell short of employing their whole cash. This made them run into the business of lending money on private pawns at high interest, discounting bills of exchange, lending on personal security to heirs in expectancy, &c. These, and many other such methods of bestowing their cash, were about this time put in practice by the goldsmiths, says the author already quoted under the year 1645, who, through the increase of commerce, thinks the banking trade was at its greatest height in the year 1667, when the Dutch burnt our ships at Chatham; but that disaster causing what is in our days called a run (probably the first of its kind) on the bankers, it, in some measure, lessened their credit, which was entirely ruined, by shutting up the exchequer five years after, of which more in its place. As there was a great quantity of cash in the kingdom at that time, this brief account may, in part, serve to answer a query often made in our own days, viz. how were monied people able to dispose of their superlucration cash, before the modern public funds existed?

* They generally allowed four per cent for the use of money lodged with them by widows, orphans, or other persons, who would not have occasion for it for some time certain. Merchants, who lodged their running cash, to be drawn for whenever wanted, received no interest. A.

A violent pestilence in the course of this year swept off, in London alone, 100,000 persons, which was a terrible shock to the commerce of England.

In an obstinate sea-fight this year between the English and Dutch fleets, both sides claimed the victory, which shews it was a doubtful conflict. They soon after met again, being about 100 ships of war on each side, when the English fleet, commanded by the duke of York, obtained a real victory, destroying 20 Dutch ships of war. Soon after which, Sir Robert Holmes burnt 150 Dutch merchant ships on the coast of North Holland, and two of their ships of war. Yet in this same year the Dutch insulted our own coasts, making descents in several places.

In the same year the Dutch East-India company's privileges were renewed for forty years longer.

This year King Charles granted a second charter to the proprietors of Carolina, whereby he extended their limits southward as far as 29 degrees, so that the mouth of the great river Mississippi is included in their grant, and to $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north latitude. Thus they had now an extent of $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, or about 450 miles along the coast, south and north, and an unknown space westward to the South sea. This second charter styles the grantees, 'the true and absolute lords proprietors of the province and territory of Carolina; saving always the faith, allegiance, and sovereign dominion, due to us, our heirs, and successors for the same; to be held in free and common soccage, as of our manor of East Greenwich, in Kent; yielding and paying to us and our successors, for the same, the fourth part of all gold and silver ore found within their limits, besides the yearly rent of 20 marks.' The patentees were empowered to grant peculiar titles of honour to great planters in Carolina, so as they should not be the same as in England; and, in consequence of this clause, they accordingly, at different times, conferred the titles of caciques and landgraves, the former an Indian dignity, the later a German one. The patentees had also the power to enjoy quit-rents, and also reasonable customs on merchandize; but not without the consent and approbation of the freemen of the colony. Also to erect forts, to incorporate towns and cities, to train soldiers, &c.

The noble patentees immediately set about planting that delightful country; and all freemen who settled there had 50 acres of land granted to them for themselves, and 50 more for each man-servant; also 50 acres for each marriageable woman-servant, and 40 for unmarried ones. Covenant servants, when out of their time, to have 50 acres also given them. The first embarkation cost the proprietors £12,000. The fundamental constitutions of its government were framed by the truly great John Locke, founded on the most just and generous principles, and calculated for encouraging men of all persuasions to settle therein. The eldest of those lords proprietors had the title of palatine; in whom,

assisted by three other proprietors, the executive powers in most cases were lodged; and those four constituted the palatine court, whose deputies in Carolina acted by their directions. Its parliament consisted, in the upper house, of the proprietors or their deputies, with the governor, council, caciques, and landgraves; and the commons, or lower house, were elected as in other colonies.

The king granted a patent to 60 persons, and to all others of his subjects, that had within seven years past traded to the Canaries to the value of £1000 yearly; and also to all others who should be admitted, whereby they were constituted a body-politic, and were to enjoy the sole trade to the Canary islands, under a governor, deputy-governor, and twelve assistants. The grounds for this charter, as set forth in its preamble, were, that the trade to the Canary isles was formerly of greater advantage to the king's subjects than at this time; that by reason of the too much access and trading of subjects thither, our merchandize were decreased in their value, and the Canary wines, on the other hand, were increased to double their former value; so that the king's subjects were forced to carry silver and bullion thither to get wines; and that all this was owing to want of regulation in trade*. This company, in spite of the *non obstante* in their charter to the statute of monopolies, had judgment given against them in the year 1667, when both houses of parliament, in an address to the king, thanked him for revoking their patent. And the third article of the impeachment of the lord chancellor Clarendon, by the house of commons, directly charges him with having received great sums of money for procuring this and other illegal patents.

This year (according to the supplement to Puffendorf's Introduction to the history of Europe) the state of Genoa made the first attempt for a treaty of commerce with Turkey, by their envoy going thither, under the protection of Count Lesley, the imperial ambassador, though much opposed by France. But (says de Mailly, *V. iii, l. 17*) with all their endeavours they were not able to put off a sufficiency of their woollen cloth, in the goodness of which they were excelled by the English and Dutch, nor of their silver coin of five sols, (counterfeited from the French coin of that name, then in great credit in Turkey) which the Turks named themins, to support the expense and dignity of their resident at Constantinople, and their consul at Smyrna; so that this attempt proved abortive. They again made a fresh attempt for this purpose in the year 1675, which also proved abortive, and we have not heard, that they have ever attempted it since. The Genoese, in their first attempt, took advantage of the assistance which France had afford-

* The word *regulation* was in those days much used, but little understood, and often misapplied. *A.*

ed to the emperor in Hungary, and to the Venetians, in defence of Candia. Yet, though those aids made a difference between France and the Ottoman Port for a while, Louis XIV found means, in the year 1673, to renew his commerce with Turkey; which Colbert now began seriously to think of, though retarded for the above reasons.

1666.—The English fleet, under Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, fought the Dutch admiral de Ruyter for four days successively; in which conflicts the English are said to have lost 23 ships, and 6000 men killed, with the admirals Sir William Berkley, and Sir Christopher Mynes, besides 2600 men taken prisoners by the Dutch, who allege, that they lost only six ships, 2800 soldiers, and 80 seamen; with three of their admirals, and sundry officers. In August, this same year, another sea-fight gave England the advantage; and, in the Mediterranean, the French joined the Dutch with 36 ships, in hopes to ruin the English trade in those parts. A French Squadron likewise joining the Dutch fleet near Dunkirk, obliged ours to retire with the loss of one of our fifty-gun ships. These terrible conflicts are very variously represented by the writers of the opposite nations, and, in some respects, by different English writers.

The vain and ridiculous competition (as Voltaire calls it, in his *Age of Louis XIV*) between England and Holland, for the honour of the flag, and also concerning the commerce to East-India, having kindled the war between those two nations, Louis XIV with pleasure beheld them destroying each other, by the most obstinate sea-fights that had been ever seen before in any age of the world; all the fruits whereof (as the same author justly remarks) were merely the weakening of both nations. Thus, says he, the sovereignty of the seas was for some time divided between those two nations, and the art of ship-building, and of employing them in commerce and in war, was perfectly known only by them. France, under Richlieu's ministry, esteemed herself powerful at sea, because that of 60 ships then in her ports, she could put to sea about 30, of which only one carried 70 cannon. Under Mazarine, the few ships France had were purchased of the Dutch. France was in want of officers, sailors, manufactures, and, in short, of every thing needful for shipping. In the years 1664 and 1665, while the English and Dutch covered the Ocean with near 300 large ships of war, Louis XIV had not above 15 or 16 of the lowest rates; but he used his utmost efforts to efface the shame thereof in the most sudden and effectual manner.

This year, the English colony in St. Christophers, in the West-Indies, was overpowered by that of France, in the same island; and they were entirely dispossessed of all their plantations, which, however, were restored four years after. It was surely very ill-judged in both nations to plant on the same small island, which, however, was not entirely reme-

died, until, by the treaty of Utrecht, France ceded the whole to Great Britain.

Parliament having found the act [15 *Car. II*, c. 8] for preventing the importation of foreign live cattle ineffectual, now enacted, that all great cattle, sheep, and swine, and also beef, pork, or bacon, imported, except for necessary provision, should be forfeited, the importation of fat or lean cattle, alive or dead, being unnecessary, destructive of the welfare of the kingdom, and a public nuisance *. And for the better encouragement of the fishery, the importation or sale of ling, herring, cod, or pilchards, fresh or salted, dried or bloated, and of salmon, eels, or congers, taken by foreigners, was also prohibited; and any person whatever was empowered to seize the same, half for his own use, the other half for the poor of the parish: proviso, that 600 head of black cattle, of the breed of the isle of Man, might annually be imported at Chester only. The term of this act was for seven years, and to the end of the first session of the next parliament. [18 *Car. II*, c. 2.]

It was prolonged and further strengthened by two subsequent acts [20 *Car. II*, c. 7; 32 *Car. II*, c. 2] by the later of which it was extended to mutton, lamb, butter, and cheese, from Ireland: yet by reason of a late very great dearth of provisions in the year 1757, an act of parliament allowed the importation of salted beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland.

Concerning these laws for prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, many people think them in the main to be hurtful, and that it would be wiser to suffer the Irish to be employed in breeding and fattening cattle for us, than to turn their lands into sheep-walks, as at present, whereby they are led, in spite of all our laws to the contrary, to supply foreign nations with their wool, to our very great detriment. Of this opinion was the great Sir William Temple (in his *Miscellanies*), and later experience has confirmed it.

By a statute for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures of England [18 *Car. II*, c. 4], it was enacted, that no person should be buried in any shirt, shift, or sheet, made of or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold, or silver, or other than what shall be made of wool only, upon forfeiture of L5 to the poor of the parish, towards a stock or work-house for their employment.

This is certainly a wise and salutary law, as it is a means of consuming a considerable quantity of our slight woollen manufactures: yet such is the vanity of too many, that they will rather forfeit L5, than be instrumental in promoting our own most important manufacture.

* Sir William Petty (in his *Political Survey of Ireland*) says that before this statute took place three fourths of the foreign trade of Ireland was with England, but not one fourth of it since that time. *A*.

Another good law was made for encouraging the coinage of gold and silver [18 *Car. II, c. 5*] whereby both natives and foreigners were entitled to receive out of the mint an equal quantity of gold and silver coin for what crown gold or sterling silver they should bring thither, and in the same proportion for over or under fineness, without any expense whatever; the charge of which coinage was now to be defrayed by a tax on wines, spirits, vinegar, cyder, and beer, imported.

The island of Antigua, one of the Caribbees in the West-India seas, about 20 miles in length and almost as broad, by reason of its having no fresh-water brooks, was for a long time deemed almost uninhabitable; and it was probably for that reason that some English families from the neighbouring island of St. Christophers, who had settled there about the year 1632, soon deserted it again. Lord Willoughby de Parham, having obtained a grant of it from King Charles in the year 1663, now planted a colony on it, and it has prospered extremely, being the best English colony of the Caribbees next after Barbados and St. Christophers. It is noted for the best harbours in all the Caribbee islands, though somewhat dangerous coming into them without a skilful pilot. It is much troubled with hurricanes, often doing much hurt on shore, as well as on the adjacent seas. It is now well fortified at proper distances; and by means of tanks, or cisterns, they make a tolerable shift to supply themselves with rain-water. They raise and send home to Britain great quantities of sugar, rum, and melasses; and many of the planters make very considerable fortunes, and settle in Britain. Yet for want of a sufficiency of fresh water, their shipping are obliged to take in their water at St. Christophers, which is a considerable inconvenience.

The most extensive and dreadful conflagration, that ever happened to the city of London, broke out this year on the 2d of September, burning no fewer than 13,200 houses, and most of the churches and corporation-halls; the damage, as has been usually computed, amounting to ten million sterling. So vast a loss of merchandize, treasure, plate, and household furniture, and so immense an expense for rebuilding the city in a more beautiful, convenient, and substantial, manner than it ever was before, was undoubtedly a great shock and obstruction for some time to the commerce of London: yet the noble city, by redoubling its diligence, did in a few years recover its pristine foreign and domestic trade, and has since so very much increased in both, as to be, beyond all doubt, at present the greatest commercial city in the world. By the aid of two acts of parliament, it was sooner and more beautifully rebuilt than could have been reasonably expected, considering the great necessity there was for dispatch for accommodating merchants and traders.

Since that terrible conflagration, the increase of our foreign commerce and our home manufactures has been so great, that the suburbs of the city, as well as the adjacent villages and hamlets, have so vastly increased, as in point of magnitude, though not of wealth, to vie with, and taken together, even to surpass, the city itself; particularly the vast increase of the hamlet of Spitalfields occasions surprise to all who know, or have heard from their friends of but one or two generations backward, that almost all that space of ground running from Artillery-lane on the east side of Bishopsgate-street quite down to Shoreditch church, next turning eastward towards Bethnal-green, and then south-eastward to Whitechapel road, containing by common estimation between three and four hundred acres of ground, should have since then been built up into almost numberless streets, lanes, alleys, and courts, filled with industrious manufacturers, chiefly in the silk trade, and others depending thereon, to the amount perhaps of above 100,000 people, where probably not one single house stood little above 150 years ago. Another vast increase of buildings on new foundations is the great number of streets contained within the compass of ground still called Goodmans-fields, with Wellclose-square, Ratcliff-highway, and the adjacent streets. Northward there is the greatest part of the village of Hoxton built on since about the year 1688, and all about Old-street, on each side, and up to Islington road, to a place where a wind-mill stood, still called Mount-mill. The fine and extensive street of Hatton-garden, on the site of the single house and garden of the Lord Hatton, the great number of alleys in and about Saffron-hill (formerly called the bishop of Ely's vineyard), Brook-street, Grevil-street, &c. where formerly stood Lord Brook's house and garden, as were also all the streets from the Strand down to the Thames, formerly only noblemen's houses and gardens. Westward, on Red-lion-fields near Holborn, on which ground now stands Red-lion-square and Red-lion-street, and many other streets built in and since the reign of King James II, quite up to Bloomsbury-square (otherwise called Southampton-square), and thence to the town, as it was then called, of St. Giles's in the fields, formerly a detached village, all the vacancy of which was built since 1680. More westward and south-westward still, all the buildings north of the street named Long-acre, up to the place now called the Seven Dials; Covent-garden and its neighbourhood, built up in the reigns of Kings Charles I and II, though some part of it in the memory of many still living; and northward from Leicester-fields and St. Martin's-lane up to Soho and St. Giles's-road, and westward to the farther end of Piccadilly, and from the north side of Piccadilly up to Tyburn-road, including Soho) otherwise named King's) square and Golden-square; and on the south side of Piccadilly, St. James's-square, Pall-mall, St. James's-street, Arling-

ton-street, &c. all which were pasture-grounds till about the year 1680.

In the city of Westminster, strictly so called, since the year 1688 there has been a great increase of buildings towards Tothill-fields, &c. beside the superb streets in our days erected in the vicinity of the new bridge there. Lastly, since the accession of the present royal family, there is so great an addition made to the western suburbs, where stands New Bond-street and the other streets adjoining to Hanover, Cavendish, Grosvenor, and Berkeley, squares, as alone would constitute a considerable and beautiful city; and a considerable addition has been also made in the proper city of Westminster, besides the great additions made to the nearly adjoining villages of Paddington, Chelsea, Knightsbridge, and Kensington, westward, and Marybone, Islington, and Newington, northward, and more eminently to the famous village of Hackney north-eastward; and also eastward to Mile-end, Bow, and Stratford, Wapping, and Limehouse; and a new town growing gradually up south of the Thames from the fine bridge of Westminster, and at Stockwell and Clapham, besides the many streets built on the marsh-grounds of Rotherhithe and Deptford, and also at Greenwich.

Whither indeed can we turn or cast our eyes, east, west, south, or north, where there are not great improvements on new foundations, all arising out of the immense commerce of the antient and noble mercantile city of London?

Before the great conflagration the streets were very narrow, so as in many of them the garrets on each side projected very near each other, the houses being almost wholly of timber, lath, and plaster, each story projecting beyond the next lower one; wherefor, in order to widen many of the more public streets after this great disaster, there were two extensive acts of parliament passed [19 *Car. II*, cc. 2, 3] for determining in a summary way the bounds of houses and streets to be rebuilt in London; and many and great alterations were made for the better in the width of streets and lanes, as in Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, Ludgate-street, St. Paul's churchyard, Cheap-side, Newgate-street, the Poultry, Gracechurch-street, Thames-street, Old Fish-street, and from Cheap-side to the Thames, then a poor, narrow, and crooked, lane called Soper-lane, now Queen-street, a fine new street from Cheap-side up to Guildhall, called King-street, there being no other coach-way thither before the fire but by Laurence-lane. Thames-street was raised three feet*,

* The streets of a populous town, if not paved, must inevitably be raised in the course of ages by the accumulation of rubbish. The workmen, in digging after the great fire, found three different streets above each other, and at twenty feet under the surface discovered Roman walls and tessellated pavements. So often has London been destroyed

and rebuilt, and so deep is Roman London buried by the repeated accumulation of ruins above the original surface. The reader who is desirous of seeing a particular account of the Roman antiquities in and near London, may consult *Stukely, Gale, Maitland*, and particularly *Bagford's Letter*, printed with *Leland's Collectanea*, V. i, p. lviii. M.

to prevent inundations. Conduits, blocking up streets, were removed, and also sundry middle rows of houses in many parts. The new and widened streets were to be at least 24 feet in breadth. Hereby also we learn, that the water-house adjoining to London-bridge had supplied the south side of the city with water for almost a hundred years preceding. From Mincing-lane down a new way to the Customhouse several other streets now passable by coaches were only foot-way thoroughfares, as Princes-street near the new Mansion-house; others were only open by mean gateways, as Shoe-lane, &c. and some, as Bartholomew-lane, behind the royal exchange, had no existence at all.

In order to widen the more public streets, much ground before built on was set apart, such as middle rows of houses in many streets, now quite clear of such nuisances, gateways turned into open streets. On the other hand, it is known that many of the great merchants houses and city-halls stood on much more ground than at present, with gardens and large court-yards; so that, according to some opinions, there were near 4000 more houses erected after this conflagration than had been in the city before, and that consequently there are more people in it. Thus, for a few instances, the famous Exchange-alley, on which so considerable a number of capital tenements now stand, was till that period only one single merchant's house and garden, running between Cornhill and Lombard-street; and the like of Sweething's-alley at the east end of the Royal-exchange. All Crosby-square, though not then burnt down, was, it seems, only the house and garden of Sir James Langham, a merchant. The like might be said of Princes-street, Copt-hall-court, Angel-court, and Warneford-court in Throgmorton-street, and of King's-arms-yard in Coleman-street, formerly single houses, now containing many eminent merchants and traders habitations. Devonshire-square, with the adjoining back streets and alleys, were all built on the earl of Devonshire's house and garden, as were Bridgewater-square and adjoining streets on that of the earl of Bridgewater, which was burnt down in 1687. The ground-plots of many other of the great houses of the nobility and great merchants have had the like improvements some few years before this great fire, though mostly since, such as Prince Rupert's in Barbican, the duchess of Suffolk's in Aldersgate-street, where the earl of Shaftsbury's and the bishop of London's palaces still remain entire, the bishop of Winchester's in Winchester-street, &c. all which, though happening in various periods of time, we have thrown together in this place, that we may not any more have recourse to them hereafter.

This year Captain Sayle, in the service of the new colony of Carolina, in his way thither, was driven by a storm on Providence, the chief of the Bahama or Lucay islands; and on his return to England, with a

report of the condition of those islands, King Charles II now granted them, by a patent to the lords proprietors of Carolina.

Providence, situated in 25 degrees north latitude, is about 28 miles long, and 11 miles broad, lies in the midst of some hundreds, great and small, of dangerously-situated isles, from latitude 22° to 27° to the northward of Cuba, and east of the coast of Florida. Most of them are good for very little, and more noted for frequent shipwrecks, when ships chance to be driven amongst them by stress of weather, and the tempestuousness of those seas, than for any material benefit they can afford us in time of peace, as lying several hundred miles out of the usual course of ships to or from any of our own plantations; yet, when we are at war with other European nations, who have colonies in America, our privateers may be usefully employed thereabout, as also our smaller ships of war, which the port of Nassau in Providence can well receive; whereby, and by a royal squadron stationed at Port-Royal in Carolina, the Spanish plate fleets from the Havanna, in time of war, might be more easily intercepted than by any fleet at Jamaica*. For these reasons it was judged proper to fortify Providence, and establish a regular government in it: for, should it be possessed by any other nation, it might be a means of greatly injuring our American commerce. The Spaniards, jealous of a settlement so near to the Havanna, surprised the English there in the year 1641, burnt their habitations, and murdered the governor, after which it remained a desert, till replanted in 1666. It was again neglected or deserted till about the year 1690, when the proprietors of Carolina once more re-peopled it, and appointed a governor to it. In the year 1703 the French and Spaniards utterly wasted and depopulated the isle of Providence, drove out the English, carried off their negroes, &c. and demolished the fort of Nassau; and so it remained till the reign of King George I, when the house of lords addressed the king, to replant and re-fortify the Bahama isles, where pirates then had their usual retreat. Whereupon, in the year 1718, Captain Woods Rogers was sent regal governor to Providence, to whom most of the pirates submitted, and accepted the king's pardon; and it has ever since remained a regal colony, where there is a small town named Nassau, with two good and well-designed forts, erected in the year 1745, so as to be now in a very good state of defence against any enemy. Besides this principal island of Providence, there are small British settlements on Harbour-island, and on Eleuthera, and a few families on some other of those islands, who join with the inhabitants of Providence in the choice of 20 assembly-men, to represent them all. Those isles abound with many sorts of good, and some very uncommon, timbers, and with plenty of

* The advantages, which may arise from the local situation of these islands in a war with Spain, were clearly explained to government by Captain Rogers in the year 1728. A.

stones and lime : on Exuma there is excellent salt, and they have made some essays at sugar-canes. The whole white people in them were lately said to be about 2000. But the condition of such places is usually so fluctuating, more especially in time of war, that we can say little more of them at present.

By a state of the Dutch East-India company's affairs, published this year, it appears that their settlement on the Cape of Good Hope was already in a pretty good condition ; their garrison consisted of 500 men, and their new fort was nearly completed : they indeed complained of some want of slaves for the cultivation of their lands, but their vines and olive trees prospered very well.

1667.—What Alderman Cockayne had fruitlessly attempted for seven years together, (from 1608 to 1615) was effected in the year 1667 by making use of proper workmen, and taking other prudent measures. For one Brewer from the Netherlands came over to England with his servants, and had due encouragement from the crown for instructing our people in dying and dressing the finest white woollen cloths, which were thereby brought to the greatest perfection before their exportation.

Since Captain Fox's and Captain James's attempts for a north-west passage through Hudson's bay in the years 1631 and 1633; we hear of no more such till the year 1667, that sundry persons of worth and distinction who had been for some years before consulting about that voyage and discovery, fitted out a ship with merchandize from London, under the command of Captain Gillam, who passed through Hudson's straits, and so into Baffin's bay, as far as 75 degrees northward : next he sailed as far southward as to 51 degrees, odd minutes, where, in the river he named after Prince Rupert, one of the adventurers, he built Charles's fort, the first we ever had in Hudson's bay ; and he was the first that ever practised any thing like real commerce in that bay. Gillam carried with him two Frenchmen, who had lived at Quebec in Canada, and who, upon the information of an Indian there, that the French, by travelling farther north, would come to a great bay or sea, had gone home to France to solicit for ships to sail into Hudson's bay, but their proposal being slighted by the French court, our ambassador there picked them up and sent them to England, where the noble adventurers employed them as above *.

* Before this time a small settlement had been formed by some Englishmen, who had fortified a post on Port-Nelson river. They were surprised and made prisoners by Groseillier, the chief of the two Frenchmen mentioned by Mr. Anderson. Some disputes, between Groseillier and those he was connected with in Canada, obliged him to seek for redress at Paris, where the neglect of the government threw him into the arms of Mr. Mon-

tague the English ambassador. Groseillier had also found some of the men belonging to a ship from Boston in New-England, who had been left at Port-Nelson river by their ship driving out to sea.

These particulars, together with a circumstantial account of Gillam's voyage, may be found in *Forster's Discoveries in the North*, p. 376 of the English translation. M.

France and Holland being willing to treat of a peace, plenipotentiaries met at Breda; and a peace between England and France was concluded, whereby the latter ceded to England all their part of the isle of St. Christophers, together with Antigua and Montserrat. On the other hand, the English court, not then knowing or duly weighing the importance of the country of Acadia, or Acadie, part of Nova-Scotia, yielded it to France.

A treaty was also concluded between England and Holland, whereby it was agreed, that both parties should retain what they then possessed. But before it was quite concluded, the king, imagining the peace to be certain, (some say too, for saving the money granted by parliament for less valuable ends) omitted to fit out his principal fleet to sea; the Dutch at the instigation of the French court, sent over De Ruyter with 70 ships of war, who, entering the mouth of the river Thames, took the fort of Sheerness, which he blew up, with a great quantity of naval and military stores, &c. Thence sending Van Ghent with part of his fleet up the river Medway to Chatham, where many of our capital ships lay, they burnt four (the Dutch say six) of them, and brought off the hull of the Royal Charles: but two or three of the Dutch ships running aground, they burnt them to prevent their falling into our hands, and so returned in triumph to their own coast. But as the peace was now too far gone to break it off, it was soon after signed. We shall here only farther take notice, that the fort at Sheerness has since been rebuilt in so substantial and judicious a manner, as probably will prevent any such daring attempt hereafter.

The disaster at Chatham created great uneasiness in London, especially among those who had trusted the London goldsmiths with money at a moderate interest, which they had advanced to the king at a much higher interest, on the security of his revenue as it should come in, the creditors of these bankers being justly apprehensive lest a sudden stop should be put to their payments at the exchequer. The king therefor, in order to quiet such uneasiness in the people, who were continually demanding their money of the goldsmiths or bankers, issued his declaration for preserving inviolably the course of payments in his exchequer, both with regard to principal and interest: although in less than five years we shall see that he absolutely disregarded this solemn declaration.

At the treaty of Breda the English ministers at first insisted on the Dutch East-India company's restoring the spice isle of Poleroon; Cromwell had indeed obliged them, in 1654, to restore it: yet the Dutch had again seized on it in the year 1664. But at length Poleroon was agreed to be left to the Dutch, though it is said to yield the best nutmegs and mace of all the Molucca isles.

Nothing could more effectually demonstrate the excellency of the

English navigation act, than the Dutch plenipotentiaries so strenuously insisting, at this treaty of Breda, that that law was destructive of their commerce, and should therefor be made void. Yet, though our ministers durst not go so far, it was stipulated, that all merchandize brought down the Rhine from Germany to the staple at Dort, should be deemed the same as if they were of the growth of Holland, and might consequently be transported to England in Dutch bottoms.

And whereas, during the war, the English colony at Surinam on the coast of Guiana had been attacked, and had surrendered to the Zealand Squadron, and considering that the *uti possidetis* was agreed at this treaty to be the basis thereof, that colony was therefor yielded to the Dutch, which England had never made of any great importance to her commerce, though there were some fine sugar plantations then in it, and also some tobacco ones, the later not good for much. Surinam has ever since been in their possession: and by the same rule, the fine province of New-York, a much nobler exchange, was confirmed to England. Lastly, it was stipulated by this peace, that Dutch ships of war as well as merchant ships, which shall meet any English ships of war within the four seas surrounding Great Britain, shall strike the flag and lower the topsail, as formerly. But the heirs of Sir William Courten received no satisfaction for the capture of his two ships in India by the Dutch East-India company, after much stir made about it for many years past. It was, on the whole, rather a dishonourable peace for us, and an honourable and advantageous peace for the Dutch: for, although they hereby quitted all pretensions to New-York, it was purely because they were before quite dispossessed of it, and, being surrounded by the other English colonies, they could never have been able to regain or keep possession of it. The province of New-York is said by some to have, on trial, yielded as good tobacco as Virginia or Maryland. It produces great quantities of corn, and has a profitable trade for furs and peltry with the Indians, and with the sugar isles for its horses and provisions of all kinds, and pipe-staves, as also to Madeira and the Azores.

We are at length arrived at somewhat like a pacification between England and Spain in the American seas, where till now both nations had in some degree kept up a state of hostility, even while they lived peaceably together in Europe. By this time indeed Spain's old pretensions to an universal sovereignty in the American seas were become obsolete; yet till now both nations took advantages of each other in those parts. The improving spirit of the English, and the great declension of Spain's power, had gained them considerable ground in America. King Charles nevertheless thought it prudent at this time to agree to a general pacification with Spain in America, in a treaty of peace and alliance concluded with that crown; the eighth article where-

of, being the only one relating to America, or any particular commercial point, runs in the following strain, viz.

‘ We do mutually agree to remain on the same footing with regard to our American commerce, upon which the states-general of the United provinces of the Netherlands were put by the sixth article of the treaty of Munster, between Spain and the states-general in the year 1648, which runs in the following words, viz.

‘ As to the West-Indies, the subjects and inhabitants of the said lords, the king and the states-general respectively, shall forbear failing to and trading in any of the harbours, places, &c. possessed by the one or the other party, viz. the subjects of the said lord the king shall not fail to, or trade in, those held and possessed by the said lords the states, nor shall the subjects of the said lords the states fail to or trade in those held and possessed by the said lord the king of Spain.’

This eighth article, though thus loosely expressed, was at least a tacit agreement of the *uti possidetis* in America, and was introductory of another more explicit treaty three years after.

About this time France, in the ministry of the sharp-sighted Colbert, set on foot the famous tapestry manufacture at the Gobelins in Paris, for this end, procuring from all foreign parts, drawers, designers, painters, dyers, and engravers, also workers in gold, silver, ivory, brass, &c. which, under the direction of the famous Le Brun, were brought to great perfection, and thereby much money kept at home, which before was sent abroad for such ornaments and curiosities: as also every possible means was used for improving old manufactures and introducing new ones, and new branches of commerce. By such measures, France soon became the great rival and supplanter of England and Holland in most foreign markets, as in Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, more particularly for woollen goods, with which, till after this time, the two former nations supplied most of the countries of Europe. Yet in some respects the French overshot the mark, as even their countryman Huet, in his Memoirs of the Dutch commerce, observes: for, ‘ by laying such high duties on all foreign merchandize imported, and pretending to sell their own merchandize to other nations without buying any from them, they vainly imagined that foreign nations could not be without French wares, for which too, they would pay ready money to France, whilst the French took off none of theirs. This,’ he observes, ‘ made both the English and Dutch set up many of the manufactures which they were wont to have from France, and who, especially the Dutch, sold them in imitation of those of France, much cheaper than France could afford to do, such, particularly, as broad silks, gold and silver brocades, ribands, laces, hats, hardware, watches, toys, paper, &c. and have since been wonderfully successful therein.’ We may add, that in England our broad silk manufacture

has been brought to great perfection, as also that of hardware, watches, and haberdashery; and our paper, quite a modern manufacture, so far improved, as to save great sums formerly paid to France.

1668.—In January 1668, N. S. King Charles concluded with the states-general of the United provinces of the Netherlands a defensive alliance; and in February following, a treaty of commerce, in substance as follows, viz.

Articles I, II) The king's subjects may freely trade with such kingdoms and states with whom he is in peace, although the states-general should happen to be at war with the said kingdoms and states; which freedom shall extend to all kinds of merchandize but contraband goods.

III) By contraband goods are meant all sorts of fire arms, gunpowder, and military instruments of war: also ropes, horses, saltpetre, horse accoutrements, saddles, bridles, &c.

IV) But provisions of all kinds for the sustenance of life may be carried freely even to the enemies of the states, excepting only to towns besieged or invested.

V) English ships entering laden into any of the ports of the states, with an intention to sail thence to places at war with them, shall only be obliged to produce their passports, containing an attested inventory of their lading, and then may freely proceed.

VI, VII, VIII) Other means to be used, where there may be just ground for suspicion of carrying contraband merchandize.

IX) Contraband goods, found in English ships bound to the ports of enemies of the states, shall be taken out; but neither the ship nor the other merchandize shall be seized.

X) Merchandize sent by the king's subjects in ships belonging to the enemies of the states, even though not contraband, shall be forfeited together with the other goods in such ships: but, on the other hand, whatever is found onboard British ships, though the lading, or part of it, should belong to the enemies of the states, shall be free, except they be contraband goods.

XI) And the subjects and ships of the states-general shall, in all respects, enjoy all the before and after named privileges allowed to the king's subjects and ships, in reference to trade and navigation on the coasts and in the ports of the king's dominions.

XII, XIII, XIV) No violence nor injury shall be offered by British ships and subjects to those of the states, and *vice versa*; and the commanders of privateers, before they put to sea, shall give security to the value of £1500 or 15,000 guilders for this end: but if a commander of any English ship shall take a vessel laden with prohibited goods, he shall not be allowed to open chests, &c. nor to sell, barter, or make away with, them, till brought on shore in the presence of the officers for prizes: and unless the prohibited goods make only a part of the lading,

in which case they shall be presently taken out, that the ship may pursue her voyage.

XV, XVI, XVII) The king promises to do all possible right and justice in the case of prizes, and, in case of the states' ministers complaining of any injustice in the sentences passed, the same shall be reviewed by his council in three months space. Neither shall the controverted goods be sold nor disposed of in the meantime, unless perishable, but by the consent of the parties complaining, who, if they get a sentence in their favour, either in the first or second instance, such sentence, upon giving security, shall be put in execution, although the other appeal to a higher court: but not against the opponents, if the sentence should be pronounced in their favour. And finally, all the foregoing stipulations shall be equally observed by the states in respect to the suits of the king's subjects. [*Collection of treaties, V. i, p. 136, ed. 1732.*]

The ingenious author of a treatise, entitled the British merchant, and many other writers, loudly and justly complain of the too much encouragement given to the consumption of French wines and brandies, silks, linens, hats, &c. He observes, that, though a duty of 4d a quart was this year laid upon French wines, which raised their retail price from 8d to 1s, we still took off prodigious quantities of them, and of almost every other species of French merchandize, while the French were continually diminishing their consumption of English manufactures and merchandize by new and high impositions, obstructions, and at length prohibitions: insomuch that the general balance of the trade of England for this same year was most grievously to our loss, viz.

Imported into England from all the world	-	L4,196,139	17	0
Exported	-	2,063,274	19	0

The imports exceed the exports, the sum of L2,132,864 18 0

This great national loss was owing to our having a full trade with France. That full trade being afterwards prohibited, the general balance in 1699, was got to be so far in our favour as L1,147,660:10:9. Total gained by us, from having no trade with France in the year 1699, L3,280,525:8:9, which balance, in the year 1703, was increased to L2,117,523:3:10½. Total gained by us, from our having no trade with France in the year 1703, L4,250,388:1:10½. A most interesting consideration.

At this time also the laudable English fashions of former times began to alter in favour of France. The women's hats were turned into hoods made of French silk, whereby every maid-servant in England became a standing revenue to the French king of the half of her wages. Many hats for men were likewise brought from France, which also supplied

Italy with woollen goods, made of English wool run to them; in return for Italian silk, which France manufactured, and sold to England to pay for that wool. And whilst they laid such high duties on our woollen cloths as amounted to a prohibition, we were in a manner totally supplied with their linens, beside their wines, brandies, paper, &c. [*British merchant*, V. iii, p. 315, ed. 1713.]

This year the king, by the persuasion of Lord Ashley, the chancellor of the exchequer, instituted a council of commerce, consisting of a president, vice-president, and nine other counsellors*, who, instead of the former method of referring all commercial matters to a fluctuating committee of the privy council, which was liable to many objections, were to apply themselves diligently to the advancement of the nation's commerce, colonies, manufactures, and shipping. But as this king was never long constant in any very laudable regulation, he, a few years after, laid aside so very beneficial an institution, too expensive also for him to spare from his pleasures, whereby commercial concerns fell into the former way of a reference to a committee of the privy council.

At length France was induced to conclude a peace with Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle, though on the following very disadvantageous terms for the later; Spain now ceding to France the towns and forts of Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Doway, Fort Scarp, Tournay, Lisle, Audenard, Armentiers, Courtray, Bergues, and Furnes, together with their bailywicks, chatellanies, territories, and dependencies. Thus France got a firm footing in the very heart of the Spanish Netherlands, whereby the balance of power between those two great nations was shamefully suffered by King Charles to be quite destroyed; who, had he had any great regard for England's commercial interests, or for the equilibrium of Europe in general, might have undoubtedly prevented it. Yet Louis XIV scarcely kept to this peace for so long as two years time, without making farther encroachments on the declining monarchy of Spain. At this time, however, Louis found himself obliged to restore to Spain the county of Burgundy, commonly called Franche Compté, the invasion of which and of the Netherlands had obliged Spain to make peace with, and renounce all pretensions on, Portugal.

The king granted a new charter to the famous Cinque-ports, situated on the coasts of Kent and Suffex, whereby he confirmed their antient privileges, with some new regulations, more suitable to modern times, relating to taxes and the election of their officers, &c. now of no use to our purpose. Since our vast increase of the royal navy these Cinque-ports are no more of any great importance, though, as we have more than once shewn, they were greatly useful to our Norman race of kings in their expeditions to the continent, and also in case of threatened

* The president had a salary of £800, the vice-president £600, and the counsellors £500 each.

invasions from thence, before there was any royal navy properly so called.

The timber of the king's forest of Dean in Gloucestershire being of late much destroyed, an act of parliament directed, that eleven thousand acres of the waste lands in that forest should be inclosed, for the growth and preservation of oak-timber for the supply of the royal navy, and the maintenance of shipping for the trade of this nation. [20 *Car. II*, c. 3.]

1669.—The author of the *Happy future state of England* acquaints us, that in the year 1669 there was 23,680 lb. weight of linen-yarn imported from Scotland into the port of London. He also relates, that at this time the French protestants settled at Ipswich made linen of 15/ per ell.

De Witt, the judicious author of the *Interest of Holland*, has the following observations upon the improving commerce and power of England during about a century preceding this time. He says, ' that when ' the compulsive laws of the Netherland halls drove the cloth-weaving ' from the cities to the villages, and thence into England, and the cruelty of the duke of Alva drove the say-weaving after it, the English began to vend their manufactures throughout Europe: they became potent at sea, and no longer depended on the Netherlands. Also by the discovery of the inexpressibly rich cod-bank of Newfoundland the people of Bristol in particular were enriched. Moreover, the long persecution of puritans in England has occasioned the planting of many English colonies in America, whereby they drive a mighty foreign trade thither. So that this mighty island united with Ireland under one king,—seated in the midst of Europe, having a clear deep coast, with good havens and bays, in so narrow a sea, that all foreign ships that sail either to the eastward or westward are necessitated, even in fair weather, to shun the dangerous French coast, and sail along that of England, and in stormy weather to run in and preserve their lives, ships, and merchandize, in its bays: so that England now, by its conjunction with Scotland, being much increased in strength, as well by manufactures as by a great navigation, will in all respects be formidable to all Europe; for, according to the proverb, a master at sea is a lord at land; and more especially a king of England, seeing he is able, both by whole fleets and private ships of war, at all times to seize on ships sailing by that coast; the westerly winds, which blow for the most part of the year on this side of the tropic, giving the English great opportunities to sail out of their numerous bays and harbours at pleasure to infest our navigation: of which formidable power King Henry VIII was so sensible, that he dared to use this device; *cui adbareo præest*, i. e. he whom I assist shall be master: and he accordingly made war as he listed; sometimes against France, at other times

‘ against Spain, though then strengthened with the German empire and
 ‘ these Netherlands ; making peace at his own pleasure both with King
 ‘ Francis I and with the emperor Charles V, whom he dared so horri-
 ‘ bly to despise as to repudiate his aunt Queen Catherine.’

Thus this able minister of state lays down an immutably interesting lesson for Britain, viz. ever to be superior to any other nation on the Ocean, whereby we shall ever be superior in commerce ; and while thereby we preserve our great influence in the councils of the nations on the continent of Europe, we shall increase our wealth, and preserve our independence, and consequently our liberty. Neither need we on this subject to observe, that our superiority must ever be very considerable, not only on account of the guard of our own extensive coasts, but also for the protection of our commerce in all the four quarters of the earth. This will ever be our great palladium ; and, according to the poet,

‘ We then most happy, who can fear no force,
 ‘ But winged troops and Pegasean horse !’

WALLER.

This year the French prime minister Colbert brought Van Robais, a Dutch merchant, from Holland, to settle with 500 workmen at Abbeville in Picardy, where a new manufacture for superfine woollen broad cloth was very successfully set on foot. It is superfluous to recite all the privileges, immunities, and sums of money, bestowed on him and his workmen. From 30 looms, in the year 1681, he was encouraged to set up 50. In 1698 Van Robais’s looms amounted to 80, and in 1708 they exceeded 100 in number. The French king, to do the greater honour to this new manufactory, gave leave to the noblesse to be concerned in it, without detracting from their nobility. And to encourage the sale of these and other French woollen goods in Turkey, he advanced money to the merchants of Marseilles out of his treasury, to be repaid after the return of their ships from Turkey, whereby that city has gradually supplanted England and Holland of much of their Turkey trade. And the apprehensions of some people go so far as to think Marseilles will be able in time to engross the whole of it.

France at this time, as has been already observed, began to abound in all kinds of curious manufactures, toys, &c. with which they supplied every part of Europe. One most material thing, however, they hitherto wanted, for completing their superiority over the rest of the world, viz. a superiority of naval power. De Witt, who at this time wrote his *Interest of Holland*, observes, [*part ii, c. 7*] that the French have very few ships and mariners of their own ; so that all their traffic is driven by Dutch ships, and to Holland, or at least by unloading there, some few English ships and traffic excepted : and when any goods are to be transported from one French harbour to another, they are put on-

board ships of Holland. This was the case in his time. Voltaire (in his Age of Louis XIV) says, that this great prince soon after granted a bounty of five livres per ton for every new ship built in France, whereby shipping soon became more plenty: yet he says, that so ignorant were they then in France, that not a few condemned those wise measures as pernicious.

With respect to the woollen manufactures, there is a general mistake prevails with many even to this day, in imagining that the fine broad cloth in France is principally supported by our English run wool, seeing it is well known that the real superfine cloth everywhere must be entirely of Spanish wool, and therefor often called Spanish cloths; and that though the second sort of French cloth is much meliorated by the help of our fine short wool, yet for the most part the best wool of France alone may do well enough for their coarse cloths. And it is principally for their fine stuffs, hose, caps, &c. that the French find our soft and long combing wool (the best of its kind in all Europe) absolutely necessary, seeing, without a certain proportion thereof mixed up with their own wool, they cannot make those fine goods fit for the markets of Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Moreover, by running our wool to Ham-burgh, Holland, Flanders, France, &c. those countries are enabled to manufacture those stuffs and stockings, to the great detriment of our own manufacturers.

The French in our days take from us no other commodities than what they can farther improve or manufacture; or such as they cannot as yet be without, viz. raw hides, leather, beef, and butter, chiefly from Ireland; and also much leaf tobacco.

De Witt estimates the increase of the commerce and navigation of Holland in the short space of time from the pacification with Spain, in the year 1648, to this year 1669, to be fully one half. He observes that, during the war with Holland, Spain lost the bulk of her naval power: and since the peace the Dutch have mostly beat the Easterlings and the English out of the trade to Spain, all the coasts of which country are navigated chiefly by Dutch shipping; and for want of ships and sailors of their own, Spain has now openly begun to hire Dutch ships to sail to her Indies, though formerly so careful to exclude all foreigners from thence: and so great is the supply of Dutch manufactures to Spain, &c. that all the merchandize brought from the Spanish West-Indies is not sufficient to make returns for them; so that the Dutch carry home the balance in money. [*Interest of Holland, part ii, c. 8.*]

The same great author, for the better illustration of the increase of the Dutch commerce and of their people, has exhibited the computed number of the inhabitants of the province of Holland and West-Friesland at this time, with the several means whereby they are supported, viz.

	<i>Persons.</i>
By the fisheries at sea, and the several trades and traffic depending thereon - - - - -	450,000
By agriculture of all kinds, turf-making, inland fishing; and by furnishing those people with all sorts of materials, they being husbandmen - - - - -	200,000
By manufactures, shipping, works of art, &c. consumed abroad; and by trades relating to the said manufactures	650,000
By navigating for freight and trade jointly, exclusive of the fishery and trades depending thereon. - - - - -	250,000
By all the above people, (men, women, and children) who must be supplied with what they want; as food, clothing, housing, furniture, and all other things for art, ease, pleasure, and ornament - - - - -	650,000
Gentry without employment, civil magistrates, and officers, and such as live on their estates or money, soldiers, the poor in hospitals, beggars, &c. - - - - -	200,000
Total number of souls in the single province of Holland	2,400,000

He adds, ' that the eighth part of this number could not be supplied with necessaries out of the product of Holland, it being their gain by traffic, which brings in the necessaries for the other seven eighth parts of the whole people.'

He also observes, [*part iii, c. 6*] that the city of Amsterdam hath been enlarged two parts in three: and yet none can observe that either the houses or the inhabitants are thereby lessened in value. Yea, that it is so augmented in buildings, that the imposts on the bulky goods of that city only, in the last farm, yielded above 30,000 gilders more than in the former farm; and we may affirm the like of Leyden, Dort, and other cities in proportion.

In this same year the Dutch East-India company, after a long contest with the king of Macassar, obliged him to yield to them the fortresses of that name.

King Charles having now received intelligence that the Spaniards had abandoned the most part of the great province of Chili in South America, was advised to attempt a settlement in a country so greatly abounding in gold, &c.: he therefor sent out Sir John Narborough, with a ship of 36 guns and a pink; with orders to make discoveries on that coast, and in other parts of the South seas. He passed the straits of Magellan, and sailed along the coasts of Patagonia and Chili; but, as his orders were express not to molest the Spaniards in those parts, and as the Spaniards at Baldivia would not permit him to trade with the Indians, and had seized his lieutenant and three of his sailors, he judged it prudent to

return home; which he accordingly did by the same Magellanic straits; which probably none after him has ever attempted, as the voyage round Cape Horne into the South seas is everywhere so far better. He arrived in England in the year 1671; and his observations and draughts were afterwards published. Such a settlement as was hereby proposed to be made in so remote a part of the world from England, in so tempestuous an ocean, and with so obstinate a people as the Chilese, would have probably been attended with almost insuperable difficulties; since Spain itself, though possessed of the countries north and east of Chili, has had enough to do to preserve their footing there.

After an obstinate siege of 20 months, the Turks took the capital of Candia (or Crete) from the Venetians, and thereby completed their conquest of the island. As Candia lies directly in the way of the navigation to and from Constantinople, the Turkish isles of the archipelago, Egypt, &c. it was a great eye-fore to them whilst in the possession of Venice. It is commonly remarked that, ever since this conquest, the naval power of Turkey has greatly decreased; possibly, because, since being possessed of Candia, they are more secured and uninterrupted in their communication with Egypt and their other levantine provinces. Formerly the Turks were very formidable in those seas; and indeed sundry parts of their dominions afford great abundance of materials for ship-building and naval stores; but as they never were much, and now less than ever, addicted to commerce, this reason alone is sufficient to account for the present decayed state of their marine.

It was about this time that the French East-India company abandoned their settlement in Madagascar, as not finding it worth keeping, and transferred their principal residence to Surat in India. Soon after, the king, by the patronage of Colbert, granted them the haven of Port Louis in Bretagne, for their ships; in virtue of which grant they afterwards established their warehouses, ships, and magazines, at what they named Port L'Orient, near Port Louis. Colbert also obtained for this company a remission of 3 millions of livres due to the king, and an exemption from all duties on their imported merchandize; notwithstanding all which, at his death, in the year 1683, their affairs were in a declining condition.

1670.—It was about this time that the wear of the flimsy muslins from India was first introduced into England: before which time our more natural and usual wear was cambrics, Silesia lawns, and such kind of fine flaxen linens, from Flanders and Germany, in return for our woollen manufactures of various kinds, exported to those countries in very considerable quantities.

An additional act of parliament was passed for rebuilding London, uniting sundry parishes, rebuilding the cathedral of St. Paul, and the parochial churches, whereby Pater-noster row, Warwick lane, Watling

street, Candlewick street, Eastcheap, Swithin's lane, Little Wood street, Milk street, Tower street, Water lane, (near the custom-house) Rood lane, St. Mary-hill, Thames street from London bridge to Puddle-dock, Pye-corner, Threadneedle street, and the passage at Holborn bridge, were directed to be widened; and the Royal exchange, Gildhall, the Sessions-house in the Old bailey, and the city prisons to be enlarged. Two shillings more per chaldron were laid on coals; in all three shillings. One fourth part of all monies appropriated for rebuilding parish churches was to be applied for rebuilding St. Paul's cathedral. The channel of Bridewell-dock, from the Thames to Holborn bridge, (now known by the name of Fleet-ditch, though it will soon lose that name also) was ordered to be made navigable. Also a new street to be made from the west end of Threadneedle street into Lothbury, (this is Princess street). Two posterns for foot passengers to be made at Ludgate, and the gate to be enlarged. [22 *Car. II*, c. 11.]

At this time King Charles II was enabled by two acts of parliament, [22 *Car. II*, c. 6; 22, 23 *Car. II*, c. 24] to alienate his fee-farm rents, the purchase-money of which was presently squandered away, under pretence of paying the king's debts bearing interest. These rents were a noble income and resource to the crown, which surely no wise king would ever have alienated, on any pretence whatever. The purchasers had very cheap bargains of those rents, though now they sell at very high prices. Thus this improvident monarch completed what his predecessors had begun and carried very far, viz. to render themselves absolutely dependent on their parliaments; which should be very far from displeasing the true friends of England's liberty.

In spite of prohibitions and penalties, tobacco was still cultivated in England; wherefor a new act was passed to prohibit it: whereby the peace officers were directed to search for and prevent tobacco growing within their respective bounds; and to destroy the same wherever found: with a proviso, however, as formerly, of allowing it to the physic gardens of both universities, or other private gardens for physic or surgery, so as any one such plantation exceed not the compass of half a pole or perch for every such garden. [22, 23 *Car. II*, c. 26.] To this act there was added a clause, expressly repealing the word *Ireland*, in the act 12 *Car. II*, c. 18; so that now the product of the English plantations brought to Europe must be first landed in England only, before they be reshipped for other parts.

We have seen, under the year 1667, that till that year there was not the least mention of America in any treaty between England and Spain; the later willing to keep up her antient claims in that country, and the former determined to keep and improve the footing she had gained there. The feeble condition of Spain, however, at length brought her to reasonable conditions: and as the eighth article of the treaty of

1667 was thought too general by the Spanish ministry, they earnestly applied to the English court for a more clear and explanatory treaty relating to America; which was accordingly complied with by the king of England, upon the king of Spain agreeing to recognize the former's right to all the American dominions he was possessed of in this year, 1670; when Sir William Godolphin, the English minister at Madrid, concluded the following treaty, viz.

Article I and II) There shall be an universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship in America, as well as in all other parts of the world, between the two nations.

III and IV) All enmities, hostilities, &c. shall henceforth cease between the two kings and their subjects: and for this end both sides are to forbear all acts of violence, and to call in all commissions, letters of marque, &c. and to declare them null and void.

V) Both kings hereby renounce all leagues, confederacies, &c. to the prejudice of each other.

VI) Prisoners on both sides, detained by reason of acts of hostility hitherto committed in America, to be forthwith set at liberty.

VII) Offences, injuries, and losses, suffered by either party in America, shall be utterly buried in oblivion.

VIII) The king of Great Britain, his heirs, and successors, shall always possess, in full right of sovereignty and propriety, all the countries, islands, colonies, &c. in the West-Indies, or in any part of America, which he and his subjects now possess; insomuch, that they neither can nor ought hereafter to be contested, under any pretence whatsoever.

IX) The subjects, merchants, captains, masters, and mariners, of each ally respectively, shall forbear and abstain from sailing to, and trafficking in, the ports and havens that have fortifications or magazines, and in all other places possessed by either party in the West-Indies: but if at any time either of the kings shall think proper to grant the other's subjects any general or particular leave or privileges to sail and traffic in any of the places under his obedience, the said traffic and navigation shall be exercised according to the form and effect of the said leave and privileges so granted them; for the security, guarantee, and authority, whereof this present treaty and the ratification of it shall serve.

X) In case the subjects of either ally and their ships, whether ships of war or merchant ships, shall at any time be forced, by storm, pursuit of pirates or enemies, or any other accident, to enter into any of the rivers, creeks, bays, havens, roads, and ports, belonging to the other in America, for protection and refuge, they shall be received and treated there with all manner of humanity, civility, protection, and assistance; shall be allowed to refresh themselves, and, at a common price, to buy provisions and other necessaries for the conveniency of their voyage; and shall be permitted to depart without let or molestation.

XI) Or if the ships of either party shall run upon sand-banks or be shipwrecked within the dominions of the other, or suffer any damage there, the said persons shall by no means be detained prisoners; but, on the contrary, shall have all manner of assistance, and shall have passport for their free and peaceable return to their own country.

XII) But yet, in case those ships happen to be three or four together, so as to give just ground of suspicion; in such case they shall, on their arrival, let the governor or chief magistrate of the place know the cause of their coming; and shall tarry no longer there than the said governor or chief magistrate will give them leave, after supplying themselves with provisions, and refitting their ships. And they are ever to abstain from putting any wares or bales of goods on shore to expose them to sale: neither are they to receive any merchandize on board, nor do any thing that is contrary to this treaty.

XIII, and XIV) The present treaty to be inviolably observed by both parties and their subjects. And particular offences shall no way prejudice this treaty: but every one shall answer for what he has done, and be prosecuted for contravening it. Neither shall letters of reprisal, nor any other methods for obtaining reparation, be granted, unless justice shall be actually denied, or unreasonable delays be used; in which case it shall be lawful to have recourse to the ordinary rules of the law of nations, until reparation be made to the person that has been injured.

XV) This treaty shall not derogate from any pre-eminence, right, or signiory, which either the one or the other of the allies have in the seas, straits, or fresh waters, of America. And it is always to be understood, that the freedom of navigation ought by no means to be interrupted, when there is nothing committed contrary to the true sense and meaning of these articles.

By this famous treaty, the pirates or buccaneers (who for several years had greatly annoyed Spanish America) were cut off from all future protection from England in any hostile attempts on the Spanish American dominions, and all commissions to such were called in and annulled; whereby a very troublesome thorn was taken out of her foot*.

About this time Sir Josiah Child published his Discourses on trade; which, he tells us, he wrote at his country house in the sickness year (1665); and though written so long ago, yet, taken altogether, it is still an excellent book on that subject. One of his greatest and most favourite points was to persuade men how much the low interest of money contributes to the advancement of the commerce and riches of a

* It was on the authority of this treaty (confirmed by subsequent ones) that English vessels sailing along, though not landing on, the coasts of the Spanish dominions in America, have been so much distressed by the guarda-costas, which at length obliged the king of Great Britain to declare war against Spain in the year 1739. And the controversy remains to this day undecided, though the freedom of navigation was expressly provided for in the fifteenth article of this treaty. A.

nation; which he more particularly exemplifies in the Dutch: yet certainly, in some few lesser points, he pushes the subject too far; and is for introducing some Dutch customs, which would not suit the genius, laws, and constitution, of Britain; such as transferring all bills of private debts; gavel-kind, or dividing the estate of a father equally to all his children. Such points seeming fitter for a republic, like Holland, wholly made up of merchants, than for a great monarchy with an immense fund of land. Yet, upon the whole, his foundations, observations, and informations, are just, and very useful.

In his preface, he asserts, that our exports of native commodities to Spain and Portugal are more than tripled since the year 1640.

That in the Russia trade, the Dutch had in the preceding year twenty-two sail of great ships, and the English but one.

That in the Greenland whale-fishery, the Dutch and Hamburgers have annually four or five hundred sail, and the English but one ship last year, and none in the former one.

That the Hollanders have the great trade for salt from Portugal and France; and immense fishing for white herrings upon our own coasts.

In the Eastland (i. e. Baltic) trade, the English have not half so much to do as formerly; and the Dutch ten times more than they formerly had. And

He says, that the Dutch interest of three per cent, and the narrow limited companies of England, have beaten us out of these and some other trades, which he could name*.

He justly remarks, that in all probability the Dutch would have long since engrossed the trade of red herrings, but for two strong reasons, 1st, that the fish for that purpose must be directly brought fresh on shore (as at Yarmouth), which the Dutch cannot do, because the herrings swim on our coasts, and are at too great a distance from theirs; 2dly, they must be smoked with wood; which cannot be done on reasonable terms but in a woody country, which Holland is not. And the like may be said of our pilchard trade, which must be cured and pressed upon the land, which the Dutch cannot do.

Neither can the Dutch gain firm footing in the Newfoundland and New-England fisheries, as being managed by our west-country ports, properly situated for it.

England (says our author), has no share in the trade to China and Japan; to both which the Dutch have a great trade†.

As to our Norway trade, it is in great part lost to the Danes, Holsteiners, &c. by means of some clauses in our act of navigation‡.

* He means here the Russia, merchant-adventurers, and Eastland, companies. A.

† Since his time Britain has long had the largest trade to China of any European nation. A.

‡ Those northern nations bring their own produce in their own ships, which they navigate cheaper than ours; and therefor the greatest share of that trade must naturally rest with them. A.

And with respect to our having lost (as he justly observes) a very great part of our former exportations to France, we need only to observe, that since his time our legislature have done all that was in their power to retaliate their great imposts on our draperies, by laying high duties on their wines, brandies, &c. and by rejecting the French bill of commerce in the year 1713.

He says that a great part of the plate-trade from Cadiz is lost by us to the Dutch*.

What he says of the Dutch having bereaved us of the trade to Scotland and Ireland, is quite reversed in our time. With regard to the former country, by the consolidated union of the two kingdoms; and to the later, by the greater application of both nations.

He well observes, that no trades do so much merit our care as those which employ most shipping; since, beside the profit by the merchandize, the freight is often more in value than the merchandize, and is all clear profit to the nation; and the ships and sailors are an addition of power and strength to us.

Next, he comes again to the brighter side of our commerce, besides our two fisheries, &c.

In our Turkey, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, trades, we have the natural advantage of our wool.

Our provisions and fuel, in country places, are cheaper than the Dutch have them.

Our native commodities of lead and tin are great advantages.

He justly terms our act of navigation our *Cbarta maritima*, on account of its many benefits to us; as it compels us to import foreign merchandize in our own shipping, and as it also secures to us the sole trade to our own plantations in America.

He shews the vast increase of England's riches, even in only twenty years space, i. e. since the year 1650.

For, 1st, (says he) we give generally now one third more money with apprentices than we did twenty years before.

2dly, Notwithstanding the decay of some, and the loss of other, trades, yet, in the gross, we ship off now one third more of our manufactures, and of our tin and lead, than we did twenty years ago.

3dly, Houses in London yield twice the rent which they did before the conflagration in 1666; and immediately before that disaster they generally yielded about one fourth more rent than they did twenty years ago.

4thly, The speedy and costly rebuilding of London after that great fire is a convincing (and to a stranger an amazing) argument of the plenty and late increase of money in England.

* Had he lived till our time, he would have seen more reason to complain of the French in this respect. A.

5thly, We have now more than double the number of merchants and shipping that we had twenty years ago.

6thly, The course of our trade, from the increase of our money, is strangely altered within these twenty years; most payments from merchants and shopkeepers being now made with ready money; whereas formerly the course of our general trade did run at three, six, nine, twelve, and eighteen, months time.

As to the objection, that all sorts of men complain so much of the scarcity of money, especially in the country, he judiciously answers,

That this humour of complaining proceeds from the frailty of our natures: it being natural for men to complain of the present, and to commend the times past. 'And I can say with truth, upon my own memory, that men did complain as much of the scarcity of money ever since I knew the world as they do now: nay, the very same persons who now complain of this, and commend that time.'

This complaint proceeds from many men finding themselves uneasy in matters of their religion (i. e. the persecution of the protestant dissenters); it being natural for men, when they are discontented at one thing, to complain of all.

And more especially, this complaint in the country proceeds from the late practice of bringing up the tax-money in waggons, which did doubtless cause a scarcity of money in the country*.

And, principally, this seeming scarcity of money proceeds from the trade of banking, which obstructs circulation, advances usury, and renders it so easy that most men, as soon as they can make up a sum of £50 or £100, send it into the goldsmith: which doth, and will occasion, while it lasts, that fatal pressing necessity for money so visible throughout the whole kingdom, both to prince and people.

This paragraph, so far as relates to circulation, merits explication: for the money so put into the goldsmiths hands in those times was far from circulating, as the running cash-notes of the bank of England, and of some bankers, do in our days; for in such case it would undoubtedly have increased the currency; but as the bankers of London in those times advanced their money to the king on the credit of parliamentary grants, and those advances were then always at extravagant interest; the bankers therefor, in order to be ready to supply the necessities of that improvident prince, were glad to allow a lower interest for a certain time to people who brought their money to them; which trade certainly hindered the circulation of money, instead of increasing it: but we shall soon see an end put to it, by shutting up the exchequer.

This famous author also insists much on the great advantage the Dutch had over England, in point of commerce, from the lowness of

* In this gentleman's time the dealings between London and the country were probably not so great as in our days; and therefor bills of exchange might not then be so easily obtained as now. A.

their customs on merchandize. And yet he subjoins, that two per cent extraordinary on the interest of money, is worse than four per cent extraordinary in customs; because customs run only upon our goods imported or exported, and that but once for all: whereas interest runs as well upon our ships as goods, and must be annually paid on both so long as they are in being.

He remarks how much Ireland has been improved by the late commonwealth's English soldiers settling on the lands of that kingdom; whereby that country was able to supply foreign markets, as well as our own plantations in America, with beef, pork, hides, tallow, bread, beer, wood, and corn, at cheaper rates than we can afford to do; to the beating us out of those trades. Whereas formerly (i. e. presently after the late Irish war, begun in the year 1640) many men got good estates by transporting English cattle thither.

Such are the perpetual fluctuations in commerce. Inasmuch that the Irish, about these times, poured in their live cattle upon England, till we were obliged, for the pacifying of our landed gentlemen, to enact a total prohibition of them.

We have also seen in our own times so great an improvement in those respects in our northern continental colonies of America in raising stocks of cattle, more especially of hogs, as also in producing corn and pulse, that they in a great measure supply our own sugar colonies therewith, and with timber, pipe-staves, and other lumber (as they term it), and also the sugar colonies of other European nations. In times of dearth also, Pennsylvania and the Jerseys have helped to supply even Britain and Ireland with corn.

With respect to the benefits and advantages accruing to England from its East-India company and trade, Sir Josiah Child, who was an eminent director and promoter of it, supposes it to be far from difficult to evince it to be the most beneficial trade which England at that time carried on: which he lays down in the following positions, viz.

I) It employs from 25 to 30 sail of the most warlike mercantile ships of the kingdom, with 60 to 100 mariners in each ship.

II) It supplies the kingdom constantly and fully with that most necessary article, saltpetre.

III) It supplies the kingdom, for its consumption, with pepper, indigo, calicoes, and several useful drugs, to the value of £150,000 to £180,000 yearly*.

IV) ' It also supplies us with materials for carrying on our trade to ' Turkey, viz. pepper, cowries, calicoes, and painted stuffs; as also for ' our trades to France, Spain, Italy, and Guinea, to the amount of two ' or three hundred thousand pounds yearly; most of which trades we ' could not carry on with any considerable advantage but for those

* The tea-trade from China was not yet introduced. A.

‘ supplies. And those goods exported, do produce in foreign parts to
‘ be returned to England, fix times the treasure in specie which the
‘ company exports from England to India.

He therefor concludes, ‘ that although the East-India company’s im-
‘ ports greatly exceed its exports of our manufactures, yet, for the above
‘ reasons, it is clearly a gainful trade to the nation: he subjoins to this,
‘ 1st, that if we had not this trade ourselves, the single article of salt-
‘ petre, so absolutely necessary for making gunpowder, would cost us a
‘ vast annual sum to purchase it from the Dutch: 2dly, the loss of so
‘ many stout ships and mariners would be a great detriment to the na-
‘ tion: 3dly, were we forced to buy all our pepper, calicoes, &c. from
‘ the Dutch, they would make us pay as dear for them as we do for
‘ their nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, and mace; and if we did not use
‘ calicoes, we should fall into the use of foreign linens *.’

In the ingenious Mr. Polexfen’s Discourse on trade (1696), there is
the following remarkable paragraph, relating to our English East-India
company, viz. ‘ till after the year 1670, the importations from East-
‘ India were chiefly drugs, saltpetre, spices, calicoes, and diamonds:
‘ then throwsters, weavers, dyers, &c. were sent to India by the compa-
‘ ny, for teaching the Indians to please the Europeans fancies.’ And
this brought to us an inundation of wrought silks and stuffs of many
various sorts, whereby our own manufactures were greatly obstructed:
wherefor, long after, the legislature found it necessary absolutely to pro-
hibit the wear of them at home. So now they are all re-exported.

After all that has formerly been said on the following subject, we are
nevertheless greatly obliged to Sir Josiah Child in particular, for the
first judicious dissertation we have met with on the difficulties attending
the means of discovering the true state of our national balance of trade:
wherefor we have thrown this, and the arguments of some other later
authors together, on this curious and most interesting inquiry, that the
whole may appear in one view.

There are (say they) but three ways of judging whether the balance
of trade be for or against us, viz.

1) By discovering the true value of our exports and imports from
the custom-house books; and this would doubtless be a good rule were
it practicable: yet as there is a difficulty, and even an impossibility, of
taking a true account, as well of the quantity as of the value of commodi-
ties exported and imported, this rule will by no means effectually serve us.

1) Because many fine goods, as jewels, fine lace, cambrics, rich silks,
&c. are imported by stealth.

* The immense increase and improvement of
Scottish and Irish linens since Child’s time have
rendered the use of foreign linens unnecessary:
but the other arguments remain valid even to the
present times. *A.*

In the revolutions of trade and manufactures,
linens are now (1798) likely to be superseded by
home-made calicoes, which, by means of the great
saving of labour in the spinning engines, are now
made much cheaper than them. *M.*

2) In our remote out ports and creeks, the like is often true even of more bulky wares.

3) The true quantities and qualities are not in many cases exactly entered; more especially with respect to woollen goods exported; because many traders, to get a great name, and perhaps sometimes for worse reasons, do enter greater quantities than they really export; they paying little or no duty.

4) As the rates of the customs are in no kind proportionable on exportations; some of our own commodities being rated very low, as our drapery, silk-wares, haberdashery, and iron-ware; others high, as lead and tin; and fish, in English ships, nothing at all: and the rates of foreign commodities imported are yet more unequal: besides, that foreign commodities, imported in English ships, should be valued only at prime cost and charges till onboard; and those in foreign ships with the addition of the homeward freight.

Moreover, by accidents in trade, such as losses at sea, bad markets, bankruptcies beyond sea, seizures, &c. the original stock may be lessened, and the value of the commodities imported in return may be considerably less than the value of the commodities exported, and yet may be the full returns; and so the nation no gainer, though the exports were more in value than the imports. On the other hand, it may chance that the stock exported may meet with a very lucky sale, whereby the returns may be of a much greater value, though really but the bare returns of the exports; and so the nation no loser, but in fact a gainer thereby, although the imports may exceed the exports.

Sir Josiah Child alleges the examples of Ireland, Virginia, and Barbados, to shew the great uncertainty, in some cases, of the notion of truly stating the general balance of a nation's commerce: 'For (says he) those three countries do, without doubt, export annually a far greater value of the commodities of their native growth, than is imported to them from hence, or from any foreign country, and yet they are not such great gainers, but continue poor.' With respect to Virginia and Barbados, it may be remarked on this able author, that even in his time those plantations, and especially the later, were growing rich; for even then we find some of their overgrown planters coming home to settle with their fortunes. As to Ireland, it has been entirely the people's own fault in not being rich then, through the laziness and sloth of the poorer sort, and the luxury of their landed gentry, who affect to indulge themselves with foreign wines, manufactures, &c. and many of them spend their incomes out of their own country; yet, notwithstanding, Ireland in our days is well known to be more rich and prosperous than ever before; and has much more commerce and manufactures than formerly, more especially that immensely-increased one of the linen and cambric manufacture; giving jealousy not only to Scot-

land, its great rival therein, but to Holland and Germany, in a very great degree.

Moreover, the rule of judging of the general balance of trade from a nation's exports and imports, is very exceptionable when applied to particular trades. Seeing it may happen, that although we may really import much more in value from some certain countries than we export thither, yet the trade to those very countries may be such an one, as either in its own nature we cannot be without, or else, in its consequences, is really productive of greater profit by the re-exportation of its merchandize first imported hither.

Let us, for instance, suppose, what will readily be granted, that naval stores, Spanish wool, and saltpetre, are three commodities which we cannot be without: the first, for our whole navigation and commerce; the second, for our fine woollen cloth trade; and the third, for gunpowder. Then, we say, we should be necessitated to carry on a trade with the countries which furnish those three commodities, let the balance be ever so much against us; or, in other words, let our imports from thence ever so much exceed our exports thither. As to the first, viz. naval stores, the balance is greatly against us; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, from whence we have the most of our timber, taking off but very few of our merchandize in comparison with the quantity we take of their timber, masts, deals, and tar, besides stockfish, &c.; and the like may be said of the other countries within the Sound, from whence our other kinds of naval stores come; as hemp, from Livonia and Russia; oak-plank, from Prussia, &c. Yet, until we can bring our own North-American plantations into a method of supplying us entirely with naval stores, there is no remedy. The like might be said of the other two commodities, even though the balance should be against us; neither of which however is the case.

The second rule to judge of the general balance of our trade, is, to observe carefully the course of exchange between us and foreign countries. And if that be generally found against us, that is to say, if it be generally above the intrinsic value or par of the coins of those foreign countries, we certainly lose by the general course of our foreign commerce: or, in other words, they certainly send us more of their merchandize than they take of ours. And certainly (says Sir Josiah Child) when once the exchange comes to be five or six per cent above the true value or par of foreign monies, our treasure will be carried out, whatever laws we may make to prevent it. On the contrary, we should be gainers if the exchange were so much in our favour; which is our case with Portugal, and also with some other countries, though perhaps not in quite so great a degree; from whence we actually import much of their coin, by means of the balance being in our favour.

Yet even this rule, drawn from exchanges, though a very plausible

one (and the diligent observance whereof may be very useful and necessary in many respects), is likewise liable to great variations on sundry accounts, occasioned from the accidents which frequently happen in the public concerns of nations, by wars, famines, revolutions, &c. Moreover, there is no established and direct course of exchange with sundry countries to which we trade: such as Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Russia, Turkey, Barbary, Sicily, the Canaries, &c. For these reasons, this science of exchanges, though a very ingenious inquiry, and which, when applied to this or that particular country, may often be extremely useful, will not, however, fully answer the character of an adequate rule to judge of the nation's profit or loss by our general trade.

The third, last, and surest, rule to judge of the general balance, i. e. of the loss or gain of the trade of any nation, is, by the increase or decrease of its general commerce and shipping. Yet even then we must not frame our judgment rashly, or for a few years only: for nations, like private merchants, may make a great stir in shipping, exportations, and importations, and may seem to have a mighty gainful commerce, when perhaps in a few years longer all this seeming gainful business may prove a consuming trade, and a visible decay may soon follow in the whole body politic. Our ships may lie unemployed; our sailors may be gone into foreign service; our manufacturers and artificers out of business; our goods uncalled for; our customs falling short; our poor's rates increased, &c. These are the sad and sure signs to a nation of a declining commerce. But on the contrary, if a nation has for a long series of years been increasing in all the above particulars; if the number of our merchant ships (and consequently of our mariners) be visibly increased, and still increasing; if there be a greater general appearance of wealth and splendour than in former times, viz. in plate, jewels, household furniture, equipages, apparel, libraries, paintings, medals, &c. which, instead of being only confined to a few of the great ones, as in old times, are become diffused amongst the middling gentry and merchants, and even amongst the middling class of traders and manufacturers; if the prices of lands keep up and increase; and there is a greater appearance of money everywhere than formerly; then we may undoubtedly pronounce that nation to be in a thriving condition. And that this is the present happy case of Great Britain, and even of Ireland, whilst we are now writing, is clearly demonstrable and obvious.

Neither do the complaints of our increasing luxury at all militate against this position; since luxury, more or less, is, and always will be, the concomitant of increasing wealth and commerce. Nor will it be of any solid weight to object that some particular branches of trade are decaying, if we increase at least as much, or more, in some other branches. If we have, for instance, long since lost the market of France, and perhaps partly of Italy and Turkey, for woollen goods, how much more

have we increased in the exportation of them to other parts of Europe, but more especially to our American plantations? which, according to Sir Josiah Child, in his chapter on plantations, 'did (even in the year 1670) employ near two thirds of all our English shipping, and thereby gave constant sustenance, it may be, to 200,000 persons here at home.' How greatly are our manufactures of silk, iron, glass, linen, &c. increased of late years; and of fine toys of gold, silver, steel, and ivory, and also watches, &c. in the memory even of many thousands still living? Our cities and port-towns generally much increased in buildings and shipping; not only in England, but in Scotland and Ireland.

Though one of Sir Josiah Child's principal aims was to point out the increasing commerce of Holland, yet in the close of his preface he observes, that the French and Swedes were as industrious and careful in promoting their commerce as even the Dutch themselves: for besides the many impositions of the French on our ships and goods, so high, particularly on our woollen cloths, as 50 or 60 per cent, the Swedes have laid such high impositions on their own merchandize, unless they be carried in Swedish bottoms, as amounts to almost a navigation-act in Sweden.

We have at this time, from De Witt's Interest of Holland, a summary account of the shipping employed in their fisheries by the single province of Holland alone, viz. 'the herring and cod fisheries employ above a thousand busses, from twenty-four to thirty lasts each; and above one hundred and seventy smaller ones, that fish at the mouth of the Texel. And since the Greenland monopolizing company was annulled, that whale-fishery is increased from one to ten. So (says he) when we consider that all these fishing vessels are built at home, and the ropes, sails, nets, and casks, made here, as well as the salt furnished from hence, we may easily imagine there must be an incredible number of people who live thereby; especially when we add that all those people must have food, clothes, and housing, and that the fish, when caught, are transported by the Hollanders in their own vessels throughout the world. And indeed if* that be true, which Sir Walter Raleigh affirms (who made diligent inquiry thereinto in the year 1618 †, to inform King James of it), that the Hollanders fished on the coasts of Great Britain with no fewer than 3000 ships and 50,000 men; and that they employed and set to sea, to transport, and sell the fish so taken, and to make returns thereof, 9000 ships more and 150,000 men; and if we hereunto add what he saith farther, viz. that 20 busses do, one way or other, maintain 8000 people ‡, and that the Hollanders had in all, no less than 20,000 ships at sea. And, as

* The dubitative conjunction *if*, wherewith De Witt utters in a foreigner's exaggerated account of what he ought to have known better himself, gives reason to believe that he took it up as most convenient for his purpose. *M.*

† The date ought to be 1603. *M.*

‡ Is there no mistake in this number? *M.*

‘ he also thinks, that their fishing, navigation, and traffic by sea with their dependencies since Raleigh’s time to the year 1667,’ (when he was revising his work for its new and complete publication) ‘ is increased to one third more, we may then easily conclude, that the sea is a special means of Holland’s subsistence, seeing Holland, by this means alone, yields, through its own industry, above 300,000 lasts of salt fish. And if to this we add the whale fins and whale oil, and our Holland manufactures, with that which our own rivers afford us, it must be confessed, that no country in the world can make so many ships lading of merchandize by their own industry, as the province of Holland alone can do.’

Under the year 1642, we have given Sir Josiah Child’s reasons why the Dutch have never been very successful in planting and cultivating foreign colonies. What he says of the French he was certainly mistaken in, viz. ‘ that they are not much to be feared on the account of ‘ planting :’ for, since his time, what fine improvements have they not made on the islands of Martinico and Guadaloupe, and their other Caribbee islands, as well as on the west end of the great island of Hispaniola, whereby, in our own days, they have been able to undersell and supplant us in the sugar trade, and have thereby reduced our exports of that commodity to a very low ebb ; besides the quantities of indigo, cotton, ginger, and coffee, raised by them in those islands, and their great improvements in the isle of Bourbon near Madagascar, and in Cayenne on the coast of Guiana, as well as on the continent of North-America, to our great loss and cost. It is indeed allowed, that those improvements were little thought of by the French till the time of Colbert’s ministry, but they have ever since been steadily prosecuted.

What Sir Josiah Child says in relation to Spain, has hitherto proved true, viz. that she can never equal England in the improvement of her American plantations ; by reason of their high freight for their shipping, which he says is four times that of ours, occasioned chiefly by their high interest of 12 per cent in Spain, and also by their application principally to their mines of gold and silver, whereby they lose infinite numbers of people, especially of slaves, neglecting the cultivation of the earth, and the production of commodities which might employ many ships and people * ; and lastly, by the multitude of friars and nuns prohibited from marriage ; and the like bad government in America which they have in Europe.

Lastly, with regard to the Portuguese, although he allows that they have been great planters in the Brasils and other parts, yet he adds, ‘ that if they do not alter their politics, (which he thinks impossible

* Is it not at least doubtful, whether, if England had such pretious mines, she might not fall too much into the like neglect of agriculture at home ?—*A.*

Then let Britons be thankful to God, who has withheld from them those mines of indolence and ruin, and has bestowed upon them ample mines of industry and opulence. *M.*

‘ they should do) they can never bear up with us, and much less prejudice our plantations. As we have already,’ in my time, continues he, ‘ beat their muscovada and paneal sugars quite out of England, and their whites we have brought down in all these parts of Europe, in price, from L7 and L8 per cwt. to 50s and L3. And we have also much lessened their quantities, for whereas formerly their Brasil fleets brought 100 to 120,000 chests of sugar, they are now reduced to about 30,000 chests since the great increase of Barbados.’

The great decay of England’s Newfoundland fishery, from 250 ships in the year 1605 to 80 in 1670, Sir Josiah Child thinks owing principally to the increasing liberty, which is everywhere more and more used in Romish countries, as well as in others, of eating flesh in lent and on fish days. Secondly, to the abuse of allowing private boat-keepers, who can doubtless afford their fish cheaper than the ships from England can, because the former reside on the place, and are generally old fishers. Thirdly, the great increase of the French fishery at Placentia there. And he is of opinion, that the displanting and dispeopling of Newfoundland would be an advantage to our fishing there, because the charge of a government there is a burden on the fishing: and the provisions, clothing, &c. which the planters, or rather inhabitants, consume, are supplied them from New England and Ireland; and they have their wine, oil, and linen from the salt ships of France and Spain. Besides, if the planters of Newfoundland should be permitted to increase, it would happen to us in a few years in that country, as it hath done with regard to the fishery at New-England, which many years since was managed by English ships from our western ports, as the Newfoundland fishery at present chiefly is; but as the plantations in New-England increased, that fishery fell entirely to the people there. Upon the whole, as fishing ships have ever been the breeders of seamen, it is our great interest to increase the number of them, who besides, support multitudes of English tradesmen and artificers of various kinds.

Of New-England he remarks, that by means of their cod and mackerel fisheries that people are more proper for building ships and producing seamen than our other American colonies: and he adds, that nothing is more prejudicial to any mother-country than the increase of shipping in its colonies; that it, producing the same commodities as England, is therefor the least profitable to us. Yet he owns, that what they took from England amounted to ten times what we took from them. Of the other continental colonies he says nothing. Those statements, though true in his time, have since, in sundry respects, undergone considerable alterations with respect to our American colonies.

King Charles this year coined what was called crown gold, of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, into L44 : 10 per pound weight, by tale, in pieces of 10, 20, and 40s, and L5; and a pound weight of silver,

old standard of 11 ounces 2 pennyweight fine, and 18 pennyweight allay, into 62^s by tale, viz. into crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, threepences, twopences, and pence, fine milled money.

The king's cousin, Prince Rupert, and seventeen other persons of quality and distinction, having, in the year 1669, sent out Captain Newland to Hudson's bay, where he settled at Port-Nelson; and Captain Gillam also returning, with some success, in his prospect of a trade with the savages in that bay, those noble adventurers obtained from the king an incorporating charter, dated May 2, 1670, reciting, in substance, ' that those adventurers had, at their own great cost, undertaken an expedition to Hudson's bay, in order to discover a new passage into the South sea, and to find a trade for furs, minerals, &c. and having already made such discoveries as encourage them to proceed farther in their design, by means whereof there may probably arise great advantage to us and our kingdoms: and we being desirous to promote all endeavours for the public good, do, by these presents, grant for us, our heirs, and successors, unto them, and such others as shall be hereafter admitted into the said society, to be for ever one body-corporate and politic, by the name of The governor and company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's bay, with perpetual succession, and to be capable of holding, receiving, and possessing, lands, rents, &c.' (without limiting the value or extent thereof) ' and to alienate the same at pleasure. They may also sue and be sued, have a common seal, shall have a governor and seven other persons, to be called committees, to be annually elected out of the proprietors, the deputy-governor to be elected out of the said seven committees: a governor and any three of the committees for the time being, shall have the direction of the voyages, and the provision of the merchandize and shipping, and of the sales of the returns, as likewise of all other business of this company: and they shall take the usual oath of fidelity, as shall also all persons admitted to trade as freemen of this company, who are to have the sole trade and commerce of and to all the seas, bays, straits, creeks, lakes, rivers, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be *, that lye within the entrance of the strait commonly called Hudson's straits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines of the said seas, straits, bays, &c. which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other christian prince or state: together with the fishing of all sorts of fish, of whales, sturgeons, and all other royal fishes, in the said seas, bays, &c. together with the royalty of the sea within their limits aforesaid; as also all mines-royal of gold, silver, gems, and precious stones, and that the

* The king, uncertain of the position of places within this bay, prudently declines the specification of any particular longitudes and latitudes in this charter. A.

‘ land be from henceforward reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations or colonies in America, and to be called Rupert’s land; the company to be deemed the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the same territories *; saving always the faith, allegiance, and sovereign dominion, to us, our heirs, and successors, to be holden as of our manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage: yielding and paying yearly to us, our heirs, and successors, for the same, two elks, and two black beavers, whensoever and as often as we, our heirs, and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, &c. hereby granted. The company may make bye laws, &c. for the good government of their forts, plantations, and factors, and may impose fines, &c. on offenders, not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom, without accounting to the crown for the same. This company may not only enjoy the whole trade, &c. within the limits aforesaid, but likewise the sole traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes, and seas, into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or land, out of the territories, limits, and places, aforesaid, and to and with all the natives and people within the territories aforesaid, and with all other nations inhabiting any the coasts adjacent to the said territories and limits aforesaid which are not already possessed as aforesaid by any christian potentate, or whereof the sole liberty or privilege of trade and traffic is not granted to any other of our subjects †. None other than this company and their agents and assigns, shall directly visit, haunt, or frequent, traffic, or adventure, by way of merchandize, into the said limits, unless by licence of this company, on pain of forfeiting ships and merchandize, half to the crown and half to the company. Every person having £100 stock, is entitled to one vote in general courts of elections. The company may send ships of war, ammunition, &c. and may erect forts in their territories as well as towns; may make peace and war with any prince or people not christian: also may make reprisals on any others interrupting or wronging them; may seize on and send home all such English or other subjects sailing into Hudson’s bay without their licence; and their governors, &c. may fine or otherwise punish offenders, and may administer an oath for the discovery of offenders, &c. Lastly, all admirals, &c. are to be aiding to the company in the execution of the above powers and privileges.’

This charter is a very ample one: and if our laws and free constitution, and particularly that most excellent statute made in the second session of the first year of King William and Queen Mary, entitled An act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the suc-

* This is also the stile of the Carolina charters. *A.*

† This is a saving clause in behalf of the East-India company’s charter, in case this company should find the supposed passage from thence into the South sea. *A.*

cession of the crown, had not limited the prerogative in the case of exclusive charters of privileges, this company would doubtless be absolute in those immense territories: but the case, to our great happiness, is now quite otherwise; and since that great establishment of our liberties, neither the Hudson's-bay, nor any other company, not confirmed by act of parliament, has any exclusive rights at all: wherefor any British subjects may sail into Hudson's bay, fish, and traffic with the native Indians there, may travel into, and make discoveries therein, either by land or water, as freely as that company can do, as has since been practised frequently in our own days. All the advantage, that the company has over other adventurers thither, is purely the benefit of their own forts, such as they are, whereby their agents can reside in so inhospitable a country during the winter, preparatory to their trading with the savages against the arrival of their ships in the summer; and that thereby they have not only more safety and protection, but also have more experience in trading with the native Indians thereabout than any private adventurers can have, whose ships cannot with safety remain in that vast bay above a part only of our summer, lest they be shut in by the ice, which fills the bay with heaps of it like mountains. And indeed, even these advantages alone on the company's side are so considerable, that they are not like to be successfully rivalled in haste by any private adventurers. Their capital of about £110,000, is confined to a small number of proprietors, who have three or four forts in different parts of Hudson's bay, in which they have in all about 120 persons, who, for nine months of the year, live in a manner shut up within their forts, in low houses calculated to defend them from the piercing cold, snow, and rains. In summer they go out and shoot, hunt, and fish, and meet with deer and wild-fowl; and they have some few wild fruits, as strawberries, dewberries, and gooseberries. From England they receive annually three or four ships laden with coarse woollen goods, guns, powder and shot, spirits, edge-tools, and sundry other utensils: in return for which the natives sell them all kinds of furs or peltry, goose quills, castorum, whale fins and oil, bed feathers, &c. and they make handsome annual dividends to their proprietors.

Mr. Bailey, the company's first governor of their factories and settlements in that bay, entertained a friendly correspondence, by letters and otherwise, with Mr. Frontenac then governor of Canada, who, in several years, made no complaint of any injury done to France by the company's settling a trade and building forts in Hudson's bay, nor did France pretend any right to that bay, or to the countries bordering on it, till long after this time,' as will be seen in its place.

The country around Hudson's bay is so inhospitable, that even in the most southerly part of the bay, in the latitude of but 51 degrees, it is excessively cold for about nine months of the year. In so wretched a

country, therefor, there can be no plantations, properly so called, and much less any towns or villages. Our people therefor must be supplied from England with bread, beef, pork, flour, peas, and other necessaries *. With the poor savages of the country there can be no other commerce but by barter: thus, for instance, the company for one beaver's skin give half a pound of gunpowder, four pound weight of lead-shot, two hatchets, half a pound of glass beads, one pound weight of tobacco, eight small or six large knives, one large and two small powder horns: for twelve good winter beaver skins, a gun of the best sort; for eight ditto, the smallest gun; for six ditto, a good laced coat; for five ditto, a plain red coat; for four ditto, a woman's coat; and so in proportion for kettles, looking-glasses, combs, &c. Arthur Dobbs, Esq. (since governor of North Carolina) in his account of this country, (4to, 1744) gives us the particulars of one sale in the year 1740, wherein were 17,780 beaver skins, and 49,600 skins of all kinds, 2360 pound weight of bed feathers, 160 castor, 610 whale fins, and 120 gallons of whale oil. And, as he says, there are two sales every year, and that this company reserves three fifths of their beaver skins for their second sale, but no other skins, then the second sale must have 26,670 beaver skins, and both the sales must have had 44,450 beaver skins, &c.

Although the French at Canada did not at first pretend to a property in the countries about Hudson's bay, yet in a few years after the company was established, (viz. in 1674) they began to be jealous, and very troublesome to our people there, and they built a fort within eight days journey of our settlement on Prince Rupert's river. They also endeavoured, by underselling us in their barter with the Indians, to ruin our trade and interest with those savages: for the nearest parts of Canada are not 150 miles distant from Rupert's river.

Carolina soon surmounted the usual difficulties and discouragements attending new plantations, and gradually became a very considerable colony. Mr. John Lawson, who had been surveyor-general of North-Carolina, and published the History of Carolina (4to, 1718), has made some good remarks on the excellency and fertility of its climate, and of its happy situation. He observes, that the best silver mines of the Spaniards lie directly west from Carolina, and although none of that sort be hitherto discovered in that province; yet there is still a probability that such hereafter may be found, when the hilly parts westward shall be more frequented and planted; that none of our continental plantations are to be compared to Carolina for its vast quantities of naval stores, such as pitch, tar, turpentine, rosin, masts, yards, planks, boards, timber of many sorts, and fit for many uses, pipe-staves, lumber, hemp, flax, all sorts of English grain, and also Indian corn †. Their stocks of

* Some say that barley, oats, and peas, have been sowed there with some degree of success. A.

† Rice, now its grand staple, was not then introduced, or only just attempted. A.

cattle are incredibly large, and feed in their rank savannas or meadows, and they need no dry fodder in their mild winters : an advantage which our more northerly colonies want. South-Carolina produces considerable quantities of silk, and grapes in plenty, though not so fine as in some parts of Europe, for want of a good and more general cultivation : so that he doubted not but Carolina would in time become a wine country. North-Carolina is a separate government, and of a smaller compass than the other, partaking more of the nature of its adjoining neighbour Virginia, both as to soil, climate, and produce, making therein considerable quantities of tobacco, their lands being generally richer than those in Virginia. In fine, all the experiments that have been made in Carolina have exceeded expectation, and it affords some commodities, which other places in the same latitude do not. It has rich and delightful pastures, fine hills and rivers, and a most wholesome air. It will, continues he, doubtless in time increase the number of its productions, and afford us those rich commodities which India, China, the Straits, Turkey, &c. supply us with at present, such as tea, coffee, drugs of various kinds, dates, almonds, &c. : which prediction has since, in a great degree, proved true in fact. And though all that Mr. Lawfon has said of the improvements of this excellent province were not completed so early as this year 1670, yet as many of them were then pretty far advanced, and as we shall scarcely have occasion to treat again of that colony during the remainder of this century, we thought it best to throw all the above particulars together at this time.

By an act of parliament, [22 *Car. II, c. 13*] it was enacted, that when wheat was not above $L\ 13 : 4$ per quarter, it should, upon exportation, pay custom and poundage per quarter, viz.

	$L\ 16$	0
From that price to $L\ 4$ per quarter	0	8
Rye at about $L\ 2$ to pay	0	16
Barley and malt, not above $L\ 1 : 12$, to pay	0	16
Oats at $16/$ per quarter, to pay	0	5
Peas and beans at $L\ 2$, to pay	0	16

This statute permits the exportation of any sort of live cattle but sheep; as also of beef, pork, butter, cheese, &c.

About this time, or perhaps a little later, the linen manufacture began to be encouraged in Ireland. It began among the Scots in the north of Ireland, where it has to this day flourished more than in any other part. It has, especially within the last forty years, grown to so vast an extent, as to surprise all men, and to alarm all the linen countries beyond sea, so as not a little to affect the general balance of trade with those countries. The vast quantities of linen, which England takes of the Irish, enables them to pay for almost every kind of our product and manufacture which we supply them with. Before they made much linen cloth, the people in the north of Ireland sent their linen yarn to

England. Ireland is really a mine of treasure to Great Britain, and is so perhaps in a much greater degree than some of our American plantations, since much of what is gained in Ireland centers at length in Britain. And the ingenious author of a tract, entitled the *Querist*, published some few years ago, rightly observes, that every severe step taken by us with regard to Ireland, has been less injurious to it than advantageous to our foreign rivals. It is now clearly seen, that the prohibition of live cattle from Ireland, in order to raise the price of our own lands, was not well judged. Even the restrictive laws relating to the woollen manufactures of Ireland forced the Irish workmen to settle in France, and thereby laid the foundation for the great woollen manufacture in that kingdom, although we must confess this last point to be extremely delicate on both sides of the question.

About this time the duke of Buckingham procured makers, grinders, and polishers, of glass from Venice, to settle in England. The manufacture has since been brought to such perfection, that the very finest glass is now sent from this country to all parts of the globe, even Venice itself not excepted.

1671.—The English East-India company entered into an agreement with the king of Golconda to pay him a certain annuity of 1260 pagodas for ever, instead of the customs hitherto paid to him at Madras, or Fort St. George, which is said to have since then proved a great benefit to the company's increasing commerce at that place.

1672.—The exportation of our produce and manufactures was encouraged by an act of parliament, [25 *Car. II, c. 6*] for taking off aliens duty upon all the native commodities, coals only excepted, and manufactures of England exported by foreigners: thereby putting them on a level with English subjects: whereas by the 11th of Henry VII, *c. 14*, and the tonnage and poundage act of the 12th (confirmed by one of the 13th) year of the present king, they were to pay double duties. By this law aliens were to pay only the same duty for fish caught by Englishmen, and exported in English shipping, navigated as the navigation act directs, as the natives pay.

It was in January 1671 (now 1672) that King Charles II was so ill advised by Sir Thomas Clifford, (for which he was created a peer and lord high treasurer) as to shut up the exchequer, on which occasion he made a declaration in council, that it should be but for one year only. Thereby all the money which the London goldsmiths and bankers had lent to the king at 8 per cent interest, besides certain considerable advantages in the manner of paying them the money weekly, as it came into the exchequer, &c. was made use of by him for his intended war against Holland. The cruel and unjust seizure of this money, amounting to £1,328,526, and not even paying the interest due on it, made a very great clamour among the creditors of the bankers; and it was

said, that near 10,000 families were greatly hurt, and many of them entirely ruined. It was now said, and even published, that a stop of this kind, which so much lessened the credit of the exchequer and the reputation of the crown, could proceed from nothing less than a resolution of the court to borrow no more hereafter but to take. The king, in his printed declaration, declared, that, although, contrary to his inclination, he had been obliged to cause a stop to be made as to the principal money, he would punctually pay it hereafter, and till then 6 per cent interest for the same: at the same time directing the treasury to fit out his fleet with that money. His main purposes for such preparations were, the ruin of the Dutch, the introduction of popery, and the establishment of despotic power, without the control of a parliament, for which ends he had entered into a secret league with France, by means of the interview he had at Dover with his sister the duchess of Orleans, jointly to attack the Dutch by sea, while France, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, should invade them in different places by land at the same time. But as King Charles had already lavished away £2,500,000 given him by parliament, and £700,000 given him by France, his cabal advised him to this unjust seizure of the bankers money, without which he could not send out his fleet. As the payments were always wont to come weekly from the exchequer to the bankers, they were thereby enabled to answer the interest and other demands of their creditors: which now failing, they could neither pay the principal nor interest to the crowds of creditors by whom they were daily besieged. But the king's ministers paid no regard to those ruined people's lamentations; and the exchequer long remained shut, to the great detriment of trade and business. Yet, if possible, to quiet those clamours, the king found himself necessitated to grant them his patent to pay the said 6 per cent interest out of his hereditary excise; but he never paid the principal: for although, after some years, the exchequer was indeed opened, yet it was to no purpose for the bankers principal money. That we may here complete this account of the bankers debt altogether, we shall farther observe, that, although it was not a parliamentary debt, the parliament by an act of the 12th year of King William, [c. 12] after providing for a large arrear of interest on it, settled an interest of 3 per cent on it for the future; but this debt was thereby made redeemable on paying one moiety of the principal sum, being £664,263, farther confirmed by an act of the 2d and 3d year of Queen Anne, [c. 15] which moiety was now therefor become the proper debt of the public; and, being reduced from 6 to 5 per cent at michaelmas 1717, it was finally subscribed into the South sea capital stock in the year 1720.

Upon this subject Sir William Temple, in his Miscellanies, makes the following remark: 'The credit of our exchequer is irrecoverably lost

‘ by the last breach with the bankers ; for credit is gained by custom, and seldom recovers a strain. I have heard a great example given of this, that happened upon the late King Charles I’s seizing £200,000 in the mint in 1638 *, which had then the credit of a bank, and for several years had been the treasury of all the vast payments transmitted from Spain to Flanders : but after this invasion of it, although the king paid back the money in a few months, the mint has never since recovered its credit among foreign merchants.’

Even so late as this time, according to the anonymous author, who has so judiciously transmitted the curious history of our London bankers, the receiving and paying of money from morning till night in an open shop was so new, that our author himself seemed to think it a strange sort of a thing ; and was by no means a friend to that kind of trade.

Sir Josiah Child also seems to be equally prepossessed against it ; and freely attacks the bankers in several parts of his Discourses on trade. He accuses the bankers of his time, of being the main cause of keeping the interest of money at least 2 per cent higher than otherwise it would be ; for (says he) they give 6 per cent to private persons for the money, which they lend the king at 10 and 12 per cent, and sometimes more. He inveighs against what he calls this innovated practice of bankers, or this new invention of cashiering, as productive of many evils, which has made us suspect, that he himself might have been the author of the small tract on the Mystery of the new-fashioned goldsmiths, of which we have made good use under the year 1645, &c. : ‘ for, by allowing their creditors, at this time, so high an interest as 6 per cent, (whereas, till the king’s wants increased his demands on them, they allowed but 4 per cent) they make monied men sit down lazily with so high an interest, and not push into commerce with their money, as they certainly would do were it at 4 or 3 per cent, as in Holland. This high interest also keeps the price of land so low as 15 years purchase, which would otherwise be at 20 years purchase. It also makes money scarce in the country ; seeing the trade of banking being only in London, it very much drains the ready money from all other parts of the kingdom.’

Upon the whole, whatever might in those days be said, with truth, of the practices of bankers, the case is at present quite otherwise ; and the dispatch given by our modern London bankers to merchants, and other dealers, is found so convenient, that they are glad to lodge their main cash with them, to be drawn out from time to time as they want it, without receiving or expecting any interest whatever ; and the bankers generally get great fortunes, by prudently investing a certain proportion of their cash in our national funds, and lending it on private pledges,

* This compulsory loan we have placed in the year 1640. A.

&c. What is said on this subject, it is hoped, may suffice for a general history of private banking in London, even down to our days.

Although the Greenland, or more properly the Spitzbergen, whale fishing had been early practised by the English, yet it had been laid aside towards the later end of the reign of King James I, though confessedly beneficial for the employment of great numbers of ships and seamen, and the consumption of much of our provisions, &c. and since our leaving it off, we were obliged to pay large sums to the Dutch, and to the Hanse towns, for the oil and whale-fins which we had need of. Therefor an act of parliament passed, [25 *Car. II*, c. 7] for encouraging the Greenland and Eastland trades; and for the better securing the plantation trade; in substance, viz.

I) That, whereas English harpooners could not now be got, the act of navigation was hereby so far dispensed with, for ten years to come, provided the ship be English-built, and the master and half the crew be English, the other half might be foreigners in the said fishery. This, it is true, produced some private attempts for reviving that fishery, which, however, in seven years after, fell to nothing again, although neither the oil nor the whale-bone were to pay any duty; but our plantation shipping should pay 6/ for every ton of oil, and L2:10 for every ton of whale-fins, imported in their own shipping; and half so much if imported in English shipping. If oil be imported in foreign shipping, the ton of oil shall pay L9, and the ton of fins L18. In the first session of the 2d year of William and Mary, [c. 4] anno 1690, this act for the whale fishing at Greenland was continued for four years longer; but not so much as a single ship was fitted out in consequence thereof.

II) Ships trading from England to our plantations, and returning back laden with sugars, tobacco, ginger, indigo, logwood, fustick, cotton, cocoa nuts, &c. and not giving bond to land them in England, were to pay fundry duties, needless here to be specified.

III) For the encouragement of the Eastland trade, it is hereby enacted, that all persons, natives or foreigners, may, from the 1st of May 1673, have free liberty to trade into Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; any thing in the Eastland company's charter to the contrary notwithstanding.

IV) Whoever (if an Englishman) shall henceforth desire to be admitted into the fellowship of the said Eastland company, shall pay 40/, and no more.

These two clauses proved a mortal blow to the Eastland company; for hereby all the north side of the Baltic sea was laid open to all, and the freedom for trading to the south side of it, was open to all for 40/! Sir Josiah Child was of opinion, that the Eastland company, by excluding others (not free of their company) from the trade, had enabled the Dutch to supply all parts within the Baltic with most of the merchan-

dize usually sent thither, viz. oil, wine, sugar, fruits, &c. And that the Dutch (who have no Eastland company) had then ten times the trade thither that we had. And also to Russia and Greenland, where we have companies, and they have none, they have forty times the trade that we have. Lastly, to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where we have no companies, we have yet left full as much, if not more, trade than the Dutch.

This year King Charles declared war against the Dutch, pursuant to his secret agreement with France, for which his ministers were greatly puzzled to find any just pretext whatsoever. The author of Colbert's life alleges, 'that by that secret treaty the United Netherlands were to be divided between those two kings; but that Charles withdrew from the league, growing at length jealous of Louis's vast success, who in 40 days time conquered four of the seven provinces, and took 40 cities.' Such was Louis's insolence, and so much was he also at a loss for any just reason for invading the Dutch, that in his declaration of war he only said, 'that he could not, without the diminution of his glory, any longer dissemble his indignation against the states-general!' without alleging so much as one single fact for the ground of his invasion. The bare-faced violence and injustice of both those kings are however foreign to our purpose to enlarge on. It is enough to remark, that D'Etrees, with 40 French ships of war, joined the English fleet at Portsmouth, and entertained our king on board his admiral-ship; for, by this time, Colbert had considerably augmented the number and goodness of the French royal navy, though it was not brought to its utmost perfection till six years later. King Charles also, to second the rapid conquests of Louis, sent over the duke of Monmouth with 6000 English troops to join the French in the Netherlands. In this same summer De Ruyter, with above 100 Dutch ships of war, attacked the combined fleets of England and France, commanded by the duke of York, on the coast of Suffolk, and, after a most terrible slaughter of gallant men, from morning till night, and the destruction of several great ships, the Dutch retired to their own coast. In this horrible conflict the Dutch admiral Van Ghent and the French rear-admiral De la Robiniere were slain. Our admiral, the earl of Sandwich, disdaining to quit his ship when on fire, was blown up in her. What pity so gallant a man did not die in a better cause! In the midst of these distresses, the Orange party in Holland prevailed so far as to get Prince William * declared stadtholder, and the two brothers De Witts were destroyed.

The earl of Sandwich was succeeded, as president of the council of trade, by the earl of Shaftesbury, lord chancellor. The preamble to this new commission, which has never yet been in print that we know of, it

* Afterwards king of Great Britain.

having been communicated to the author by a private friend, sets forth, that, ' whereas, by the goodness of Almighty God, our dominions have
' of late years been considerably enlarged by the occasion of many
' great colonies and plantations in America, and elsewhere; and both
' our customs and revenues, as well as the trade and wealth of our good
' subjects at home and abroad, much increased by the mutual commerce
' and traffic between these our kingdoms and our said colonies and
' plantations. And whereas several other colonies and plantations may
' hereafter accrue to us, and many other great improvements may just-
' ly be expected, if sufficient care be taken for the encouragement, pro-
' tection, and defence, of our said colonies and plantations, and of all our
' good subjects in their respective trades and commerce, and a due regu-
' lation be made therein. We have thought fit to erect and establish a
' select council, whose employment shall be to take care of the welfare
' of our colonies and plantations, and also of the trade and navigation
' of these our kingdoms; and to give us a true and faithful account
' thereof, from time to time, with their opinions and advice thereupon.
' To that end know ye, that we, reposing especial trust and confidence
' in your abilities, &c. have constituted, &c. (here the whole board is
' named) to be a standing council to us for all the affairs which do, or
' may any way, concern the navigation, commerce, and trade, as well
' domestic as foreign, of these our kingdoms, (Tangier only excepted)
' whether immediately held by us, or by any others, in virtue of our
' charters, already made or granted, or hereafter to be so made or
' granted *. And for the better assistance of our said council in all
' their debates and consultations, it shall be lawful for our most dear
' brother James duke of York, our high admiral, our most dear cousin
' Prince Rupert, (and several other great personages therein named) to
' be present at their debates and resolutions, &c. Yet, in a few years
time, all these fine words came just to nothing, the commission being
entirely dropped; his luxury, and his schemes for the advancement of
popery and lawless power, not permitting him to be long at so much an-
nual expense for so good a purpose. This commission was said to have
been principally promoted by the chancellor Shaftesbury.

The court of France (or rather Colbert) observing, that all the most
considerable European nations trading to East-India saw it extremely
needful to have a settlement near the south end of Africa, for the con-
veniency of their ships in those voyages, now made a settlement on the
isle then called Mascaregnas, which they have since named Bourbon,
which is about 370 miles east of the great island of Madagascar, and
about 40 leagues in compass. There their ships meet with proper
refreshments, the island being well watered, and abounding in many

* This clause refers to the English incorporated companies. *Al*

sorts of trees, plants, and fruits, with horned cattle, hogs, and goats, (brought originally thither from Europe by the Portuguese) also with wild fowl, turtles, &c. and of late years yielding coffee, and sundry other improvements *.

Voltaire (though in many things not absolutely to be relied on, yet in these matters may be better listened to) observes, in his *Age of Louis XIV*, how greatly he had improved, fortified, and adorned France: ‘ It was (says he) wonderful to behold the sea-ports, which before were deserted and in ruins, now surrounded by works, at once both their ornament and defence, covered also with ships and mariners, and containing already near 60 large ships of war. New colonies, under the protection of his flag, were sent from all parts into America, East-India, and Africa: a wonderful change this in six year’s time. Moreover, every year of Colbert’s ministry, from 1663 to this year 1672, was distinguished by the establishment of some new manufacture, such as fine woollen cloth, silk, and glasses (with which, till this time, Venice had supplied all Europe). He also procured from England the secret of the stocking-frame, of English invention, by which stockings are made ten times quicker than by the knitting needles; the manufactures of carpets also, and of fine tapestries, were introduced; also wrought-iron ware, steel, fine earthen ware, Morocco leather, &c.

‘ While such vast improvements were making at home, Louis in this summer kept his court at Utrecht, and his troops were making excursions within one league of Amsterdam itself. Thus was the greatest mercantile state that ever existed upon the very brink of utter destruction. A moment’s diligence would have put that king in possession of Amsterdam. The richest families, and those who were most desirous of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and fly even to the extremities of the world. The ships capable to make this voyage were numbered, and it was found that 50,000 families might be embarked. The Dutch would no longer have existed but in the most distant part of the East-Indies: and these European provinces, which subsist only by their Asian riches, their commerce, and (if a Frenchman may say so) by their liberty, would on a sudden have been ruined and depopulated. Amsterdam, the warehouse and magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by 300,000 people, would have presently become only one vast lake; and the adjacent lands, which require an immense expense to raise and maintain their banks, would probably at once have wanted both the support of men and money, and would at length have been overwhelmed by the sea, leaving Louis XIV only the wretched glory of having destroyed one

* The first settlement of the French at Bourbon is dated in 1655, and the more effectual one in 1671, by Viscount De Vaux, in his *History of Mauritius*, published in 1801. M.

of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry. Four deputies, came to the king's camp to implore his clemency for a republic, which six months before had thought herself the arbitrator between kings. Those suppliants were received with haughtiness, and even with insults and raillery, by Louvois the minister, and were made to return several times. At length the king ordered his determination to be declared to them, viz. 1st, the states to deliver up all they possessed on the other side the Rhine, with Nimeguen, and several other towns and forts in the heart of their territories: 2dly, to pay the king 20 millions: 3dly, that France for the future should be master of all the great roads of Holland, both by land and water, without paying any tolls: 4thly, that the catholic religion should be everywhere restored: 5thly, that the republic should annually send an ambassador extraordinary to the French court with a gold medal, whereon should be engraved an acknowledgment that they held their liberties of Louis XIV: 6thly, and finally, that they should also make satisfaction to the king of England and the princes of the empire, particularly those of Cologne and Munster, by whom Holland still continued to be ravaged.

'These conditions,' (continues Voltaire) 'which approached so near to slavery, appeared intolerable; and the rigour of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage. They determined, therefor, to die in defence of their liberty. Their hearts and hopes were all turned upon the prince of Orange, and their fury, against the grand pensionary John de Witt and his brother Cornelius, both of whom were massacred by the mob at the Hague. They immediately cut the dikes which kept out the sea, whereupon the country houses, which are innumerable round Amsterdam, also the villages and neighbouring towns, such as Leyden, Delft, &c. were overwhelmed; and yet the country people did not repine at seeing their herds of cattle drowned in the fields. Amsterdam itself appeared like a vast fortress in the midst of the sea, surrounded with ships of war, which now had depth of water sufficient to make them be stationed round the city, where fresh water was now sold at six stivers per pint. What will be most wondered at by posterity is, that Holland, whilst thus overwhelmed on the land, was yet formidable on the ocean under De Ruyter, who, with 100 ships of war and 50 fire-ships, gave battle to the united fleets of England and France at Solebay, and afterwards brought their East-India fleet safe into the Texel; thereby defending and enriching his country on one side, whilst Louis was destroying it on the other. In brief, the emperor Leopold, the great elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, all flew to the assistance of the Dutch; and as no more conquests could be made in a country overwhelmed with water, Louis

‘ found it best to return home, and leave his army, which being weakened by its own success in garrisoning the numerous conquered towns, was obliged to retreat; and the prince of Orange, now stadtholder, was by the above succours enabled quickly to recover all that Louis had conquered. In the midst of those disorders and devastations,’ (says Voltaire) ‘ the magistrates of Amsterdam (to their eternal honour) manifested virtues which are seldom seen but in a republic. For as those people who were possessed of bank-notes * ran in crowds to the bank, where it was to be apprehended they would lay violent hands on the public treasure, every one being eager to get his money out of the little which they supposed still to remain there, the magistrates opened the places where the treasure was deposited, and it was found entire, just as it had been first deposited sixty years before; and the silver was even still black from the effects of the fire by which the old stadthouse had been consumed long before. The bank-notes,’ (credit) till now had been constantly negotiated, and this treasure never touched, till now, that those who insisted on having their money were paid out of it. Such distinguished good faith, and such great resources, were then so much the more admirable, as Charles II king of England, to defray the expense of his pleasures and of this war against the Hollanders, had just at that time become a bankrupt to his subjects; and it was as dishonourable in this king thus to violate the public faith, as it was glorious in the magistrates of Amsterdam to preserve it at a time when a failure might have appeared pardonable †.’

This account of Holland’s condition is so finely told by Voltaire, that, though somewhat prolix, it cannot, we imagine, fail to be entertaining to every curious reader who has not read his work.

Spain having assisted the Dutch in this war with France, as their own Netherlands must inevitably have been lost had the Dutch been ruined, Louis made that a pretence to seize on the Franche Comté of Burgundy, and on many places in the Spanish Netherlands; and although by the succeeding peace of Nimeguen some of the Netherland towns were restored to Spain, France nevertheless has retained the county of Burgundy to this day.

We have seen the three former English African companies ruined by war, misconduct, and struggles with the interlopers. In this year the fourth and last exclusive company was erected, after the third company had surrendered their charter, for the above reasons. To this

* He means bank credit—*comptes en banque*. A.

† This noble struggle of free merchants against haughty conquerors recalls to the mind of the reader the noble stands made by Tyre against Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, and by the Carthagi-

nians against the Romans. Though, like those ancient heroes, Louis was almost deified by the adulation of base flatterers, the event was more favourable to the citizens of Amsterdam than to their predecessors, the merchants of antiquity. M.

fourth company the king and the duke of York subscribed, as well as many persons of rank and quality; and the whole capital of £111,000 was completed in nine months. In this new subscription the late company was allowed £34,000 for their three forts, viz. Cape-coast castle, Sierra Leone, and James-fort in the river Gambia. The new company soon improved their trade and increased their forts: and whereas all former companies were obliged to send to Holland to make up their assortments of goods, they now introduced into England the making of fundry kinds of woollen goods, &c. not formerly known. They also imported quantities of gold, out of which 50,000 guineas* were first coined in one year (1673). They also imported redwood for dyers, elephants teeth, wax, honey, &c.; and they exported to the value of £70,000 annually in English goods for several years: but at the revolution the West-India planters joined the interlopers in asserting, that they were always best served with slaves when the trade was open to all. And the petition and declaration of right, as that act of parliament [*1mo Gulielmi et Mariæ*] is commonly called, effectually debarring it and all other pretended exclusive companies not authorized by parliament, the trade became open, though the company still persisted in seizing the separate traders, which occasioned much clamour and no small obstruction to the negro trade. Their great disputes with the separate traders are contained in many large pamphlets, but the subject is long since become so obsolete, that it would tire our readers to very little purpose to give a detail of it.

Copper halfpence and farthings were coined this year by King Charles, having on one side *Carolus a Carolo*, and on the reverse Britannia: 'There was,' says Mr. Tindal in his Notes on Rapin's history, 'another farthing coined of rare copper, having on the reverse *Quatuor Maria vindico*; but these were called in to please the French king.' And this coinage now effectually suppressed the private coins called tokens.

This year the Turks, with an army of 150,000 men, invaded Poland, took the strong fortress of Caminiec, and also brought the Poles so low as to submit to an annual tribute, in order to obtain peace of the Porte, which, however, in the very next year was renounced, when King John Sobieski gave the Turks a great overthrow, and thereby made better and more honourable terms of peace for Poland in the year 1676.

At the close of this memorable year Sir Tobias Bridges, with six ships from Barbados, took from the Dutch the island of Tobago in the West-Indies, and also St. Eustatia; which later the Dutch admiral Evertz retook the same year. On the other hand, the Dutch took St. Helena from England; which was recovered next year by surprising the Dutch.

* So named from the country which produced the gold whereof they were made. A.

garrison at a place where only two persons abreast could climb up the rock. Three rich Dutch India ships were taken with the island. The narrow pass was afterwards strongly fortified; and as the rest of the island is entirely a steep rock, the English colony, said to consist of about 200 families, live in perfect security.

1673.—The whole business of the colony of St. Helena is to supply fresh provisions and water for our homeward-bound East-India ships, in return for which the planters are supplied out of the company's warehouses there with brandy, wine, arrack, beer, malt, sugar, tea, &c. also with clothing from England and India; so that this otherwise barren and rocky spot is, by its happy situation, of singular benefit to our shipping, and to those also of other nations in amity with us. The Portuguese discovered it in the year 1501, when it was quite uninhabited. They stocked it with hogs, poultry, &c. and also with lemons, oranges, figs, &c. which thrive very much, and rendered it an useful refreshing place, where they often left their sick men till their next return: but that nation possessing so many ports afterwards along the south-east coast of Africa, such as Sofala, Membaza, Melinda, Magadoxa, Mosambique, &c. for refreshing their ships on their East-India voyages, they abandoned St. Helena, which lay long after desolate, until the Dutch settled on it for the like convenience: but finding the Cape of Good Hope still more convenient, they also abandoned St. Helena about the year 1651; whereupon our East-India company settled on it; and it now abounds with cattle, poultry, greens, fruits, &c. there being some good spots here and there between the rocks, affording herbage, pasture, &c. By King Charles's charter, in the year 1661, the island was confirmed to the East-India company; but the Dutch having seized on it in 1665, it was retaken in 1672, as we have just seen. The Dutch mastered it again: and the king's ships having now finally recovered it (1673), it became vested in the crown; wherefor, in the same year, the king by his charter regranted it to the East-India company forever, as absolute lords-proprietors of it, with all royal mines, &c.; in whose possession it remains to this day.

In the summer of the year 1673 there were in two months space three several and terrible sea-fights between the fleets of England and Holland, though not so bloody as that in the preceding year. In the last of them, under Prince Rupert, the French squadron are said to have stood neuter all the later part of the day. The English and French joint fleet consisted of 110 ships; the Dutch of 100, under De Ruyter and Van Tromp. Both sides claimed the victory in all the three engagements, and both English and Dutch by their gallant conduct merited it. In February [N. S.] this year, the earl of Shaftesbury, chancellor, in a speech in the house of peers, inveighed with much acrimony against the Dutch, whom he called 'England's constant foes, both by interest and

'inclination;' wherefor he concluded with the elder Cato's words, '*delenda est Carthago*,' i. e. the Dutch must be extirpated.

During this short but hot war the English East-India company was obliged to raise no fewer than six thousand men for the security of Bombay against the attempts of the Dutch.

At this time the manufactured commodities of India annually imported into Europe, and more particularly into England, were become so considerable, as to occasion loud complaints against our English East-India company, as destroyers, or at least great lesseners, of the consumption of our own English manufactures; whereby also, it was observed, our annual exportation of bullion to India, which formerly did not often exceed £40,000, was greatly increased. These complaints continued without intermission, or rather increased, until long after, that the legislature found it necessary to enact a total and absolute prohibition of the wear of all such in England, muslins only excepted.

This year a fleet of French ships of war failed to attack the Dutch forts on the coast of Ceylon, with a view to possess the cinnamon trade; and they actually took the important fort of Trincomalee. But a fleet of sixteen large ships from Batavia with land forces arriving, the French fleet retired to Surat, and the Dutch soon recovered it. The French failed from Surat, and took the fortress of St. Thomas, which the Dutch had taken from the Portuguese a few years before; which was also soon lost again to the Dutch; and in the end not a single ship ever returned home to France. This then was the last attempt during the 17th century for disturbing the commerce of the Dutch East-India company.

1674.—The French, after being driven from St. Thomas, retired in the year 1674 to Pondicherry, which, by permission of the viceroy of the king of Visapour, they fortified, the situation being very proper for the trade of piece-goods, then in great demand in Europe. This place the French have so much improved, that it was to our days their capital residence for all their East-India trade. It was, however, taken by the Dutch in the year 1693, but restored to France by the peace of Ryswick in 1697; after which it was still farther strengthened and improved, so as to be deemed at length one of the most considerable of the European settlements in India, having a large town, with many thousands of Indians in it, besides the French company's people and traders; and being lately farther enlarged; and the suburbs walled in, it is by some said to be four leagues in circumference, and to contain 120,000 inhabitants, christians, Moors, and Gentoos.

The universal clamour of the people of England on account of the increasing power of France, so dangerous to us and to all Europe, obliged King Charles, in the beginning of the year 1674, to come into terms of peace, by the mediation of Spain, with the states of Holland,

on much the same footing as in that of Breda in the year 1667; with this advantage, however, on his side, that by the 10th article the states agreed to pay our king 800,000 patacoons (being near £200,000 sterling) towards the expense of this war; which money came very seasonably to him, who had lavished away in a shameful manner the greatest part of the money given by parliament for the war.

By the fourth article it was stipulated, that all Dutch ships, whether ships of war or others, whether in squadrons or single ships, which shall happen to meet any ships or vessels whatsoever belonging to the king of Great Britain, whether one or more, carrying that king's flag called the jack, in any of the seas from Cape Finisterre to the middle point of the land Van Staten in Norway, shall strike their top-sail, and take down their flag, in the same manner, and with the like testimony of respect, as has been usually paid at any time or place heretofore by the Dutch ships to those of the king or his ancestors.

V) And whereas the agreement of the year 1667, for the surrender of the colony of Surinam by King Charles's governor thereof to the states-general, has occasioned many quarrels and disputes, and has contributed greatly to the misunderstanding lately arisen between the king and the states, the states-general now stipulate that those articles shall be fully executed; and that the king may send commissioners to examine the condition of his subjects remaining there; and may send thither two or three ships to bring away his subjects, with their effects and slaves; and till then that they be treated equitably in the sale of their lands, payment of debts, and barter of goods.

VI) 'All lands, islands, towns, forts, &c. taken on both sides since the commencement of this war, shall be restored by either party in the same condition they then were.

IX) 'Within three months after the proclamation of this treaty the states-general agree to send to London a number of commissioners equal to those of the king, to treat of the freedom of navigation and commerce, more especially in the East-Indies; and in case they shall not agree within three months, then the disputes shall be referred to the arbitration of the queen-regent of Spain.'

Done at Westminster, 9th of February [N. S.] 1674.

Another marine treaty was concluded on the 1st of December 1674: and,

By an explanatory declaration of both the marine treaties above-named, and by another, signed by Sir William Temple on one side, at the Hague, and by the states-deputies on the other, on the 30th of December 1675, it is declared, 'that the true meaning and intention of the said articles is, and ought to be, that ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of either of the parties can and might, from the time that the said articles were concluded, not only pass, traffic, and trade, from

‘ a neutral port or place to a place in enmity with the other party, or
 ‘ from a place in enmity to a neutral place ; but also from a port or
 ‘ place in enmity to a port or place in enmity with the other party,
 ‘ whether the said places belong to one and the same prince or state, or
 ‘ to several princes and states, with whom the other party is in war :
 ‘ and we declare that this is the true and genuine sense and meaning
 ‘ of the said articles : and we do promise that the said declaration shall
 ‘ be ratified by his said majesty and by the said states-general *.

Part of the secret article of the foregoing treaty of peace is as follows, viz. ‘ neither of the said parties shall give leave, nor consent, that
 ‘ their subjects or inhabitants shall give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, nor shall furnish, nor permit their
 ‘ subjects or inhabitants to furnish, any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals,
 ‘ money, instruments of war, &c. to the enemies of either party.’

The old ill-judged affair of prohibiting new buildings in London was once more revived, an order of council being published for prosecuting all such as had erected houses on new foundations in the suburbs and vicinity of London : by which, all that was probably intended, was to bring some money into the impoverished and bankrupt exchequer.

So vast was our commerce with Holland at this time, that after a great frost, in this year 1674, when the waters were open, there sailed out of the harbour of Rotterdam 300 sail of English, Scottish, and Irish, ships, all at once, with an easterly wind. [*Ker of Ker'sland's Memoirs*, V. ii.]

The Dutch West-India company's exclusive grant now expiring, the states-general renewed the same, exclusive of all other Dutch inhabitants, to trade to Africa and the West-Indies, any otherwise than in the name of that company, whose limits were defined to be from the tropic of Cancer to the south latitude of 33 degrees, including all the islands within those boundaries, both on or near the African and American coasts. Provided, however, that if the East-India company shall occupy the islands situated within those limits between Africa and America, from Ascension southward, before this company shall so do, then the East-India company shall have an exclusive patent for those islands, &c.

And it seems, the Dutch West-India company do to this day grant licences to private adventurers to trade within those limits, from which emoluments they are partly enabled to make a small dividend to the partners.

* This declaration has given rise to all the complaints of the Dutch, on account of our making prize of their ships laden with French property in the years 1757-8-9, which those Dutch ships were intended to convey safe to and from France, and

to protect them from our cruizers. The British court and the Dutch differ widely in their explanations of this explanatory declaration, which requires a fresh treaty to explain it. *A.*

1675.—The English house of commons being much out of humour with the conduct of their king and his ministers, acting so much in favour of France, and so diametrically opposite to England's true interests, and observing the immense consumption of French wares of all kinds in England, and, on the other hand, how little of English merchandize was taken off by France, now ardently pursuing the improvement of her own woollen, silk, and linen, manufactures, that house entered into an examination of the general balance of trade between England and France, and found that England was annually, for some time past, losing above one million sterling by her trade with France.

Imported into England from France, annually,

about	-	-	-	-	-	£1,500,000	0	0
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Exported from England to France, annually,

about	-	-	-	-	-	170,000	0	0
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Annual balance against England	-	-	-	-	-	£1,330,000	0	0
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Beside about £600,000 value of French wines, silks, embroideries, and other fripperies, annually run in or smuggled upon us: 'so that all our grave laws against sending money in specie out of England, when the balance of trade is against us, is but hedging in the cuckow.' Coffee-houses in London were at this time much frequented by persons of rank and substance, who, suitable to our native genius, used very much freedom therein, with respect to the court's proceedings in these and the like points, so contrary to the voice of the people. Whereupon the king issued a proclamation in this same year, 'for suppressing all coffeehouses in London,' (which also was like hedging in the cuckow) 'as being places where the disaffected met, and spread scandalous reports concerning the conduct of his majesty and his ministers.' But the dealers in coffee, tea, and chocolate, having hereupon remonstrated to the court, that the said proclamation would greatly lessen his majesty's revenue, the king, a few days after, issued another proclamation for suspending the former.

The navigation laws being sometimes violated, King Charles now issued a proclamation for prohibiting the importation into his American plantations of any European merchandize but what should be laden in England, and for putting other branches of those acts into strict execution relating to America.

In September, a sudden fire having burnt down the greatest part of the town of Northampton, it was, by an act of parliament of the 27th year of King Charles II, directed to be rebuilt, and was accordingly so done, in a more beautiful and commodious manner than it had formerly been, as appears by the only public act of this year, 1675.

About 1200 people, including slaves, who had left Surinam in consequence of the fifth article of the peace with Holland, were carried to

Jamaica, where they had lands assigned to them in the parish of St. Elizabeth.

It is said that the Dutch, after obtaining possession of Surinam, rendered it much more healthy than formerly, by clearing the woods and draining the marshes. From the mouth of the river Surinam, situated in six degrees north latitude, plantations, extending above 100 miles up the river, are cultivated by above 800 families, many of whom are French protestant refugees. Besides the capital, now called Surinam, they have New-Zealand, New-Middelburg, and other towns. The produce is sugar in great quantities, coffee, esteemed superior to that of Martinico and Jamaica, gums, dying woods, cotton, ginger, flax, skins, tobacco, &c. Surinam, which is the only colony possessed by the Dutch on the continent of America, is said to be the joint property of their West-India company, the city of Amsterdam, and the lord of Somelsdyk.

In this same year a commercial treaty was concluded at Adrianople, by Sir John Finch, between King Charles and the sultan Mahomet IV, whereby all former treaties, from Queen Elizabeth's time downward, were confirmed, and certain new capitulations were superadded, such as freedom for all English subjects to reside in, and trade to, Turkey; to have consuls of their own appointing in the sea-ports; to enjoy all the privileges and immunities which either the French, or the Venetians, or any christian nation, enjoyed, and to pay no higher duties than they do; that the Dutch merchants of Holland, Zeeland, Friseland, and Gelderland, trading to Turkey, shall always come thither under the colours of England, and shall pay the dues to the English ambassador and consuls, in the same manner as the English merchants do; and the merchants of Spain, Portugal, Ancona, Florence, shall also come under the flag of England, and pay the same dues as the Dutch. The English merchants, and all others who are now to come under the colours of England, may, with all possible security, trade, sell, and buy, all sorts of merchandize, not prohibited, not only in Turkey, but they may likewise trade to Muscovy by sea or land, and may bring their merchandize from thence to Turkey; and the like liberty is now allowed the English with respect to Persia, &c.

The business of the protection of the flag had occasioned much contest between the ambassadors of England and those of France at the Porte, the later having also sometimes got it inserted in their treaties and capitulations, that the Dutch and the other nations, who as yet had concluded no commercial treaties with the Ottoman Porte, should come and trade under the flag and protection of France: but now, in this treaty, that privilege is ascertained to England alone. The case is much altered since the time we are now treating of; the Dutch, particularly, having long since had the privilege of ambassadors and consuls of their own residing constantly in Turkey. There are in this treaty 67 arti-

cles in all, to which, after Sir John Finch's arrival, were added the following explanations, viz.

I) What duty the English ships paid for their merchandize coming to Scanderoon, and afterwards to Aleppo.

II) For all merchandize which the English merchants shall import or export, they shall pay only 3 per cent; and woollen cloths from London shall pay 144 aspers per piece, whether fine or coarse, of the manufacture of England; (80 aspers being worth a Spanish piece of eight). But the woollen cloths of Holland, &c. which are not of the manufacture of England, shall hereafter pay the duties as formerly have been customary, &c.

III, IV, V, VI, and VII, contain only certain regulations concerning causes to be tried relating to the English, and the anchorage duty on our ships arriving at Constantinople, Scanderoon, Smyrna, Cyprus, &c. and other matters relating to duties and debts.

VIII) Two ship loads of figs and currants are annually allowed to be exported from Smyrna, Salonichi, &c. for the use of the king of Great Britain's kitchen, provided there be no scarcity of those fruits, paying only 3 per cent custom for the same. And the ninth article is only a very ambiguous and vague stipulation concerning the duty on all silk which the English buy at Smyrna. [*General collection of treaties, V. iii, p. 282.*]

The anonymous author of a spirited treatise, entitled *Britannia languens*, (8vo, 1680) written chiefly with a view to evince that the commerce of England had been for some years in a consumptive way*, exhibits an account of all the gold and silver coined in England from the 1st of October 1599 to November in this year 1675, being 76 years, which he has divided into four periods; shewing how our coinage increased in the three first periods, proportionably to the increase of our trade and navigation, and how much the coinage had decreased in the fourth period, taken, he says, from a printed account of the said year 1675, viz.

1st period, 19½ years from October 1599 to March 1619, coined in gold and silver,	-	-	-	-	L4,779,314	13	4
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2d period, 19 years from March 1619 to March 1638,	-	-	-	-	6,900,042	11	1
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3d period, 19 years from March 1638 to May 1657,	7,733,521	13	4¼
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4th period, 18½ years from May 1657 to November 1675,	-	-	-	2,238,997	16	0¾
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(About one million of which last sum was harp and cross money, and broad gold, &c. recoined.)

In 76 years, total coined in England is	-	L21,651,876	13	10
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* Doctor D'Avenant, and several other writers, fix on that very year 1680, as the time when England was in the zenith of commercial prosperity. *A.*

So, says this author, our coinage yearly increased from the first to the second period, and from the second to the third, but annually decreased from the third to the fourth, period; and from thence he inferred, that we were decayed and overbalanced in our foreign trade, and that our coin was exported to make good that balance. This position is doubtless overstretched; for although it may be, and certainly was true, that in the three first periods England possessed, almost alone, all the trade of the woollen drapery with the north and west parts of Europe, until between the third and fourth periods, that the Dutch gained much of it from us, and that towards the close of the fourth period, France also pushed into it, yet it surely by no means follows, that, because we did not coin so much between the third and fourth periods as formerly, we therefor were losers by the general balance of our annual commerce within that time: it has, however, been already noted, under the year 1664, by Dr. D'Avenant's account, that we were greatly losers in the general balance for the year 1662, too much, if not wholly, owing to our immense importations from France: yet upon this famous topic we must, after all, agree with Sir Josiah Child, as we have observed under the year 1670, that it is extremely difficult to fix with precision the general balance of a nation's commerce, any other way than by his judicious third position. This indeed is, in good part, confirmed even by this author, who, however, (in *p. 157 et seq.*) observes, 'that the Dutch, long after they became independent states, were ignorant of our new drapery, viz. of bayes, sayes, &c. which we had learned from the Flemings, driven out by Alva's persecution, and we supplied the Dutch with vast quantities of cloth also, though mostly white, which they dyed and dressed, and exported to Germany and many other parts. We had also formerly the sole trade to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Livonia, Poland, and Prussia, by our Eastland company, formerly very flourishing, and called the royal company*: our exports to all which northern countries are greatly lessened by the Dutch having set up mighty woollen manufactures, and the Flemings renewing theirs. We had formerly the sole trade of woollen clothing to France, to the value of £600,000 yearly, but now none at all; also the sole trade to Turkey, though of late the Dutch are become our competitors therein, and the French have been long nibbling at this trade†; and in the Spanish trade both the French and Dutch share largely with us. What is yet more grievous, we import much fine cloth from the Dutch yearly‡, and till of late we imported to the value of £150,000 yearly in stuffs and druggets. Formerly,' continues our author, 'we

* I have not met with this appellation anywhere else. *A.*

† In our days they are far from being nibblers at it. *A.*

‡ This was owing then to the superiority of the Dutch in finishing their cloths. The effect has long ago ceased with the cause. *A.*

‘ had the sole trade to Portugal, but now the French and Dutch are our competitors, as they are also to Italy, where we formerly supplied all. The Venetians also supply and vend much cloth there. We kept the monopoly of the woollen manufacture to most parts of the trading world during all the reign of King James I, and the greatest part of that of King Charles I. This was our principal jewel: and as, at the same time our imports were less than of late, no wonder our coinage was so great.’

Thus we receive not a little light into the history of our woollen manufacture from this able author, whose work, though written with some seeming exaggeration here and there, is still worth perusal even at this day*.

The Dutch East-India company at this time got the town of St. Thomas on the Coromandel coast into their hands by assisting the king of Golconda to recover it from the French, to whom he had given it some years before, the French having then taken it from the Portuguese.

This year the English parliament granted £300,000 for building twenty large ships of war, viz. one first rate ship of 1400 tons, eight second rate ships of each 1100 tons, and eleven third rates of each 700 tons. Such as know the state of the navy in our days know, that ships of the above rates are several hundred tons larger than these were: and also that they could not be now built for considerably more than the above sum. At the same time the parliament resolved for the future to apply the tonnage and poundage duty absolutely for the benefit of the navy, which was no small mortification to the king, who was farther displeased at their refusing him money for taking off the anticipations on his own proper revenues, and it was on that occasion openly observed, that the parliament, or the public, was nowise obliged to pay the king’s private debts, since that would prove a very dangerous precedent hereafter. This was a wise and gallant step towards our present most happy parliamentary constitution, when every sum granted by parliament is appropriated specifically, or else in certain extraordinary cases, is granted upon account, i. e. to be accounted for by the crown officers in the succeeding session of parliament.

1676.—It was in or about the year 1676, that the printing of calicoes was first set on foot in London: as was also brought into use from Holland to London, the weaver’s loom-engine, then called the Dutch loom-engine. Thus all nations mutually gain the benefit from each other of new inventions and improvements, none of which can, for any length of time, be absolutely engrossed by any particular first discoverer.

In a manuscript account of Newfoundland, in the author’s possession,

* A judicious and candid reader will easily excuse the repetition, which we cannot avoid, of some points in such subjects as these, coming from different authors. A.

written in the year 1677, we find, that in the preceding year, 1676, there went thither from England 102 ships for the cod fishery there, each ship having 20 guns, and carrying 18 boats, and for each boat five men, in all 9180 men. Their convoy was two ships of war. And the total value of the fish and oil, they made there in that year, was computed at £386,400. How great a nursery then is this fishery for English sailors, and how beneficial for the employment of ship-building, &c.

In October 1676, King Charles granted his fourth charter to the East-India company, confirming all his former ones, notwithstanding any misuser, nonuser, or abuser, whatsoever of their former rights, liberties, &c. by the company, or their servants. What induced the company to obtain this charter was a great clamour raised against them at this time, on account of their many exclusive privileges; and their enemies went so far as to publish their opinions, that their charters were actually void; because, said they, the crown could not legally grant exclusive privileges and powers, without the concurrence of parliament. This was boldly said for those times, previous to the ever-famous act of the first year of William and Mary, called the declaration of rights. The company's enemies also alleged, 'that their bond debts amounted to £600,000; and as they seldom had much above that sum in value, at any one time, both in their factories in India and upon the seas, they thence inferred, that they traded wholly with their creditors money, of which the company made 40 per cent, whilst they allowed their bond creditors but six per cent.' So that, should their factories and goods be destroyed by war, &c. how could they secure and maintain the present nominal value of their capital stock, and, at the same time, fully satisfy their creditors*.

That company, having now made a very considerable profit by their trade, decreed in a general court, that the profits, instead of making a dividend thereof to their proprietors, should be added to their principal, or capital stock, so as just to double the same; for whereas their whole capital was, till now, only £369,891 : 5; every share of £50 was now made £100, whereby their new capital was made up to £739,782 : 10.

A great part of the wealthy and extensive burgh of Southwark was destroyed this year by a sudden fire, the houses having then been mostly built of timber, lath, and plaster. The legislature thereupon appointed commissioners, by an act [29 Car. II, c. 4] for rebuilding the same, which was done all of brick walls, in a more substantial, regular, and beautiful, manner, than before, as it still appears at this day, from London bridge to St. Margaret's hill, and beyond it.

In this year Sir William Petty wrote his treatise of Political arith-

* This objection holds equally true against all traders, whether on a great or a small scale. A.

metic. Perhaps all his computations and inferences are not quite unexceptionable, yet, as he was well versed in the theory of commerce, we may safely avail ourselves of some of his useful remarks on its increase in England, from the year 1636, to the year 1676, viz.

That in that space the taxes and public levies in our three kingdoms have been much greater than at any time before, and yet the said kingdoms have gradually increased in wealth and strength.

1. With respect to housing, the streets of London shew it to be double the value of what it was 40 years before. And they have also increased therein at Newcastle, Yarmouth, Norwich, Exeter, Portsmouth, and Cowes. In Ireland also, at Dublin, Kingsale, Colerain, and Londonderry.

2. With respect to shipping, the navy is now triple or quadruple of what it was 40 years ago, and before the Sovereign was built. The shipping of Newcastle is now about 80,000 tons, and could not then be above a quarter of that quantity; first, because London is doubled in people; secondly, because the use of coals is at least doubled, they being heretofore seldom used in chambers, as now they are; nor were there so many bricks burnt with them as of late; nor did the country on both sides the Thames make use of them as now.

Above 40,000 ton of shipping are employed in the Guinea and American trade, which trade in those days was inconsiderable. The quantity of wines imported was not then near so great as now. And, in short, the customs did not then yield one third of the present value.

3. The number and splendour of coaches, equipages, and household-furniture, have much increased since that period.

4. The postage of letters is increased from one to twenty*.

5. And his majesty's revenue is now tripled.

6. The money coined during the usurpation, being called in after the restoration, was found to be about one seventh part of the whole cash of the nation; and as it amounted to £800,000, and some hoarded money was not brought in at all, the whole cash of England may be estimated at six millions.

Another attempt was now made to discover a north-east passage. The duke of York, who was on all occasions a zealous friend to commerce and navigation, obtained the use of a king's ship, which he, Lord

* This surely is exaggerated. *A.*

Sir William Petty [*p.* 13, *ed.* 1690] says, 'the very postage of letters cost the people, *perhaps*, £50,000 per annum, though farmed at much less.'

The following calculation of the shipping of Europe, made by Sir William, [*p.* 5] ought not to be omitted in this work.

England, (perhaps he includes Scotland and Ireland) - - - 500,000 tons.

The United provinces,	-	900,000
France,	-	100,000
Hamburgh, Denmark, Sweden, Dantzick,	-	250,000
Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c.	-	250,000

Total shipping of Europe, 2,000,000 tons. *M.*

Berkley, Sir Joseph Williamson, Sir John Banks, and others, fitted out, together with another ship bought by them, under the command of Captain Wood. The hope of effecting a discovery was revived by new reports and arguments circulated at this time, some of which had little or no foundation, as, 1st, whales had been found on the coast of Corea, near Japan, with English and Dutch harpoons sticking in them *; 2d, 20 years before, some Dutchmen had sailed within one degree of the north pole, and found it temperate weather there; and therefor William Barents, the Dutch navigator, who wintered at Nova Zembla, in 1596, should have sailed farther to the north before turning eastward, in which case said they he would not have found so much obstruction from the ice; 3d, two Dutch ships had lately sailed 300 leagues to the eastward of Nova Zembla; but their East-India company had stifled that design, as against their interest. The vessels doubled the North cape, and came among much ice and drift-wood, in 76 degrees of latitude, steering to the coast of Nova Zembla, where the king's ship struck upon the rocks, and was soon beat to pieces; and Captain Wood, in the other ship, returned home, with an opinion, that such a passage was utterly impracticable, and that Nova Zembla is a part of the continent of Greenland.

1677.—The people and parliament of England, being justly alarmed at the great progress of the French conquests in the Spanish Netherlands, the house of commons requested the king to make alliances, in order to secure the Spanish Netherlands, in the preservation of which they told him, in the beginning of the year 1677, both his and their interests were highly concerned. They addressed him twice again on this same account; and although his secret engagements with the French king, for the worst of purposes, (viz. to establish an absolute power over his people, and the popish religion) were too strong to incline him seriously to break with him, yet the cries of his people made him, in part, outwardly comply with those repeated addresses; and the parliament now granted him £584,000 for building 30 ships of war, in order to provide for the nation's safety. In the mean time, whilst he was plunged in pleasures, and remained quite unconcerned, Louis (who knew his indolence) took the cities of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, whereby the rest of the Spanish Netherlands was left open on all sides. The king was again requested to enter into an offensive alliance with the Dutch, and to declare war against France, which he flatly re-

* This is no infallible proof that ships could get thither by a north-east passage, although whales might. *A.*

The late improvements in geography have shewn that the passage between Asia and America is nowhere obstructed by land. But though every part of the north coast of Europe and Asia has been

navigated, or surveyed, it is now perfectly well known, that no one vessel can ever be expected to make a clear passage along the whole coast, and into the Pacific ocean. See *Coxe's Account of the Russian discoveries between Asia and America*, and *Pallas's New northern collections*. *M.*

fused, and therefor adjourned them till winter, and afterwards till April 1678.

In February 1667, (N. S.) King Charles concluded a treaty of commerce with France, the substance whereof follows.

Articles I and II) Both nations may reciprocally traffic to all countries with whom they shall respectively be at peace; and in case one of the contracting parties shall be at war with another nation, that shall not hinder the other party from trading to that other country with the same merchandize as they might do in time of peace, contraband goods excepted.

III) Contraband merchandize are defined to be all implements for war, and also saltpetre, horses, and their harness.

IV) But not only every thing for the support and conveniency of life, but gold and silver, coined or uncoined, are declared not to be contraband; and also (which was still kinder for France) hemp, flax, pitch, cordage, sails, anchors, masts, boards, and wood, wrought of all sorts of trees, and that serve for building of ships, or the repair of them, shall remain free, in such sort, that the subjects of France may not only transport the same from any neutral place to any other neutral place, or even to any place at enmity with the king of Great Britain; or from a place that is an enemy to a place that is neutral; or, lastly, from a place belonging to the enemies of the said king to another also belonging to his enemies, whether those ports be under the obedience of one prince or state, or of several, with one or all of which the king of Great Britain may be at war. And the like on the side of the most christian king; excepting, however, towns actually besieged or invested.

V) French ships coming into the ports of Great Britain, and intending to go thence elsewhere, shall be detained no longer than to exhibit their passports. And if the French ships be met in open sea by British ships of war, the later, keeping at a distance, may send a boat on board the French ships, and put only two or three men on board, to the end that the master or owner may exhibit to them his passport, after which they shall freely proceed on their voyage; and the like for the subjects of the king of Great Britain.

VI) French ships passing to a country at enmity with Great Britain, meeting with a British ship of war in their passage; and, in like manner, the ships of British subjects meeting a French ship of war, when they are going to a place at enmity with France, must not only shew their passports, but also their authentic certificates, to the end it may be known, whether there are any contraband goods therein, &c.

VII) Yet if there should be found any such therein, consigned to an enemy's port, the searchers are not to go under deck, nor to open or break into any chests, bales, casks, &c. nor to take any thing out of the ship, till she is brought into port, and a just inventory taken, in the pre-

fence of the custom-house officers. Much less shall the goods be sold or bartered, till after a fair trial, and a sentence pronounced for confiscation; in which confiscation the hull of the vessel, and the lawful merchandize found therein, shall not be comprised.

VIII) French merchandize, found in ships of the enemies of Great Britain, shall be liable to forfeiture, though not contraband. And on the contrary, the merchandize of the enemies of the king of Great Britain are not to be forfeited, if found in French ships, although the said merchandize make up the best part of the lading of such ships, but still with an exception of contraband goods, which, when taken, are to be disposed of as in the preceding article. In like sort, British merchandize found in ships of the enemies of France, shall be liable to confiscation, though not contraband; and, on the contrary, the merchandize of the enemies of France shall not be confiscated, if found in British ships, although they be the greatest part of the lading, contraband goods still excepted. And, in order to prevent a new war that may happen, from injuring the subjects of that crown that shall be at peace, it is agreed, that the ships of the new enemies, laden with merchandize belonging to the crown that shall be at peace, shall not be forfeited, if laden therewith before the end of the term of six weeks after the declaration of the war, between the Soundings and the Naze of Norway; two months between the Soundings and Tangier; two months and an half in the Mediterranean; and eight months in all other parts of the world. In like sort, French goods taken in the ships of the new enemies of Great Britain shall not be confiscated under this pretence, but shall be restored to the owners, unless they had been put on board after the end of the terms above noted. However, contraband goods must not be carried into the enemy's ports: and, reciprocally, British effects, found in ships of the new enemies of France, shall not be forfeited under that pretence, but shall be forthwith restored to the owners, unless put on-board after the end of the terms before specified; contraband goods, as before, excepted.

IX, X) Ships of war shall do no injury to merchant ships; and the commanders of privateers shall, for this end, give security to the amount of £1500 sterling, or 33,000 livres.

XI, XII) Both kings agree to do justice in respect of prizes; and when their ministers complain of unjust sentences pronounced concerning prizes, a re-examination thereof shall be had within one month, and a fresh sentence shall be pronounced in three months after.

XIII) When a suit is commenced between the captors of a prize and the reclaimers, if sentence be pronounced in favour of the reclaimers, it shall be immediately put in execution, upon giving security, although an appeal to an higher court be made: but this shall not be done against the re-claimers.

XIV, XV) Captors of prizes shall be severely punished who treat the masters, &c. of those prizes with any kind of cruelty, as shall those also be, who shall take commissions from the enemies of either king, in order to take prizes from his subjects *.

A new company, under the pompous title of *The company of the royal fishery of England*, was incorporated this year. The duke of York, the earl of Danby, lord treasurer, and many other lords, gentlemen, and merchants, were partners. The king bestowed on them in perpetuity all the privileges enjoyed by any former company, with power to purchase lands, and a premium, to be continued for seven years, of £20 for every dogger or bufs they should build and fit out, to be paid out of the customs of the port of London. The stock at first was £10,980, to which there was added £1600. But this small capital was exhausted in the purchase and equipment of seven buffes, some of which, with their cargoes, were taken by the French: and the company, having run considerably in debt, found themselves obliged to dispose of their remaining buffes and stores in the year 1680. Yet in the year 1683 Sir Edward Abney and several others joined in a new subscription, under the privileges and immunities of this company's charter. But their attempt also came soon after to nothing. It being perseverance alone that is ever likely to bring a general fishery in England to a state of perfection, much time and patience will be required, and many losses and disappointments must be born with; which seems not to be the case of all, or any, of our attempts for establishing a general fishery.

There having been many doubts and objections started about this time against the East-India company of England, and particularly a famous printed answer in the year 1676, from a barrister of the Temple, to a country gentleman's supposed letter to him on this subject, dissuading him from longer trusting his children's fortunes in East-India bonds; because as they were not an exclusive company by act of parliament, they could not legally act as such, and were therefor liable to be overturned, or annihilated, &c. A very judicious answer came out to this in the year 1677, intitled, 'the East-India trade a most profitable trade to the kingdom; and best secured and improved in a company and a joint stock: represented in a letter, written upon the occasion of two

* The perusal of this treaty of commerce, and of that with the Dutch under the year 1668, together with other subsequent ones, sufficiently indicates the importance of them, as well as the expediency of commanders in the royal navy, and those of merchant ships, and of higher people also, being well acquainted with such treaties, which we have abridged as much as possible, consistent with retaining the entire sense and import of every article thereof. Yet, after all, we must here spe-

cially remark, that the transcribing of many old treaties of this kind does but swell our work without much instructing the reader, when, perhaps, the very latest treaty with a nation, (as France for instance) with whom we have had frequent wars, shall, in most cases, essentially repeal all preceding ones, which we here mention, to prevent an objection which some might start, to our not transcribing (as Savary, Pottlethwayte, &c. have done) all those obsolete treaties injudiciously. A.

' letters, lately published, insinuating the contrary.' (Possibly by Sir Josiah Child.)

His general positions are,

That the East-India trade takes off a considerable quantity of our native commodities and manufactures.

It supplies us cheaply with the most necessary commodities for our own consumption.

It brings us some commodities for our further manufacture]

It furnishes large quantities of goods for foreign markets.

It employs a great number of English shipping.

It occasions the building of more ships of burden and force, fit for warlike service and defence of the kingdom, than any other trade whatever.

It brings in a considerable revenue to the king's customs, and the greatest addition to the kingdom's stock.

Thus evinced.

It employs, in a direct course, to and from India 30 to 35 ships from 300 to 600 tons burthen; and in seven years past there have been built, new from the stocks, 26 to 28 ships from 350 to 600 tons each: whereby there is a very large addition of strength for defence of the kingdom, as those ships, equipped in a warlike manner, will carry from 40 to 60, and 70 guns each*.

The exports of the company in one year (viz. part of 1674 and 1675) may be about £430,000, whereof about £320,000 in bullion, and about £110,000 value in cloth and other goods.

The returns from India for that adventure are calico, pepper, saltpetre, indigo, silk (raw and wrought), drugs, &c.; which, on sale in England, produce at least £860,000, and often as much more.

The amount of customs, freight, and all other charges, of officers, warehouses, carts, lighters, porters, &c. is altogether as much the kingdom's stock as the clear profit added to the company's stock is.

So that there is, in a plain and direct way, added to the stock of the kingdom by the company's trade in one year, if no accident intervene, £430,000, deducting, however, about £60,000, being the charges in India for the maintenance of factors, factories, forts, garrisons, negotiations with princes, &c.

The private trade, allowed by the company to owners of ships, commanders, and seamen, as well as to their factors, &c. for diamonds, pearls, musk, ambergris, &c.; for which there may be annually exported, in goods, about £40,000 or £50,000, and in bullion from £80,000 to £100,000, yields at home in returns £250,000 to £300,000. So

* It appears that the very largest of the India ships at that time were smaller than any India ship is at present. M.

here is £130,000 farther addition to the stock of the kingdom. Both together making £500,000, annually added to the nation's stock by the East-India commerce, besides all the consequences depending farther thereupon, which come next to be considered.

For illustration hereof, let us consider the state of our East-India trade in the consequences depending thereupon, viz.

In reference to the exports, principally of so great a quantity of gold and silver; what is very obvious, is, that if in any foreign trade £100,000 exported in bullion brings back as much merchandize, as being re-exported to other foreign parts brings home £200,000 or £250,000, that must be a gainful commerce to the nation.

The goods annually exported, amounting to £110,000, consist of £60,000 or £70,000 in English goods, as drapery, tin, and lead, and the rest is in foreign commodities. Our lead, it is true, might be taken off by other European nations, although we had no trade to India ourselves; but the drapery and tin, amounting to £50,000 (which now gains £50,000 to the nation), would not be taken off at all; for no other nation carries English cloth to India; and for tin, there are great quantities of it in some parts of India.

There may be annually consumed in England nearly to the value of £200,000, £230,000, or £240,000, in India goods, viz. about £6000 in pepper, £30,000 in saltpetre, £30,000 in silks, raw and manufactured, £160,000 in calicoes, and about £10,000 to £15,000 in indigo and other drugs*. All the rest of the returns above mentioned, amounting to £630,000 value, are transported to foreign markets, as is also most part of the private trade. The pepper I reckon at 8*d* per pound weight (so necessary a spice for all people), which formerly cost us 3/4 per pound, being nowhere to be had but in India; and were we obliged to have it from the Dutch, they would probably raise it as high as they do their other spices: yet, supposing it so low as 1/4 per pound, it would be a farther annual expense of £6000 to the nation.

Saltpetre is of that absolute necessity, that without it we should be without the means of defending ourselves. Possibly, even if we had no Indian trade, we might in time of peace purchase it, though it would cost us double what it now does. But, in case of war, where could we have sufficient? not surely from our enemies. Or, would our gentlemen, citizens, and farmers, be willing to have their cellars and rooms dug up (as in King Charles I's reign), and be deprived of freedom in their own houses, exposed and laid open to saltpetre men? which method would be, besides, far short of entirely supplying us.

Raw silk we might possibly be supplied with from other parts, though

* There is here no mention of tea or coffee. The company had not yet settled a trade to China for the former, and the later was imported only by the Turkey company. A.

not so cheap as from India. And India-wrought silks serve us instead of so much Italian and French silks, which would cost us almost triple the price of Indian silks; to the kingdom's loss of above £20,000 yearly.

Calicoes serve instead of the like quantity of French, Dutch, and Flemish, linen, which would cost thrice as much: hereby 2 or £300,000 is yearly saved to the nation. And if the linen manufacture were settled in Ireland so as to supply England, our calicoes might be transported to foreign markets*.

Indigo is necessary for dying and perfecting our own manufactures. And the other drugs, &c. brought from India, are inconsiderable.

The value of £630,000 in India goods of the company's, and £200,000 value of private traders, are transported yearly to France, Holland, Spain, Italy, Turkey, &c. whereby those trades are the better carried on by the English to a farther advantage of the kingdom, and cannot be calculated to yield less than ten per cent clear profit, being £83,000 yearly: yet, as some part may be exported by strangers, I shall estimate the net profit at only £60,000, being so much farther addition to the nation's stock. And here, by the way, it may be observed, that the kingdom hath a greater advantage, when the trade is driven by the English merchant, than when it is carried on by strangers, seeing all the profit arising by the trade of the one is brought back to England; whereas the profits of the others remain abroad. This I note for rectifying the mistake of some, who say, it is all one to the kingdom, so the trade be carried on, whether it be by the English or by strangers; as also to evince, that it is the nation's interest to encourage the king's subjects in their trade preferably to strangers.

The India goods are exported in English shipping, whereby much employment is given to our own ships; the very freight of which, being about 5000 tons, cannot amount to less than £20,000, being so much farther addition to the kingdom's stock.

From all these considerations there will arise a full and clear answer to the objection made against this trade, because of the quantities of gold and silver exported to India. And thus the sending out of our treasure increaseth it: whereas to coop it up would render it wholly useless. Had we all the gold and silver in the world, if it were absolutely kept and confined within this kingdom, it would neither increase our trade, nor render us more formidable in strength and power. If some other foreign trades do waste and consume our treasure, let us find out expedients to prevent it. But, in the meantime, it would be destructive to stop the current of our real supplies of it, by breaking in upon, or obstructing, the course of the East-India trade, by which, if

* This is now in our time happily verified and effected. A.

the kingdom had not been supplied, all its treasure might, ere this, have been exhausted.

Next, that the East-India trade cannot so well be secured and improved, for the benefit and advantage of the kingdom, in any other way, as by a company in a joint stock; let it be considered,

That no other nation trades thither otherwise than by a joint stock, except the Portuguese, who are now almost beaten out of the trade.

It is well known that presents are to be made to kings, princes, and governors, of India, for obtaining licence to traffic there: and there is also a necessity of hiring some great house for securing their persons and goods there, at each respective place.

Our company has been at vast charges and hazards for obtaining freedom of trade, and many great privileges and immunities, both from the great mogul, and very many other kings, princes, and governors; and likewise for the security of their factors, estates, and trade; also to purchase, build, and maintain, great houses and storehouses in all the places of their residences, called factories; and in some places, as at Fort St. George, Bombay, and St. Helena, to make considerable fortifications, and to keep large garrisons.

If therefor this trade should be left entirely open, so as every one might trade thither as he pleased, would not all the privileges and immunities purchased at great expense by our company be either lost, or else rendered void and insignificant? and when every man minds only his own particular concern, the national honour and interest would decline. Would not the kings and governors in India, and the European nations, our competitors there, take all opportunities to make their advantages, and to put hardships and injuries upon the English, wanting united counsels and strength to right themselves? would not every one strive to supplant another, and thereby enable the Indians to raise the prices of their commodities, and lower the prices of English goods? of which there hath already been too sad experience in three or four years of open trade, from the year 1653 to 1657; in which time the English began to lose their antient honour and esteem, and many indignities and wrongs were put upon them by the kings and governors there, forcing the English to sell their goods, and to take others at such prices as they pleased. English commanders have been put to death, and their ships and goods seized, without means of redress. Private traders, by outvying and underselling one another in those four years, brought the trade to be often a losing one, and at best but seldom a saving one. It was from the consideration of these and many other disorders in the open trade, that in the year 1657 it was agreed to lay aside all private trade, and to open books for subscribing to a new joint stock.

In or about the year 1665 the company took a perfect account and balance of all their stock, adventures, and debts; when it appeared that

the stock was really worth 130 per cent; though such were then the humours and fancies of people, that it was actually sold at about 70 per cent. Yet since then the value of the stock has advanced to 245 per cent.

From this short view of things (says our author), I leave it to the consideration of all judicious persons, whether it be not inconsistent with the kingdom's interest, and irrational and unjust, to lay open the East-India trade. Inconsistent with the public interest, to part with or hazard the loss of all those places of strength, and those privileges the company enjoys, but which cannot be maintained in an open trade! Irrational, to make a second trial, after so many inconveniences experienced by the first! and unjust, to deprive the present subscribers in the East-India stock of their future advantages, who have run so many hazards, and been at such vast expenses, for promoting and securing the trade!

With respect to what the barrister's letter alleges, viz. that the East-India trade should be managed by what is called a regulated company, as our Turkey trade is; it certainly cannot be so well secured and improved for the kingdom's advantage by a regulated, as by a joint-stock, company; for the following reasons:

1st, Almost every place in India is under a distinct raja or king: and considering that other European nations are still watching all opportunities of instilling into those rajas contemptuous thoughts of the English for their own ends, this renders it absolutely necessary to have frequent applications to, and treaties with, those kings; and that the English should appear to them with some port and grandeur, as being able to carry on a considerable trade with them, and to force them to a performance of their treaties and agreements. The state of affairs in Turkey is far otherwise, where there is but one prince with absolute dominion: so that, by one ambassador at court, and two or three consuls at residences of commerce to hold correspondence with him, all matters for the security of the trade may be transacted.

All which being duely premised, all well-wishers to England, it is presumed, would desire to have the forts, factories, and privileges, in India, which, by the present joint stock of the East-India company have been obtained, purchased, and settled, at the expense of perhaps £300,000 (and whereof the proprietors of the said joint stock are at present the owners and possessors), to be maintained and preserved to our nation; as also, that the said places of strength, houses, and privileges, being justly the property of the said joint stock, they ought not to be divested thereof without an equitable compensation, even as much as if it were within the kingdom of England. And that the succeeding trade to India should both give such compensation and maintain the growing charge. And as the present design of some is, that the

now joint stock should cease and determine, after getting in what goods and debts they have abroad ; and that the trade, for the future, should be carried on by particular persons, according as every one should think good to adventure, without limitation, either in quantity, quality, or in the prices of goods sent out, or returned home : yet, that there should be a company legally established, to be empowered to raise impositions on the trade, for maintaining the said forts, factories, and privileges, for the equal benefit of all English people trading to India ; also to make treaties with kings and governors in India as formerly ; and also, out of such impositions, to allot a proportion, probably not less than £10,000 per annum, for the loan of the said places and privileges ; and the rest of the money to be employed for the charge of the future government, and for treaties, &c. upon the plan of the Turkey company.

Now, let it be considered, how insufficient this proposed method is for securing this trade to the English nation, in comparison of the present one, wherein there is a fund of at least a million sterling constantly engaged for the necessary defence of the trade. And it will surely be found difficult to know what proportion to lay, by way of imposition, as depending arbitrarily on the humour of particular persons, whether they will trade or not, and for what value. Inasmuch that there will be a certain expense, and an uncertain revenue. And it may frequently happen, that the former may be the greater, and the latter the least : and this too, perhaps, in a time of war ; when, there being little trade, there will be little to be raised by way of impositions ; because, when hazards are great, few will care to adventure ; whereby all may fall into the enemy's hands.

The barrister insinuates, in the close of his letter, that the East-India trade might be so managed, under a regulation, that five times the trade might be gained, and the prices of our own manufactures of cloth, &c. advanced by the multitude and freedom of buyers ; and the price of goods imported much lessened to the English, and much more trade gained with India commodities to other parts of the world !

But I am of a contrary opinion ;

For, 1st, how probable is it, that private traders in a regulated company should gain so much as (and far less five times more than) a joint-stock company ? Those supposed trades to be gained are chiefly the trades to China and Japan ; where indeed our trade, once well settled, might take off more of our woollen manufactures, and might return gold, silver, and copper, in some measure to supply the trade to other parts of India, without exporting so much treasure from Europe. But those trades are not so easily gained as some may fancy * ; and least of all by the stocks of private persons. As the present East-India compa-

* This shews that we had as yet no trade with China. A.

ny, even with so great a joint stock, have in vain made frequent trials to gain those trades: yet, with China, the company, after many attempts and expenses, are in hopes to succeed; but, with respect to Japan, only one undertaking for the gaining the trade to it proved ineffectual, with the loss of no less than £50,000, which great sum would have undone private adventurers. As to what our barrister suggests, that a regulated company would advance the price of our manufactures by the multitude and freedom of buyers, and also lessen the price of goods imported to the English, &c. upon a due and serious examination, it will be found, according to the true maxims of trade, and dictates of reason, to be quite otherwise. For, who is there that hath in any competent degree studied and considered trade in reference to the kingdom's interest, but knows that all buying and selling at home from one to another is but a mere changing of hands, neither adding to, nor diminishing, the nation's stock or wealth. It is dear selling, or rather the selling of great quantities of our native commodities and manufactures, in foreign parts, and our cheap purchasing of commodities in foreign countries, whereby our kingdom is enriched. For if we do but consider the consequence of this barrister's position, it will clearly appear, that particular Englishmen, traders to India, vying upon one another in the buying of cloth, &c. in England, may for a year or two raise the prices in England; and, on the other hand, they may lower the prices and undersell one another, to get off their goods in India, and make returns; some, perhaps, selling cheaper than the prime cost, whilst others may not be able to put off their goods, and so perhaps let their ships return dead freighted, &c. What probability is there then of their continuing to send any thereafter, or that the exportation of our English manufactures should increase? whereas the present joint-stock company have so well managed their trade, that from one hundred to four hundred cloths at most, formerly exported, they now annually export four thousand whole broad cloths and upwards. And with respect to goods imported from India; the multitude of buyers in India raising the prices there, and of sellers in England lessening the prices here, cannot but be very contrary to the kingdom's interest. Because not above one fourth part of the India goods imported are consumed in England, the other three fourth parts being exported to foreign parts. Now, if the prices of what is consumed in England be lowered, the like must inevitably follow for the other three fourths exported: so that the nation really loses by the cheap selling of India commodities in England, and our real interest is to buy cheap in India, and sell dear in Europe. With respect to the building of ships of great burden, so much for the public interest, it cannot be imagined that private persons can effect the same in proportion to what the joint-stock company has done.

The joint-stock company is moreover far more national, with respect to the number of persons who have benefit thereby, than possibly it could be under a regulation: for then, none could trade to India but merchants who understand trade, and only such as have great estates, and are able to lie two years at least out of their money. So that the trade would be confined into a few hands (100 or 150 at most.) Whereas in the joint-stock, noblemen, clergymen, gentlemen, widows, orphans, shop-keepers, and all others, may have stocks there, and reap equal benefit thereby.

There are at this day about 600 persons, who appear on the company's books to be interested in the East-India stock, and under them, it may be, many more.

This author alleges, that the true ground of the present company's many enemies proceeds from their not having subscribed at the beginning, nor yet afterwards, when the books were laid open, but are since filled with envy at the company's prosperity.

But whatever may have been the causes of the discontents against that company, this advocate for them has said so much in favour of an exclusive joint stock company to East-India, as seems not easy to be refuted. We are moreover indebted to this able author's* 27 quarto pages for sundry very important historical facts, which otherwise we should not perhaps have so well known at this distance of time: which may well apologize for the length of what we may fairly denominate a complete system of the East-India company's trade and conduct at that time, and also of the general theory of the commerce to India, which may be said to be suitable to all times and seasons: and we cannot but remark, that, as far as we are able to judge, whatever has since this time been written and published, even down to our own days, on the East-India trade, contains nothing materially new, or which may not be found to be comprehended in this very dissertation; although all that has been since that time published for and against the trade, and also against an exclusive joint stock, would fill up a large folio, were they all put together.

1678.—The act for burying the dead in woollen [18 *Car. II, c. 4*] not being duely observed, it was repealed: and a new act [30 *Car. II, c. 3*] directed that a register should be kept in every parish by the incumbent, or his substitute, certifying that every thing about the corpse of the deceased was made of sheep's wool; of which an affidavit shall be made by the relation of the deceased, and lodged with the incumbent, under the penalty of L5, a moiety whereof to go to the poor of the parish, the other to the informer. Nevertheless, such still is the vanity of many of the rich and great, that they continue to pay the penalty, rather than not adorn their deceased friend's corpse with fine linen, lace, &c. though so contrary to our true national interest.

While we were wantonly, and without measure, importing and using the product and manufactures of France, the wiser French ministry were from time to time laying heavier duties upon the English manufactures and product; so as thereby gradually to drive out of France the consumption of almost all English merchandize, as well as all other foreign commodities, by their tariffs of the years 1664, 1667, &c. Hereby the English foreign trade in general languished, rents fell, and all ranks began sensibly to feel its bad effects. Yet they at first imputed this misfortune to a wrong cause; which made the merchants and traders petition the parliament against the East-India and Levant companies. Having at last discovered the true cause, they made such earnest application to the parliament, as influenced the house of commons to come to a vote, 'that the trade with France was detrimental to the kingdom.' The English were also at this time so justly incensed against the French king's invasion and encroachments from time to time on the Spanish Netherlands (and indeed, as far as he could, on all his other neighbours), that the parliament, in the beginning of this year 1678, passed an act [30 *Car. II, c. 1*] 'for raising money by a poll, &c. to enable his majesty to enter into an actual war against the French king; and for prohibiting, for three years to come, and to the end of the subsequent session of parliament, the importation into England of all French commodities whatever.' It was indeed more than time for England to interpose, and save the almost expiring liberties of Europe; whilst at the same time she put some stop to an inundation of French wines, brandies, silks, linen, paper, salt, and an innumerable variety of frippery, millinery, and haberdashery wares, toys, &c. This prohibition, and that of the wear of East-India manufactures, brought the general balance greatly in our favour in twenty years time. The authors of this time say, that, till after this prohibition, the annual exports of England, on an average, did not exceed three millions sterling; but that in about twenty years after, the exports gradually increased to near seven millions yearly; which vast increase was principally occasioned by the great increase and exportation of our own woollen, silk, linen, iron, and other manufactures, since the prohibition of commerce with France; and partly also by the prohibition, some years after enacted, of the wear of East-India manufactures in England, and likewise in part by the enlarged demand from our own American colonies of all sorts of manufactures and necessaries.

In July an alliance was concluded between England and Holland, for compelling the French king (in consequence of a treaty at this time held at Nimeguen, between them, the emperor, and Spain) to restore to Spain the towns and forts of Charleroy, Aeth, Oudenard, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guislain, Binch, and the duchy of Limburg, &c. as also, all that had been taken from the emperor and

and empire; to restore also Lorraine to the duke of that name. The king of Great Britain, for those ends, stipulated to furnish one third more of naval force than the states-general, and the states to furnish one third more of land-forces in the Netherlands than King Charles.

In August was concluded a treaty, at Nimeguen, between France and the states-general, under the king of Great Britain's mediation; concerning which all that is needful to be recited is as follows.

Article VIII) The town and chatellanie of Maestrecht shall be restored to the states-general of the United provinces.

XIII) The states-general engage to guarantee the present peace and engagements which Spain is now making with France. And by a separate article, France was to restore to the prince of Orange his principality of that name, and his other dominions in France.

On the same day was also concluded, at Nimeguen, a treaty of commerce, navigation, and marine, between France and the states-general, in substance as follows.

Article VII) The subjects on both sides shall pay no higher duties than the natives in general.

IX) No refuge shall be given in the ports of either party to such as shall have taken any prizes from the other party; but if driven thither by stress of weather, they shall depart as soon as possible.

XI) The loaded ships of either party, driven by storm or otherwise into any port of the other party, shall not be compelled to unload or sell their merchandize there.

XIII, XIV, XV) The ships of either party may freely traffic with the enemies of either of them, excepting with contraband merchandize, defined to be all implements of war, saltpetre, horses, and their harness.

XVI, XVII) But the following shall not be deemed contraband goods; viz. corn and grain, beans, oil, wine, salt, and other things for the sustenance of life; all which may be freely carried to an enemy; unless to a place invested or besieged. And such ships designed for an enemy's port, and putting into any of the ports of either party, shall only be obliged to shew their passports, without being searched or detained.

The articles XX, XXI, XXII, are the same as in the commercial treaty of the year 1677, between England and France, relating to merchant ships met at sea by ships of war of the other party, and wherein contraband goods may be found.

XXX) Either party may build, buy, or freight, in each other's dominions, any number of ships for war, or for merchandize, and also such ammunition as they shall want.

XXXI) Ships of either party, driven on the coasts of the other party, shall be treated with justice and humanity.

XXXII) Pirates and exiles to meet with no protection on either side.

XXXIII, XXXIV) Merchants may make use of such advocates in each other's country as they shall think fit; and may keep their books of accounts in what language they shall think best: and may also mutually settle consuls therein.

XXXV) Neither party shall suffer any ship of war of another power to come and make prize, within their ports, havens, or rivers, upon the subjects of the other.

XXXVIII) This treaty shall be in force for twenty-five years to come.

A separate article relates to the 50 sols per ton upon strangers ships sailing out of the ports of France, viz. that this duty shall not derogate from the equality, which in other respects is by the 7th article of this treaty established on both sides; but that Dutch ships shall pay the 50 sols per ton as other nations do: but this subsidy shall be only paid by Dutch ships at going out of the French ports, but not at their coming in. And if loaded with salt, they shall pay but half that duty. And the states may, if they please, lay a like proportional imposition on French ships going out of their ports.

On the 17th of September peace was signed at Nimeguen between Louis XIV of France and Charles II of Spain: but much short of what was stipulated to be obtained for Spain in the treaty between England and the states-general: for, only Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Oudenard, Courtray, St. Guislain, and the duchy of Limburg, were restored to Spain, together with Ghent and its citadel; and in Catalonia the city of Puicerda. On the other hand, Spain was obliged to cede to France, Valenciennes, Cambray, Condé, Bouchain, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Poperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavay, and Maubeuge, with their dependencies; also the county of Burgundy, with the city of Besançon. Thus declining Spain, by every treaty with France since 1659, was obliged to resign many noble and strong cities, and extensive territories, being deserted by King Charles of England, whose highest interest and glory it would have been to support Spain against the greatly increasing power of France. Soon after this unhappy peace, Louis, taking advantage of the very feeble state of Spain, seized the strong city of Luxemburgh; and, moreover, he continually harassed the remainder of the Spanish Netherlands by pretended re-unions, contributions, &c.

The peace at Nimeguen, between the emperor and empire and France, was not formally signed till the 3d of February 1679 (N. S.): yet, as it was still a part of the same treaty of Nimeguen continued, we here give its substance briefly.

Article II) The peace of Munster, or Westphalia, in the year 1648 is declared to be the basis of this treaty.

IV, V) France yields Philipsburgh to the empire, and the emperor Leopold yields Friburg to France.

XII, XIII, XIV, XV) The country of Lorrain to be restored to its duke; only Nancy, its capital, shall remain for ever united to France; which shall also have ways half a league in breadth, to be set out by the French king and the duke, for the more easy passage of the French troops through Lorrain to the city of Nancy, and from Nancy to Alsace, also from Nancy to Besançon, in Franche Compté. Whereby that unfortunate prince, for having sided with the emperor against France, was despoiled of his capital city, and the rest of his duchy now laid quite open to the armies of France at pleasure, in an unheard-of manner.

It was also to be free for the French king to keep garrisons in the towns of Chasselette, Huy, Verviers, Aix-la-Chapelle, Dueren, Linnick, Nuys, and Zons, until peace should be concluded between him and Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, the bishop of Munster, and the princes of Lunenburg; when they were to be restored to the empire.

And thus also France gradually gained ground on the German empire, of which Lorrain, as well as Alsace, formerly were parts, to the still farther destroying of the equilibrium of power in Europe.

The French exclusive Senegal company was now erected, for the trade of gold dust, leather, wax, gums, &c. and it was confirmed in the year 1681 by the name of the royal Senegal company. But, being unable to pay their debts, they were dissolved in the year 1696.

So rapid were the naval and commercial improvements of France at this time, according to the ingenious author of the work entitled *Britannia languens*, that there were now forty French trading vessels for every one that there was twenty or thirty years before. The king of France also established a fishery to the great prejudice of ours.

1679.—The same author asserts, that the Dutch herring and cod fishery employed 8000 vessels and 200,000 sailors and fishers, whereby they annually gained five millions sterling; besides their Iceland, Greenland, and Newfoundland, fisheries, and the multitude of trades and people employed by them at home.

1680.—The Dutch East-India company having assisted the king of Materan, who stiled himself emperor of Java, against two of his rebellious sons, he thereupon yielded up to the Dutch the towns of Cheriban and Tarpa.

This year seems to have been remarkable for new projects in England, which were patronized by Prince Rupert duke of Cumberland, more especially such as related to mechanics. We have a yellow metal much resembling gold, which in our days is still named prince's metal,

as taking its name from him : and a water-mill was thereupon erected on Hackney river for casting cannon of that metal, which is known at this day by the name of Temple-mill.

Another project was for a floating machine worked by horses, for towing great ships against wind and tide.

A third was a machine for raising ballast, which was found ineffectual.

A fourth was a diving machine or engine, by the help of which, and good luck, Sir William Phipps brought home from the West-Indies near £200,000 sterling in pieces of eight, which he fished up out of the sea, where part of a Spanish plate fleet had been lost.

We have a state of the English East-India company's trade in this year, from a judicious anonymous work, entitled a Treatise wherein is demonstrated that the East-India trade is the most national of all foreign trades, &c. (London, 1681)* occasioned by the clamours still raised against that company, in order to have the trade laid open, viz. 'last year' (i. e. in 1680) 'the company sent out for the coast of Coromandel and the bay of Bengal, four three-deck ships, viz. one of 530 tons and 118 seamen, one of 600 tons and 120 seamen, one of 530 tons and 106 seamen, and one of 550 tons and 110 seamen. For Surat and the coast of India, three ships more of 550, 530, and 450 tons. For Bantam, two ships of 600 tons each. For the South seas† and China, two ships of 430 and 350 tons: in all eleven ships, in which there was a stock of £479,946 : 15 : 6. And for the year 1681 they are sending out five ships for Coast and Bay, three for Surat and the coast of India, three for Bantam, and one great ship for the South sea and China: in all which there will be a stock of above £600,000, besides both which years exportations not yet returned, the company has always a considerable stock left in the country to make and provide goods beforehand: besides likewise the value of their islands, towns, garrisons, houses, buildings, ammunition, &c. And they may have what money they will at 3 per cent, which will be the worst news of all in Holland.' This is the first time we find mention of the company sending a ship to China.

The author adds, 'that the quick stock of our East-India company,' by which he means their constant exportations and importations, 'was then more than that of the Dutch company, though the stock of the later sells at 450 per cent, while ours sells not above 300 per cent.'

On the other side, the silk weavers of London had this year unsuccessfully petitioned the house of commons against the wear of East-India silks, Bengals, &c. Mr. Pollexfen, in his speech, asserted, 'that we at this

* From the stile and scope of the work Sir Josiah Child seems to have been the author. A.

† By the *South seas* must be understood the seas about Macassar, Borneo, Java, &c. A.

‘ time consumed to the value of L300,000 yearly in those East-India
 ‘ manufactured goods, including printed and painted calicoes, for
 ‘ clothes, beds, hangings, &c : that the company annually export from
 ‘ L200,000 to L600,000 in bullion : that their trade is now increased
 ‘ to near one quarter part of the whole trade of the nation : that the
 ‘ company find it more for their particular advantage to take up from
 ‘ 6 to L700,000 on their common seal for carrying on their trade, than
 ‘ to enlarge their capital stock, thereby reaping to themselves, not only
 ‘ the gains which they make on their own money, but likewise of the
 ‘ treasure of the nation, allowing to the lenders 4 or 5 per cent *, and
 ‘ dividing amongst themselves what they please, which now, within
 ‘ these last twelve or fifteen months has been 90 per cent. And up-
 ‘ on an exact inquiry, it will be found that this stock is so engrossed,
 ‘ that about ten or twelve men have the absolute management, and that
 ‘ about forty persons divide the major part of the gains, which this last
 ‘ year has been to some one man L20,000, to others L10,000 apiece.’

The Turkey company also preferred their usual complaint against their importation of raw silk : so between those two, the India company was neither to import raw nor wrought silks ; yet the grand committee for trade, to whom that house referred it, did nothing material at that time.

We have shewn, under the year 1676, that its capital stock, by doubling, was then made up to L739,782 : 10. Thus we may see how hard it is to come at the real truth in disputes of any kind, and most of all where property or interest is affected.

This year gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North America. Sir William Penn, an admiral, had obtained a promise from King Charles II of a grant of this country ; but he dying soon after, his son William Penn, an eminent quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time, his charter being dated on the 28th of February 1680 ; and he designed it for a retreat for the people of his religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of spiritual courts, &c. Mr. Penn, therefor, carried thither with him a large embarkation of those quakers, and was afterwards from time to time joined by many more from Britain and Ireland. At his first arrival there, he found many English families, and considerable numbers of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations, which highly merit to be known by all persons who would apply to colonizing. The true wisdom, as well as equity of his unlimited toleration of all religious persuasions, as well as his kind, just, and prudent, treatment of

* This differs from the assertion of the preceding author, that they could have what money they pleased at 3 per cent. *A.*

the native Indians; also his laws, policy, and government, so endeared him to the planters, and so widely spread the fame of his whole economy, that his colony, though so lately planted, is thought at this day to have more white people in it than any other on all the continent of British America, New-England alone excepted*. And Penn, who was a favourite of the duke of York, afterwards King James II, two years after (1682) had a grant from his royal highness of the town and tract of Newcastle, and the two lower counties on the great river Delaware, part of his province of New-York: these are now called the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, and are no inconsiderable addition to his province of Pennsylvania. Mr. Penn's beautiful and superb plan of his capital city of Philadelphia, still strictly followed to this day †, and drawing constantly nearer to perfection, may serve for a pattern to the richest country on earth. At that city they constantly build and employ many good ships, those of even 500 tons may lie close to their wharfs. They trade to our sugar-colonies with their corn, peas, flour, bisket, beef, pork, fish, staves, peltry, lumber, horses, &c. in exchange for sugar, rum, melasses, ginger, pimento, and foreign silver, &c. So greatly does this colony increase in people, that it is thought already nearly to equal New-England, and that it will very soon surpass it. It seems the landed gentlemen of many parts of Ireland, and particularly in the north of it, had raised their rents so high, that many of the tenants threw up their farms and withdrew to Pennsylvania, so that about the year 1729 some thousands of them went thither, and English, Welsh, and Scots, and also many German protestants, have at various times gone thither, who are generally well settled, and are much employed in raising hemp, flax, and other materials for our British manufactures, as drugs for dyers, &c. iron, and copper. They even carry their corn, fish, staves, &c. as far as Italy, and returning to Britain, they there take in woollen, silk, and linen, for clothing, household-furniture, hard-ware, and every thing else that is wanted for that colony. They get silver also by their clandestine trade with the Spanish main; and their trade in logwood, which they import into England, helps to pay for what they bring back. Thus the great evil of persecution and restraint, for innocent conscientious opinions, has once more proved the accidental occasion of peopling and improving one of the finest provinces of British America.

* It ought to be observed, that Penn, though possessed of a grant from his sovereign, did not, like some other founders of colonies, begin by exterminating the native proprietors of the country, but honestly bought the territory from them for a satisfactory price. The consequence was, that his colony lived in harmony, and enjoyed peace and a mutual intercourse of trade and good offices, with the natives. *M.*

† By the original plan the city was to extend from the great river Delaware west to the smaller river Skuylkil. But the buildings have long ago extended far beyond the plan on the side of the Delaware, which is of such a depth, that the greatest merchant ships can lay their sides to the wharfs; while they have scarcely extended half way to the Skuylkil, which is navigable only by small craft, and but for a few miles. *M.*

Tangier being besieged by the king of Moroccò, King Charles sent a message to the house of commons to recommend its preservation and its importance to the English commerce in the Mediterranean, and that the two millions already expended on it would be entirely thrown away, unless speedy and effectual supplies were granted for its relief. But the commons in an address to the king, instead of granting this, represented, *inter alia*, that Tangier had been several times under the command of popish governors, and its garrison in a great degree made up of popish officers and soldiers, as also that the money given for it had been misapplied, wherefor they could not grant a supply for Tangier, unless they might be assured, that thereby they did not augment the strength of their popish adversaries. Thus the jealousy entertained by the parliament and nation, that the king intended this place for a curb on their religion and liberties, prevented its being duely supplied, and occasioned, as we shall see, its being abandoned soon after.

1681.—At a parliament at Oxford, which sat but seven days, the house of commons first resolved to print their votes, which has been continued ever since, very much to the benefit and satisfaction of the public, and particularly beneficial in commercial affairs.

As far back as about the year 1670, the English Levant, or Turkey, company began to complain of the East-India company, on account of the great quantities of raw silk they imported from India, which had formerly been imported solely from Turkey. And in the year 1681 the Turkey company made a formal complaint to the king's council, whereupon a hearing ensued. The substance of that company's allegations, and the East-India company's answers, being printed this year, are as follow, viz.

1) The Turkey company have, for near an hundred years past, exported thither great quantities of woollen manufactures and other English wares, to the great enriching of this nation, and do now more especially carry out thither to the value of about £500,000 sterling yearly: in return for which, the goods imported are raw silks, galls, grogram-yarn, drugs, cotton, &c. all which being manufactured in England, afford bread to the poor of the kingdom.

On the other hand, say they, the East-India company export immense quantities of gold and silver, with an inconsiderable quantity of cloth; in return for which, their chief commodities are calicoes, pepper, wrought silks, and a deceitful sort of raw silk. The calicoes and wrought silks being wrought in India, are an evident damage to the poor of England, and the raw silks are an infallible destruction to the Turkey trade, for, as Turkey does not yield a sufficient quantity of other merchandize, to return for one fourth part of our manufactures carried thither, the remaining three fourths is wholly paid for by raw silk. If that is sup-

planted by India silk, the most considerable part of the Turkey importations, and consequently the cloth-trade of England, must fail.

II) The constitution of the Turkey company, as being a regulated one, and not driven by a joint stock, is open and comprehensive, admitting any that are bred merchants. The sons and apprentices of freemen challenge their freedom by seven years service, and others are admitted to be free for £25 if under 27 years of age, and if above that age for £50; each freeman to trade for as much as he is able. By such open trading the company is increased from 70 persons, who, 40 years ago, wholly drove the trade, to at least 500 traders.

On the other hand, the East-India company's trade is managed by an exclusive joint stock, which is so engrossed, that about twelve persons have the absolute management of the whole trade, and about forty persons divide the major part of the gains, and also appropriate to themselves a greater profit in a separate trade, in musk, ambergris, &c. and, till of late, in diamonds also: neither can they breed up any person under the notion of an East-India merchant, because any one may purchase a share of their trade and joint stock for money.

III) The Turkey company's stock is really greater than the trade will bear, under their present discouragements and checks from the East-India company; and if any damage befalls this stock, every particular member bears the loss of his own adventure, with no damage to the public.

On the other hand, the East-India company having a fixed joint stock of but about £370,000,* they find it more for their advantage to trade with money at interest than to enlarge their stock, and they have therefore borrowed at least £650,000 on their common seal, at the inconsiderable interest of 3 or 4 per cent, thereby trading with the treasure of the nation, and dividing to themselves what sums they please, not only out of the profit, but also out of the principal, as last year, when they divided £260,000, though at the same time they owed above £600,000 at interest.

One George White, a writer against this company, in this same year, says, that in the compass of five years (1676-1681) they divided £741,647, and in two months afterwards they doubled their stock: this, says he, was in all £1,111,647 produced from a capital of £370,000 only, by which extravagant dividends, together with above £300,000, for money borrowed at interest, with presents to courtiers, and their quarrel with the mogul, they were brought into great difficulties, so that they, in a short time, were forced to stop payment for some months, yet they recovered a little again: although by seizing many of the mo-

* How is this assertion to be reconciled with the duplication of the India company's stock in the year 1676? A.

gul's ships trading to Arabia, Persia, &c. that quarrel cost the company in all about £800,000.

Upon the whole, it is humbly hoped, that for relief of the now-languishing, though most useful and necessary, Turkey trade, his majesty will be graciously pleased to permit to the Turkey company the exercise of trade in the Red sea, and all other the dominions of the grand signior, (i. e. Arabia and part of Africa) according to the large extent of their charter, and access thereunto, by the most convenient passages, i. e. round by the Cape of Good Hope.

More reasons against the management of the East-India trade, under the present joint stock.

I) The continuance of the stock, which has now lasted 24 years, (i. e. from 1657) is against their first proposal in their preamble, whereby it is agreed, that at seven years end, the stock should be balanced and divided, and a new subscription made: and that any persons, at the said seven years end, might go out or come in upon a valuation then to be made known: though no such thing be hitherto done.

II) They have sent over to India, throwsters, weavers, and dyers, and have actually set up there a manufacture of silk, which, by instructing the Indians in these manufactures, and by importing them so made into England, is an unspeakable impoverishment of the working people of this kingdom.

III) Though many of the first subscribers have died off, yet there is no liberty for young merchants to come in on a new subscription.

IV) The so long continuance of the stock is also a reason that its whole management is fallen into so few hands.

V) They export great quantities of bullion, and a small quantity of cloth.

VI) Of the 550 who are members of the company, not above one fifth are merchants, and as these last are always of the committee, hence it comes to pass that many of the choicest goods are sent home on their private account, but seldom on account of the joint stock.

VII, VIII) As their present stock is too scanty, so new subscriptions for two or three millions would bring in more merchants, as well as more money to be employed, and also more ships and mariners. At present they trade not at all to Persia, Japan, Arrachan, Acheen, Sumatra, Pegu, Madagascar, and many other places within the limits of their charter, though such places, if traded to, would not only take off much of our English commodities, but likewise by trading there from one port to another, would vend a large proportion of Indian commodities, and the profit and bullion arising thereby would, in a great measure, if not totally, prevent the exportation of bullion out of England.

IX) Lastly, the lenders of so large a dead stock as above, £600,000, at so low an interest as 3 per cent, venture the hazard of their princi-

pal merely for that low interest, whilst the company makes 50 per cent of it, without any hazard at all. Those lenders, in case of losses, captures, &c. have only the company's common seal to depend on, which in such case is no security at all: for no one member is obliged to make satisfaction, as has been evident by several late examples of the like nature.

The East-India company's answer, before the privy council, was to the following effect.

I) Articles 1st, 2d, and 3d. The cloth exported by the East-India company is finer and more valuable than what is exported by the Turkey company: and, if we are rightly informed, the medium of cloths exported by that company in the last three years is only about 19,000 cloths yearly; a greater quantity than which (in value at least) the East-India company may probably ship out this year, if their factory at Amoy in China be not surpris'd by the Tartars, of which there was a doubtful report last year. Yet it is admitted, that, before the East-India company had any entrance into the trade of China and Japan, the Turkey company's exportation of cloth did much exceed that of the East-India company. 4th, we also say, that it will be found by the entries at the custom-house, that the Turkey company do send out yearly, besides their cloth, great quantities of pieces of eight from England for the purchase of raw silk in Turkey, as well as great quantities of the like species of bullion from France, Spain, and Italy, which otherwise would come to England.

II) Concerning the comparison between the constitution of the Turkey and East-India companies, we say, there hath been so much printed in most European languages, and so many consultations and debates in the great councils of Europe, concerning joint stocks for the East-Indies, in all of which (except in Portugal) the result has been for a joint stock, that we think it would be impertinent to trouble your lordships with a long discourse concerning it.

1. But it cannot be denied by any reasonable man, that a joint stock is capable of a far greater extension, as to the number of traders and largeness of stock, than any regulated company can be; because noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, orphans, and all other subjects, may be traders, and employ their capitals in a joint stock; whereas, in a regulated company, such as the Turkey company is, none can be traders but such as they call legitimate or bred merchants.

2. The consequence whereof is, that, if the trade for India were laid open, the adventurers would be fewer by three quarters than they are now, because those who have skill would run away with the trade, as in fact they did between the years 1653 and 1657.

3 and 4. The number of the present East-India adventurers is at this time above six hundred: and with respect to the indulged or private

trade, every adventurer hath as full a liberty, in proportion to his stock, as the governor, deputy, or any of the committees, the same being not to exceed one fifth part of his stock; and even that has been gradually reduced every year, though per saltum it cannot be done, *it not being the work of a year, nor even of an age or two, to build up an East-India trade to perfection, though it may be destroyed in a day.* This truth is most eminently visible in the proceedings of the king of France, who spared no cost to obtain the best advice in Europe, by immense rewards, premiums, &c. for the constitution of his East-India company; and yet we see, that company makes very little of it: and even our own company, although they had formerly a stock of £1,500,000 sterling, advanced no farther in profits than $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in fifteen years, i. e. from 1617 to 1632.

Though, instead of eighty votes alleged to be now possessed by some one single person in the choice of the committees, we know of no one that has sixty votes, yet it is most reasonable, and has ever been practised both in ours and in the royal African company, and every other joint stock, that each adventurer should vote according to his stock. Even since this complaint, which was first started about nine years ago, there have been more great ships built by the company than were in thirty years before, and also more woollen manufactures exported: and the Dutch East-India stock, which was at 580 per cent when ours was but at 60 per cent, has since stood still, or rather declined, while ours has advanced, so as almost to equalize theirs in value: and his majesty's customs are also more than doubled from our East-India trade. The company has also made many generous, chargeable, and successful, attempts for obtaining a trade to Siam, Cochin-China, China, and Japan.

III) 1. Our East-India stock now in trade is at least £1,700,000 clear of all our debts.

2. Our debt at interest is about £550,000, and has been reduced from 6 to 3 per cent: and such is the company's credit, that they cannot persuade their creditors to take their money.

3. And your lordships, in the house of peers, did formerly resolve, that the abatement of interest tended to the increase of trade and the advancement of the value of the lands of England.

With respect to the Turkey company's objections against the East-India company's importations of raw silk, plain wrought silk, and wrought silks mixed with gold and silver, we say,

1. As for raw silk, it is so essential for the good of the kingdom, that it may well hold comparison with our sheeps wool and cotton wool.

2. Since our importation thereof our silk manufactures have increased from one to four.

3. With respect to the quality of our India raw silk, it is the same as with all other commodities on earth, some good, some bad, and some indifferent.

4. Plain wrought filks from India are known to be the strongest and most durable, as well as the cheapest that come from any part of the world, and are generally re-exported from England to foreign parts.

5. Wrought India filks, flowered and striped, do, we confess, a little impede the growth of our own silk manufactures, but not to that degree, in any measure, as the raw silk imported from India doth advance it.

6. If they could be effectually forbidden from all parts, the East-India company would be glad to further an act of parliament for that purpose, and also for the suppression of French silks, so much in wear in England, though against a law in being.

7. Wrought India filks, mixed with gold and silver, are not imported by us, but merely by our permission; because, if we should not permit them, they would come in, as much as now, by stealth, and without paying the king's custom*.

8. With respect to our sending to India throwsters, weavers, and dyers, the whole is a mistake, excepting only as to one or two dyers, usually sent to Bengal, and to no other part of India; and this for the nation's as well as the company's advantage, especially as to plain black silks, generally exported again.

9. As to the Turkey company's request to destroy what is esteemed by all foreigners the glory of the trade of England, (i. e. by extending the Turkey company's trade to the Red sea, &c.) we cannot help admiring the confidence of the proposers.

Lastly, our East-India company can prevent none by their charter from buying their stock, provided they will pay L5 for their admission.

With relation to what the Turkey company adds, in the second part of their allegations, concerning a valuation of their stock every seven years, our East-India company aver, that, pursuant to a general court in the year 1664, their stock was valued at the end of the first seven years at 130 per cent; and, within a year and a quarter after, there was 50 per cent divided; and a second valuation was afterwards made in the same manner.

The Turkey company's other objections are indeed so trifling and inconclusive, that the East-India company gives them short answers, appealing at the same time to their lordships for their weight, &c.

From the allegations of these two rival companies we learn a great deal of their history; and although both sides may have somewhat exaggerated in their own favour, it is nevertheless very easy for the reader to determine the truth in all the material points in question between them. The East-India company, among their other allegations, made great complaints against the interloping ships for the last three years;

* The use of all such manufactures has since been effectually prohibited. A.

and that as they were at £100,000 annual expence for forts, soldiers, &c. it would be impossible to carry on a profitable commerce if interlopers were tolerated. Yet the interlopers went on with their voyages to India; one of whom, however, named Captain Thomas Sands, going out with a cargo of £50,000 value, was, at the company's request, stopped by the king; and, after a long and curious trial, a decision was made by the chief-justice Jeffreys in favour of the company; so that the ship and cargo were sold off, to the proprietor's great loss: notwithstanding which the interlopers continued their voyages to India, being encouraged by the opinions of some of our greatest lawyers, who freely declared, that the king could not legally obstruct them by any charter whatever granted to the company, unless their exclusive powers had the sanction of an act of parliament. Nevertheless, King Charles sent a ship of war to India for the protection of the company from interlopers and pirates.

According to Voltaire, Louis XIV was at this time master of above 100 ships of the line, several of which carried 100 guns, and some more, and of 60,000 sailors. He constructed and fortified the famous ports of Toulon and Brest at a prodigious expence; and Rochefort also, in spite of nature, was made a place of trade and naval force.

So much had Colbert, the late prime minister of France, applied himself to the improvement of the naval affairs and commerce of France; that the author of his life says, that, in this year, the town of St. Malo alone set forth in one month 65 well-rigged ships for the Newfoundland fishery, besides the ships employed to the Levant, to Spain, and to the West-Indies, and had also ten ships on the stocks.

Puffendorff observes, that at this time the French king's revenue was computed at 150 millions of livres; whereas, he observes, that in the last age it did not amount to above nine or ten millions; in the time of Henry IV to 16 millions; and in the year 1639, to 77 millions, which vast difference is chiefly to be ascribed to the different value of money since those times, and partly also to the great taxes imposed on the subjects.

Andrew Yarranton, in a work entitled *England's improvement by sea and land*, (2 V. 4to) asserts, that tin plates, (i. e. iron plates tinned over) were now made in England through his means, he having been employed by some gentlemen to go to Bohemia, where he learned the manner of making them. When he returned home, he set proper persons to work, who made better ones than any he had seen abroad, the metal being better, and the plates more pliable. But a patent being obtained by some great man at court, who had smelt out the scheme, for the sole making of them, that manufacture was dropped by his employers, who had with so much charge made the discovery.

That manufacture remained for many years unpractised in England,

infomuch, that among the projects, called bubbles, of the year 1720, we shall see, that this was made one of them; yet, since that year the manufacture of tinned plates is brought to greater perfection in England than in any other part of the world.

The protestants in France being dayly more and more persecuted by their most christian monarch, King Charles was advised by his council to issue a proclamation, or order of council, promising to all protestants, who should withdraw from France, ample privileges in England, whereupon considerable numbers of them came hither, even before the final revocation of the famous edict of Nantes, in the year 1685.

So great was the strength and power of the Dutch in East-India, at this time, that Sir William Temple, who was well acquainted with their affairs, observes, that, besides the establishment or conquests of their company there, they had, in a manner, erected another subordinate commonwealth in those parts, where, upon occasion, they could bring to sea 40 or 50 ships of war, and 30,000 landmen, by the lowest computation.

1682.—After the English Hudson's-bay company had, with much labour, and charge in factories and settlements, established their trade with the natives, while they were building a fort at Port-Nelson, in the south part of that bay, the French from Canada came privately and suddenly, with two ships, into the river Nelson, and surprized our company's men, dispossessed them of that settlement, and carryed them prisoners to Canada. This was the first time that any French vessel had ever sailed into Hudson's bay. But this piratical expedition was disowned by the French king, who promised satisfaction to our company, though whether any adequate satisfaction was really made, does not appear. Our company there also erected a fort at Charleton isle, whither all the peltry, &c. were to be brought from the other factories, for loading the ships for England. On Albany river, and on Hay's island, were forts and factories also settled; and the company sent urgent instructions to their governors, by all means to endeavour to save the great expense they were put to in sending annual supplies of provisions from England, by trying to raise corn, &c. in that country. But this was soon found to be impracticable, by reason of the intenseness of the cold, and long winters there, which soon destroys almost every thing sowed or planted in it. They had by this time five settlements there, viz. Albany river, Hay's island, Rupert's river, Port Nelson, and New Severn.

In this year the English East-India company lost one of the best factories which they had ever possessed in all India, occasioned by a quarrel between the old king of Bantam and his son. Our company took part with the father, as the Dutch company, on the contrary, sided with the son, and sent their forces to his assistance from Batavia, whereby the old king was vanquished, and shut up in prison. Hereupon the

young king gave the Dutch possession of the castle of Bantam, which commanded both the town and port, whereupon that company drove out the English company's factors and servants, and have ever since possessed the place. This is our company's account of that affair, concerning which they had many disputes and conferences with the agents of the Dutch company; and the later published a pamphlet at London in 1688, for their vindication, the substance whereof is, that it was not the Dutch, but the young king, who drove the English from Bantam. On the other side, our company made it but too plainly evident, that the young king was purely the Dutch company's instrument for that violence, which enabled them to engross the entire commerce of Bantam; for which end, and at the same time, they got him to expel the French, Danes, and Portuguese, as also the subjects of the mogul, and of all other Indian nations, although none of these had been parties in the quarrel with his father. Our company alleged, moreover, that the Dutch had formerly practised the like, in a similar case, at Macassar, and were now actually doing the same, in a dispute between two rajas on the Malabar coast. It would be almost endless, and also to very little purpose, to enlarge on the complaints of our company against the Dutch, for injuries done them in India, or the Dutch company's vindication in answer to those complaints, and their accusations, in their turn, of wrongs done them by the English company.

The Dutch, by obtaining the command of Bantam, became entirely masters of the west end of the great island of Java; as Batavia had long before given them a large dominion on the north side of it. Yet, besides the king of Materan on the south side of Java, there are still several other lesser sovereigns remaining unsubdued by the Dutch company.

The English East-India company now began to fortify Bencoolen in the great island of Sumatra; by which important settlement they have preserved to England the pepper trade, which otherwise would have been lost to our company, after being driven from Bantam. This fort cost our company for completing it, in about ten years time, no smaller a sum than £250,000.

1683.—It was about this time that the useful conveyance of letters and parcels by the penny-post was first set up in London and its suburbs, by a private undertaker, named Murray, (an upholsterer by trade) who afterward assigned the same to one Dockwra, who carried it on successfully for a number of years, till the government laid claim to that project, as connected, and partly interfering, with the general post-office, which was part of the crown revenue; it was therefor annexed to that revenue, in lieu of which Mr. Dockwra had a yearly pension of £200 settled on him for life: but the first mention we find of this revenue in the statute book was not till the year 1711, as will be seen under that year.

It was in the year 1683 that most authors reckon France to have been in the meridian of power and glory ; for at this time the produce of the several branches of her revenue was reckoned annually to amount to - Livres.
215,566,633

And, in the opinion of many who have made strict inquiry into her revenue since that period, she seems to have gradually sunk in this respect, so that, according to a well-written piece, in English, published in 1742, entitled, an Enquiry into the revenue and trade of France, the annual revenue in 1733 did not amount to more than 140,278,473

Difference between the years 1683 and 1733, - 75,288,160

This is indeed a very great difference, and yet much of it may be accounted for from the unbounded ambition of Louis XIV in draining his kingdom of men and money for his wars, it being the opinion of some, that ever since his invasion of Holland in 1672, his revenue gradually sunk, and the price of French lands therewith also sunk ; and from, soon after this time, expelling a vast number of his most industrious protestant subjects, who, besides the wealth of many of them, carried along with them their arts and industry, and taught the nations, who wisely, as well as piously, received them, almost all kinds of French manufactures ; hereby it was, that France soon began to feel a great abatement of her exports of manufactures, both to England and Holland.

1. With respect to England, France formerly supplied her with manufactured silks of all sorts, to the value in sterling money, of about - - - - - L600,000 but now none at all.

2. With linen, sail-cloth, and canvas, to about L700,000 ; but since the high duties we have laid on French goods, amounting to a prohibition, these are partly manufactured at home, and partly imported from Holland, Germany, and Russia, (and more lately from Scotland and Ireland) who take off our own goods in return. Deducting, therefor, about L200,000 for French cambrics, which, in time of peace, are said to come by way of Dunkirk, &c. the clear annual loss to France, in this article, will be - 500,000

3. In beaver hats, in glass, watches, and clocks, - 220,000

(Since entirely our own manufactures, of which we also export a great quantity.)

4. In paper of all kinds, of which we now make much at home, and the rest we take of Holland and Genoa, - 90,000

5. In iron ware, which we formerly had from Auvergne,

but now make better and cheaper at Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. and of which also we export immense quantities to our plantations, as well as to sundry parts of Europe, - 40,000

6. In shalloons, tammies, &c. from Picardy and Champagne, now made better at home, of which also much is exported - 150,000

7. In French wines, instead of which we now take those of Portugal in return for our own manufactures, - 200,000

8. In French brandies, 2000 tons, (which is less than formerly, owing to the great improvement of our own distillery, and to the much increased taste for plantation rum) at L40 per ton, - 80,000

Total loss per annum to France, by England's great improvement in manufactures, and turning her imports into more profitable channels, - L1,880,000

With respect to the Dutch, they had formerly but few, and mostly inconsiderable, manufactures of their own; they contented themselves with being the common carriers of the manufactures of France and other parts of Europe from one country to another, and their immense fishery; but now they make vast quantities of rich silks and velvets, besides their woollen, linen, and paper, manufactures, &c. So that (according to Mr Burrish's *Account of the Dutch trade*) they do not, in our times, take off above half the quantity from France they formerly did, or about L600,000

2. In hats (most of their finer ones coming from England) they have abated about - 217,000

3. The like in glass, clocks, watches, and household furniture, (chiefly of late years from England) saved about - 160,000

4. The like of fringes, gloves, and paper, - 260,000

5. Linen, canvas, and sail-cloth, - 165,000

6. Saffron, soap, woad, honey, and woollen yarn, abated about - 300,000

Total of the former Dutch imports lessened yearly, - 1,702,000

Total decrease of English and Dutch imports from France yearly, since about the year 1683, - L3,582,000

If so great a loss could be exactly ascertained, which is not here pretended to, though probably near the mark, and considering also all the other conduct of Louis XIV, we are not much to be surprised at the decrease of the French revenues, even after allowing much for the late great increase of the commerce of the French American colonies, and also of their territory by the addition of Lorraine.

The English interlopers to East-India becoming so very numerous, our East-India company this year obtained a new charter from King Charles II, (being his fifth charter to them) whereby all former charters were confirmed, and they were empowered to seize the ships and merchandize of the interlopers, with the forfeiture of one half to the king, and the other half to the company, who were thereby empowered to raise, train, and muster, such military forces, as they should judge requisite; and at their forts, factories &c. to exercise martial law. Moreover, for redressing injuries and wrongs committed on the high seas within their limits, a court of judicature might be erected by the company, to consist of one civilian and two merchants, who were to determine all cases of forfeitures and seizures of ships and goods within their limits, and all maritime and mercantile bargains, policies of insurance, bills, bonds, contracts, charter-parties, wages of mariners, trespasses on the high seas, &c.

The people of the isle of St. Helena being this year in a state of rebellion and insurrection, and the company being enabled by their new charter to reduce them to obedience, executed some persons who tumultuously refused to pay certain taxes, which they alleged to be contrary to their contract with the company when they went to settle there: a great clamour was thereupon raised by their widows and relations, whose case being laid before the house of commons in the year 1685, that house voted what the company had thereby done to be arbitrary and illegal, which created the company many enemies. Their stock, however, at this time sold from 360 to 500 per cent.

This year the Turks, instigated by Louis XIV of France, and by the Hungarian malcontents, and encouraged by the feebleness of the emperor Leopold, made their way through Hungary, and sat down before Vienna with 150,000 men. The taking of this city would have opened a way for the Turks and French to conquer much, if not all Germany; the apprehension whereof made most part of Europe tremble, and England in particular, while her monarch cared for nothing but his pleasures and arbitrary power. Providence, however, frustrated those great enterprises, by the junction of John Sobiesky, king of Poland, with the duke of Lorrain and the imperial army, whereby the siege was raised, and the Turks forced to retreat precipitately through Hungary, with the loss of all that they had conquered in that kingdom. The imperialists soon reduced all Transylvania, as the Venetians did all the Morea, the city and territory of Athens, and the isle of Scio, which, however, they again lost in the year following. Could they have held that island, it would in some measure have cut off the Turks from a maritime communication with their territories in the Archipelago, Asia, and Egypt. Thus the Turks, who, for two centuries past, had extended their boundaries as far as, and in some parts farther than, the Roman

empire in its meridian glory, northward, eastward, and southward, now received a considerable check ; but they have never yet been able to get ground westward, maugre all their bold efforts against the eastern shores of Italy, and also in this and the preceding renowned siege of Vienna.

This year, Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, a physician, and one Robert Murray, both great projectors, made a mighty stir with their scheme of a bank, for circulating bills of credit on merchandize to be pawned therein, and for lending money to the industrious poor on pawns, at six per cent interest : yet it came to nothing.

This year King Charles sent Lord Dartmouth, attended by the able Mr. Pepys, secretary of the admiralty, with 20 ships of war, to demolish the town, castle, and mole, of Tangier, and to choke up its harbour. It was said to be very strong when the Portuguese delivered it up to England in the year 1662, but King Charles rendered it almost impregnable. He, for the security of its haven and shipping, constructed a superb mole, the extremities whereof run out 600 yards into the sea ; and its stones were as strongly cemented together as if it had been one entire rock, insomuch, that they were forced to drill it in many parts, and so to blow it up piece-meal, whereby it took up six months in its entire demolition. The mole had been made extremely commodious for our shipping and commerce, by reason of its situation on the African side of the Straits.

1684.—In April 1684 Lord Dartmouth returned to England with the garrison, artillery, and stores. As sundry towns on the same shore are still held by Spain and Portugal, Tangier would probably, at this day, have been less an object of jealousy to the other European powers than Gibraltar is on the opposite shore : but whether its harbour and situation on the south shore, where the current is said to run much stronger into the Straits than on the opposite shore, would have in all respects equally answered our commercial and political ends, is a point we will not presume to determine. Yet we imagine it will scarcely be denied, that our retaining it, along with Gibraltar, would have been a considerable additional security to our commerce, and possibly also an augmentation of our naval power and influence, by keeping constantly a squadron of ships in so secure a port. Leaving this point, however, for statesmen to determine, we shall only add what some historians farther relate, viz. that the rubbish of the demolished mole, and of the walls of the town, being thrown into the harbour, has so effectually choked it up, that it can never hereafter be a commodious port, which, however, is at least doubtful till a trial shall be attempted. Mr. Burchett, in his Naval history, relates, ‘ that by our king’s direction there were ‘ buried amongst the ruins a considerable number of milled crown ‘ pieces of his majesty’s coin, which, possibly many centuries hence

may declare to succeeding ages, that that place was once a member of the British empire.' And (let us just subjoin) who can tell but that hereafter it may be judged the interest of the British empire to re-assume its right to that ports? More especially, if what is said by some be true, that the foundation of its demolished mole, as well as of its walls, remain entire, and that it is very possible for its haven to be entirely cleared of the rubbish. Professor Oakley, in his Account of south-west Barbary, thinks it would be an enterprise worth attempting, and easily to be effected, to recover the place again. For, says he, if 2000 men were to go, with three men of war and two bomb-ketches, they might make themselves masters of it in twenty-four hours time: for upon the heaving of a score of bombs, not one soul of the Moors would stay within the town, and then the soldiers might land at pleasure, who would have nothing else to do but to plant their guns on the walls, and by night to empty a few places of the ditches that are filled.

The French hitherto mismanaged their East-India company: for though they kept up the figure of a great society, yet, upon a full state of their circumstances, it now plainly appeared they had actually run out half their capital, or about £300,000 sterling. Whereupon it was resolved to put that company upon a new bottom, laying aside the method of chambers of directors in the sea-ports, which had been set up in imitation of the Dutch company, and to place its entire management in twelve directors residing at Paris, with proper salaries. This company had, in the year 1670, surrendered their property of the island of Madagascar; and their king, in the year 1685, in confirming their new constitution, left them at liberty either to resume Madagascar, or to leave it in his hands, and they chose the later. There were sundry causes of the company's misfortunes, as their war with Holland from 1672 to 1678, the mercenary management of their servants in India, and especially their intermeddling so boldly, agreeably to the genius of their nation, in the affairs of the kingdom of Siam, whereby the king of Siam was murdered in his palace, and the French garrison totally destroyed, after they had been at the expense of sending thither a squadron of ships, with land-forces, for making that king more absolute than the people liked him to be, and flattered themselves with converting all Siam to their christian religion. This was the state of that company, when Pont-Chartrain succeeded Colbert as prime minister. He was far from being a friend to this company, as will briefly appear hereafter.

In this year we have the lord chief-justice Pollexfen's argument, as so termed, printed in a suit brought by the East-India company against Thomas Sands, who had fitted out a ship for India without being licenced by that company. 1st, Sands in his defence, pleaded a statute [18 *Edw. III.*, c. 3] whereby it is enacted, that the seas shall be open for all merchants to pass with their merchandize wherever they please.

2dly, The statute [21 *Jac. I, c. 3*] declaring all monopolies to be against the common law. 3dly, That the grant of any sole trade whatever is contrary to magna charta, [9 *Hen. III, c. 30*] and to divers other antient statutes, as 25 *Edw. III, c. 2*, 2 *Ric. II, c. 1*, and 11 *Ric. II, c. 7*, both which enact, that all letters-patent and commands, to the contrary of the freedom of commerce, shall be void. Then he proceeds to shew, that the East-India company is a true monopoly, as described by our law books, and is not like the Turkey, Russia, and Hamburgh companies, where there is no joint stock, but every member uses his own trade, buys and sells his own commodities, and has his own servants and factors. These companies only order what ships shall go, but leave to every member to send his merchandize at his own will and pleasure; and no man is refused to be free of their companies that has a mind, paying some small sum for his freedom. But this body-politic, the invisible corporation, trades perhaps for a million sterling yearly. The last three sales that they made came to £1,800,000, and nobody hath these commodities but they. No man can vote in their company unless he has £500 stock, which costs above £1500. In short, his lordship laboured, not unsuccessfully, to prove the company to be a true monopoly, and Sands to be innocent, as the company was not established by any act of parliament. Yet the king's order for the ship not to sail obliged Sands, after a year's suspense, to sell his ship and cargo with great loss. The ships and goods of some other interlopers, as they were then stiled, were likewise seized and confiscated in the following reign, in the years 1686 and 1687: but they took out no licence from the company. All which was decided directly against the spirit and maxims of our common law, purely for supporting a lawless prerogative in the crown, which, under another monarch, six years after this time, was agreed to be legally disclaimed.

About this time, (according to Dr. D'Avenant's Essay upon ways and means of supplying the war, London, 1695) the poor-rate, or the expense of maintaining the poor of England, came to about £665,000 yearly: and, England, being certainly richer than it was then, it is the general opinion, that in our days it costs the nation about a million of money. And it is much to be feared, with our author, that as this money is managed in most places, instead of relieving such as are truly poor and impotent, which the laws design, it serves only to nourish and continue vice and sloth in the nation. Such a patriot spirit may, it is to be hoped, some time or other start up in the great council of the nation, as shall be able to devise an effectual means of obviating the too just objections against the present legal methods of providing for our poor, so as to save to the nation the greatest part of the expense, and at the same time find useful employment for the greatest part of the poor, now maintained in sloth at the public expense.

Louis XIV of France, in the plenitude of his power, delighted to exert his insolent superiority by heaping public disgrace on feebler states. Of this we have a pregnant instance in his treatment of the decayed republic of Genoa. He pretended, in the year 1682, that the republic had held certain secret practices with the Spanish governor of Milan, of which he accused and admonished them by his ambassador St. Olon.

The duke of Mantua had made a treaty with Louis to take all the salt used in his country from France. St. Olon demanded of Genoa, not only a free passage for the salt through their territories, but also leave to erect magazines thereof at Savona. And he also demanded that the republic should pay to the heirs of the count de Lavagne, formerly a rebel Genoese, who were then settled in France, the amount of the effects which that count's rebellion had made to be forfeited to the state.

Both these modest demands were justly looked on with indignation by the Genoese, more especially that of the salt, as interfering with their own commerce. The French author of the History of Genoa nevertheless adds, that, though this demand might indeed seem somewhat uncommon, yet the republic on this occasion ought to have yielded in favour of a prince, now looked upon by all the world as the arbiter of the fate of Europe.

There was yet a third instance of insolence which exceeded both the former, viz. Louis's declaration, that in case Genoa should send to sea four new galleys they had just built, he would construe it as an hostility against himself, and would in that case seize on all their ships and effects, wherever they could be found. In short, Spain having broke with France, in the year 1684, and the Genoese refusing to comply with the above arbitrary demands, and putting themselves under the protection of Spain, Louis determined to bring down their pride, as he termed it, by bombarding their stately capital city, and laying it almost entirely in ashes with his bombs and cannon, and thereby also destroying multitudes of their citizens. Not content with this cruel proof of his power and resentment, he obliged the republic, by a treaty in the year 1685, to send the reigning doge, or head of their state, in his ducal robes to Versailles, with four of the principal senators, there solemnly to ask pardon of the grand monarch in the most abject manner: they were thereby also bound to disarm their new galleys, and to reduce their naval force to its former state of six galleys only. So low was this state now fallen, whose naval power had formerly been the terror of all the states on both sides of the Mediterranean. They were moreover obliged to discharge all the Spanish troops quartered on their territories, to renounce the league with Spain made since 1683, and finally, to pay 100,000 crowns to the heirs of their rebel subject, &c. After their

humble compliance with these and such articles, Louis condescended to permit this miserably shattered people to exist as a free state. The unparalleled article of obliging the reigning doge of Genoa, who represents the majesty of the republic, to leave the seat of sovereignty, and in his robes of state to abase himself before the grand monarch, occasioned a well-known witty reply of that doge to a question of a French courtier, who asking him, which was the greatest rarity of all the fine things he had seen at Paris? (which, after his humiliation, Louis had commanded to be shewn to him) facetiously replied, that he thought himself the greatest rarity he had seen at Paris.

1685.—We are now come to the famous revocation of what was before deemed the perpetual and irrevocable edict of Nantes, by which the protestants in France enjoyed the free and public exercise of their religion; a revocation which, on one hand, proved very lamentable to many hundred thousands of honest and innocent people in that kingdom, more especially to such as by age and infirmities were disabled from seeking an asylum elsewhere: but which, on the other hand, was productive of much good to almost all the protestant countries of Europe, but more especially to the commerce of Holland and England, while it greatly diminished that of France, and deprived her of great sums of money carried away by those refugees into other countries.

It is neither our province nor intent to describe Louis's motives for setting on foot a cruel persecution of so many of his best and most industrious subjects, of which so much has been written and published in most European languages, our proper province being purely to shew its very considerable influence on the commerce and manufactures of the other nations of Europe. The people, whom Louis thus violently forced out of his kingdom, were, generally throughout all France, the best merchants, manufacturers, and artificers, of that kingdom. There are very various accounts of the total number of them: those who reckon up all who retired from France some time before, as well as immediately upon, and also some years after, this revocation, go so high as one million of men, women, and children. Possibly this may be somewhat over-reckoned. Others, reckoning only those who withdrew immediately upon the revocation, make them only somewhat more than 300,000 persons. Those who had most money retired into England and Holland; but the most industrious part of them settled in Brandenburg, where they introduced the manufactures of cloth, serges, stuffs, druggets, crapes, caps, stockings, hats, and also the dying of all sorts of colours. They were in number about 20,000 at first, but they soon multiplied: and soon also made ample returns to their generous benefactor the elector Frederick William. Berlin now had goldsmiths, jewellers, watchmakers, and carvers: and such as were settled in the open country planted tobacco, and variety of fruits and pulse. Others make the total num-

ber of refugees to be 800,000. A part of the suburbs of London, says Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, (meaning Spitalfields) was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk. For other arts, some thousands of them helped to people and increase the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's. Others of them carried to England the art of making crystal in perfection, which for that reason was about this same time lost in France. He says, that only 600,000 fled from the persecution of Louis, carrying with them their riches, their industry, and implacable hatred against their king. And wherever they settled, they became an addition to the enemies of France, and greatly inflamed those powers, already inclined to war. It may seem somewhat strange that more of them did not settle in England, considering the general liberty of this free nation; yet, through the too general and impolitic aversion of the English to all strangers, even though suffering for the protestant religion, and their monopolizing-corporation cities and towns; and, on the other hand, the great immunities, &c. allowed them in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Prussia, we are not to wonder that not above 50,000 of them did actually settle in England, where, instead of doing us hurt, they have proved a great and manifest blessing, by improving some of our antient arts and manufactures, and likewise by introducing sundry new ones. Others, however, think, that in all there were settled in Great Britain and Ireland at least 70,000 of those refugees.

France, by its profitable commerce with England, &c. having acquired great riches in the times preceding this revocation, did not immediately feel the bad effects of driving out so many industrious merchants, manufacturers, and artificers; yet in process of time she found her manufactures and inland trade thereby greatly decayed. The English people, assisted by those refugees, set on foot sundry French manufactures and fabrics, never before made in England, and which we shall never more take from France, as we have in most cases outdone our teachers therein. But as many of those refugees were eminent merchants and manufacturers, and did undoubtedly bring along with them much money and effects, I have seen a computation, at the lowest supposition, of only 50,000 of those people coming to Great Britain, and that, one with another, they brought L60 each in money or effects, whereby they added three millions sterling to the wealth of Britain.

The author of the History of the edict of Nantes, (printed at Delft, 1695) takes special notice of the great number of civil officers who had been in the French king's service, so considerable as to fill all the courts of Europe with them. That, moreover, so many of the young noblesse, trained up for the army, withdrew at the same time, as to form whole companies of soldiers in the Dutch and Brandenburg service. In England, even in King James II's reign, large collections were made for the refugees, who, at the revolution by King William's accession to

the throne, had L15,000 yearly settled on such as either were persons of quality, or were through age, &c. unable to support themselves: which allowance is now reduced, as there are very few proper objects for it left alive. To the French refugees England owes the improvement of sundry manufactures of flight woollen stuffs, of silk, linen, paper, glass, hats, (the two last since brought to the utmost perfection by us.) The silks called alamodes and lustrings were entirely owing to them; also brocades, satins, black and coloured mantuas, black paduasoyes, ducapes, watered tabbies, black velvets; also watches, cutlery-ware, clocks, jacks, locks, surgeons instruments, hard-ware, toys, &c.

The two first kings of Prussia caused collections to be made for them throughout their dominions; they also settled stipends on their clergy, built them churches, granted them immunities from taxes and offices. Those princes actually placed their agents on the confines of France to conduct the refugees to Brandenburg, and bear their expenses all the way. They also settled great numbers of them in their new kingdom of Prussia, which was then but thin of people, where they had lands assigned them, gratis and tax free, as also in Brandenburg: in Berlin they have since built many new streets, and greatly improved the whole country, by manufactures, arts, agriculture, &c. Those kings divided them into colonies, and appointed them magistrates of their own.

The great elector Frederick William allowed them a yearly pension of 40,000 crowns; he brought in the use of post-houses, till then unknown in Germany. The streets of his towns were paved and lighted by lanthorns; for till then the courtiers were obliged to go on stilts to Potsdam, when the court resided there, because of the heaps of dirt in the streets.

‘Nothing,’ says the author of *Memoirs of the Dutch commerce*, ‘has increased the inhabitants as well as manufactures of Holland so much as the French protestant refugees, who were almost all of them merchants and artisans.’ And even this French and popish bishop adds, that ‘whenever trade is clogged or constrained in any country, it will retire to other countries where it can have more safety.’ The author of the *History of the edict of Nantes*, observes, ‘that the liberality of the states-general of the United Netherlands to those innocent refugees was so great, that it can scarcely be too amply described. They settled a fund for an incredible number of pensions to military officers, gentlemen, and ministers, and for supplies to virgins and ladies of quality. Great sums also were raised for supporting their poor, for whom liberal collections were made in all their towns and villages: and the prince and princess of Orange were bright examples of that charity, both before and after they became monarchs of Britain. The prince of East Friseland also testified his zeal for their relief.’

Voltaire [*Age of Louis XIV*, V. ii, c. 2] says, that near 50,000 families left France in the space of three years, and were afterwards followed by others, who introduced their arts, manufactures, and riches, among strangers: that almost all the north part of Germany (a country hitherto rude and void of industry) received a new face from the multitude of refugees translated thither, peopling entire cities, where stuffs, lace, hats, stockings, formerly imported from France, were now made in those countries.

Neither were the protestant cantons of Switzerland less kind and bountiful to such of those good people who took shelter amongst them, by supplying them with every necessary, and even settling pensions on them. In a few months after this revocation, the city of Geneva doubled her inhabitants: yet, lest France should repent it, her magistrates were obliged to send them away again. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel received them in great numbers, and was extremely kind to them. Even the lutheran princes received them kindly, and erected churches, schools, and hospitals, for them, particularly the princes of Lunenburgh, the free cities of Germany, the margrave of Bareith, &c. They, in short, spread themselves throughout every other part of Europe where any degree of freedom or toleration of private judgment in matters of religion was allowed, as in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Livonia, Poland, and Russia. Some even wandered as far as our American colonies: and wherever they were received, they became a substantial blessing to their benefactors by improving their trade and manufactures: moreover, many of them having been eminent merchants, such of those who fixed in England and Holland, settled correspondences all over the world, greatly to the increase of commerce.

On this interesting subject we can scarcely judge it a digression to join with Pensionary De Witt (in his *Interest of Holland*) in behalf of the freedom of toleration of religion, 'as being highly conducive to the increase of commerce, preserving our people at home, and alluring strangers to come and settle with us: for,' adds he, 'all civilized people must be supposed to pitch upon some outward service of God as the best, and to be averse from all other forms; and such persons will abhor even to travel, and much more to reside, in countries where they are not permitted to serve God outwardly after the manner they like best. Yet the clergy (almost everywhere but in Holland) having a settled livelihood, which depends not on the political welfare of the land, do, through human frailty, teach and preach up all that can have a tendency to their own credit, profit, and ease, even though it be to the ruin of their own country.' He then goes on to shew how they persecute dissenters from them, *odio theologico*, as he phrases it: 'whereas,' adds he, 'all christian clergymen ought to rest satisfied, according to their master's doctrine, with enlightening and persuasion alone, and

‘ should be far from compulsion, either by spiritual or bodily punishments. How prejudicial such coercive practices are, especially in rich trading cities, Lubeck, Cologne, and Aix-la-Chapelle, may instruct us, where both the rulers and subjects of those lately so famous cities have, since the reformation, lost most of their wealth, chiefly by such compulsion in religion; many of their inhabitants being thereby driven out, and strangers likewise discouraged from coming to reside in them.’

In this first year of King James II an act of parliament [c. 4] granted to him new duties on tobacco and sugar; and this, we must observe, was the first time that tobacco and sugar of our own colonies were particularly taxed by name; there being till now only 12*d* per pound (or 5 per cent on their value) laid on them, under the general name of poundage, as on all other imported goods: but since this time those two most valuable commodities have proved very considerable aids to the nation in its revenue.

French merchandize being prohibited to be imported into England in the year 1678, as we have seen, for three years to come, and to the end of the next session of parliament, and there having been no parliament during the remainder of King Charles II's reign, King James II, in the very beginning of his reign, having great occasion for the friendship of the French king for enabling him to accomplish the two grand points he had in view, viz. the establishment of popery and of despotic power in England, got an act of parliament passed [c. 6] absolutely repealing that prohibition; whereupon ensued an inundation of French commodities, to the value of above four millions sterling, within the compass of less than three years, whereby all the evils formerly complained of were renewed, insomuch that the nation would have been soon beggared, had it not been for the happy revolution in the year 1688, when all commerce with France was effectually barred.

It appears from the custom-house books that the linen alone imported in the year 1686 was valued at no less than L398,611 : 14 : 10, besides clandestine importations thereof: and at a medium of three years, viz. 1686-7-8, there were annually imported from France 18,150 tons of wine, and 4000 of brandy.

And in the same three years there were upon an average imported annually from France,

Linens to the value of	-	L700,000	0	0
Lustrings and alamodes	-	212,500	0	0
Other silk fabrics	-	500,000	0	0
Paper	-	50,000	0	0

[*British merchant*, pp. 319, 325.]

Such, however, was the kindness of Louis in return, that but two

years after this (1687) he prohibited the importation of most of our woollen manufactures into France: yet King James, though naturally inclined to favour commerce, sacrificed the great interests of his kingdom to his enthusiasm and his high ideas of his royal prerogative.

By an act of parliament [15 *Car. II, c. 14*] the revenue of the general post-office, and afterwards also £24,000 yearly out of the hereditary excise, was settled on the duke of York and his heirs male. In this first year of that prince's reign, by the name of King James II, his obsequious parliament enacted, [*c. 12*] that both those revenues should hereafter be to him, his heirs, and successors, one entire and indefeasible estate in fee-simple: so that the post-office revenue was made the king of Great Britain's private estate forever, and therefor is never to be accounted for by him to parliament, as all public revenues are. It was now estimated at £65,000 per annum.

For the encouragement of ship-building, greatly decayed in Newcastle, Hull, Yarmouth, Ipswich, and other ports of England on the eastern coasts, occasioned chiefly by employing foreign-built ships in the coal-trade, and other inland or coasting trades, there was a duty of 5/ per ton laid on all such shipping by act of parliament, [1 *Ja. II, c. 18*] one half thereof to be for the use of the chest at Chatham, and the other to the corporation of the trinity-house, towards the relief of wounded and decayed seamen, their widows and children.

The western suburbs of London continually increasing, more especially in the parish of St. Martin's in the fields, on a parcel of ground called Kemps-field, whereon, towards the later part of the reign of King Charles II, sundry new streets were erected, the inhabitants obtained an act of parliament [1 *Ja. II, c. 20*] to enable them to erect the same into a distinct parish, by the name of St. Anne's, within the liberty of Westminster, and to tax themselves for finishing their new church of that name.

Another act of parliament, the last act passed in King James's reign, [1 *Ja. II, c. 22*] erects another parish in the suburbs, to be called St. James, in the liberty of Westminster, till now part of the parish of St. Martin's in the fields. It appears by that act, that the earl of St. Alban's, (Henry Jermyn, then deceased) and the other inhabitants of the new streets called Jermyn-street, &c. in a place formerly called St. James's fields, had been at the expense of above £7000 for erecting their new church and laying out their churchyard; but not having yet finished the church, nor a mansion-house for its minister, &c. they were hereby enabled so to do by a rate on the inhabitants. It appears by this act, that sundry parts of this new parish were not then built up into streets, which, however, are so in our days.

About this same time, and particularly in this same year, there was

not a little written both in England and Holland on the subject of making sea-water fresh. Proposals were made, and patents granted, for the same, as being of so great a benefit to sailors on long voyages; yet even to this day, notwithstanding fundry later proposals, there has been no effectual progress made therein.

In this first year of King James II's reign, he coined gold of 22 carats fine and two carats allay into L44 : 10 by tale per lb. of gold, viz. into pieces of 10, 20, and 40s, and L5 pieces: and his silver coins contained in a pound weight of the old standard 62s by tale, viz. crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, twopences, and pence. The standards the same as in our days.

Pope Innocent XI, being indebted 40 millions of Roman crowns, (equal to about 11 millions sterling) executed a scheme of reduction, probably copied from what had been done by the states of Holland in the year 1655, as we have shewn under that year.

The pope finding that his public debts, though bearing only 4 per cent interest, were now sold so high as 122 per cent, in the first place took care to provide three or four millions of crowns in ready cash, and thereupon issued a declaration, that such as would for the future be satisfied with an interest of 3 per cent, should declare their consent by a limited time; and that such as chose rather to be paid off their principal debt, might come and receive it. This option made all the creditors accept the proposal of continuing at 3 per cent, by payments of one half per cent every two months, rather than take their principal money: and it seems, though the interest was thus reduced, the principal, in a very short time after, rose at market to 112 per cent. [*Bishop Burnet's Letters and travels.*]

This is the second instance of the good success of a national sinking fund in Europe.

The king of France, observing that the great extent of the limits of the Senegal company (no less than about fifteen hundred leagues of the coast of Africa) excluded all his other subjects from trading in negro slaves for the use of the French West-India colonies, now established a new Guinea company, with an exclusive right for twenty years to trade in negroes, gold dust, &c. between the river Sierra Leona and the Cape of Good Hope; the coast from Sierra Leona to Cape Blanco being reserved to the Senegal company.

On this occasion it will be no digression to remark the great alteration which the transplantation of animals, as well as of vegetables, makes by the difference of climate, air, latitude, &c. The Portuguese settled in Angola, &c. on the African coast, in a few generations gradually contract the complexion of the natives, even their woolly hair, thick lips, and flat noses; and negroes born in Europe become gradually more

light-coloured *. Our English mastiff-dogs are known to degenerate on the continent. Spanish horses do the same in the Spanish West-Indies; yet in Chili alone they are said to meliorate the breed. By transplanting the vines on the banks of the Rhine the rich wine of the Canaries was first produced. Some say also, that from the same vine, transplanted a second time to the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope, has been produced that most delicious Cape wine; though others think it sprung from a Burgundy vine. The China oranges, which are sent in such immense quantities from Portugal all over Europe, came originally from a China plant, and have since been transplanted, and prosper in Spain and Italy. And the like may be observed of many other fruits, plants, and vegetables, which, through the advantages of commerce and navigation, all the countries of Europe now enjoy, though unknown to older times.

Although the English East-India company's affairs were said at this time to have been so prosperous, that their profits in nine years time, viz. from 1676 to 1685, amounted to £963,639, yet, as all things on earth are unstable, a reverse of fortune happened at this very time.

It seems the Indians had killed some of the company's people at Hughley, in the bay of Bengal, and that thereupon their governors commenced war against the mogul.

The company alleged, that the proper origin of this war was the false reports industriously spread by the interlopers against them; such as, that the company was fallen under the displeasure of our king, that our nation at home was under great disturbances, and that they themselves (the interlopers) were the true company. They also had corrupted many of the company's servants, whereby a revolt had been occasioned at Bombay, and also at St. Helena, where they set up for themselves. The company farther urged, that this dividing of the English interest in India made the mogul's governors and rajas break through all their antient engagements and stipulations with the company, and deprive them of many valuable privileges in India, and also extort great sums of money from both parties: for the company alleged that the interlopers submitted to any impositions, so as they might carry on the trade; they having, moreover, formerly given a handle to the Dutch to expell the company from Bantam in the year 1682.

* Mr. Anderson has here fallen into an error in common with many others, who, proceeding upon misrepresentations, or theories imagined by themselves, or implicitly adopted from others, have neglected real facts. But it is a certain and well-known truth, that white people never become black or woolly, neither do negroes become white, by the influence of climate. The descendants of the first negroes, who were carried to the coldest regions of North-America, are as black and as woolly as their African ancestors were. The descendants of the first white men who settled in the West-

Indies, if born of white women, have nothing in common with the negroes in their persons. The change effected upon the Portuguese on the African coast proceeds solely and entirely from copulation with black women, whereby $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, or perhaps $\frac{6}{8}$ of their blood, are derived from negro parentage. A contrary change has in many instances been effected in the West-Indies, where some, whose great-great-grandmothers were negroes, cannot now be distinguished by the eye from genuine white men. M.

All these considerations being laid before King James, and it being apprehended, that, unless some effectual care was speedily taken, the whole English interest in India would be utterly lost, a ship of war was immediately dispatched to India, with orders to seize all interlopers, and therewith a proclamation from the king for all his subjects in India to repair to the company's forts and factories, and to submit to their jurisdiction. The company also sent out several warlike ships for the same purpose. Lastly, for corroborating the whole, on the 12th of April 1686 the king granted them a new charter, (being their sixth since the restoration) wherein he recites at large the five preceding charters, and subjoins, 'that whereas several persons, in contempt of those charters, have of late years presumed, without licence from the company, to send out ships and to trade within their limits, to the company's great damage and the destruction of that trade: he, well weighing how highly it imports the honour and welfare of the realm to redress such disorders, and to improve that trade to the utmost; and being fully satisfied that the same cannot be maintained and carried on to national advantage but by one general joint stock, and that a loose and general trade will be the ruin of the whole; being also satisfied that the trade has been managed by the company to the honour and profit of this nation, and being desirous to encourage the company in their difficult and hazardous trade and adventures to those remote parts, he ratifies all the preceding charters in their favour forever, and in their fullest extent, notwithstanding any nonuser, misuser, or abuser; and farther, grants to the company, and their respective presidents, agents, chiefs, and councils, in India, or to any three of them, (whereof such president, agent, or chief, to be one) power to administer to all persons employed by the company the oath taken by every freeman of the company, and such other lawful oaths as their court of directors shall appoint. The use of the martial law shall extend to the island of St. Helena, and to the company's fort of Pryaman on the west coast of Sumatra, as well as to their other limits. And farther, understanding that many of the native princes and governors of India, &c. taking opportunity from the divisions, distractions, or rebellions, amongst the English, occasioned by the late licentious trading of interlopers, have of late violated many of the company's privileges, surprised their servants, ships, and goods, besieged their factories, invaded their liberties, and have many other ways, without just cause, abused their chiefs and factors, to the nation's dishonour: for all which the company intends to demand satisfaction in a peaceable way; and, if not obtained that way, to use force of arms, wherein they will have occasion to use their ships in a warlike manner; therefor the king hereby grants full power to the company to appoint admirals, vice-admirals, rear-admirals, captains, &c. from

‘ time to time, who may raise and muster seamen and soldiers onboard their ships, as shall be directed by the company, or by their captain-general in India, who may seize on and compell all English interlopers to submit, and may take their ships and goods ; also to make war on such Indian princes as may hurt the company. And in time of open hostility with any Indian nation, &c. they may, on the other side the Cape of Good Hope, use the martial law onboard their ships, as well as on land ; reserving, however, liberty to the king, at pleasure, to revoke this grant of martial law in their ships. The company may also coin in their forts any species of money usually coined by the princes of those countries only, so as it be agreeable to the standards of those princes in weight and fineness ; and that they do not coin any European money ; and that all such money so to be coined by them, and not otherwise, shall be current in any city, town, port, or place, within the company’s limits.’

1686.—In consequence of the great power given to the company by this charter, they proceeded rigorously against the interlopers, who, on the other hand, by their abettors and agents, did not fail to raise a great clamour against the company, who, however, continued in the exercise of those powers till after the accession of King William to the throne.

As Jamaica was hitherto principally inhabited by the military men and their offspring, who had possessed it ever since it was taken in the year 1656, those people, as generally disliking agriculture, betook themselves to cruising against the Spaniards on the American seas, even after peace had been concluded between England and Spain, in America ; and, allured by the wealth acquired thereby, they continued that illegal practice throughout all the reign of King Charles II, and to this time, and got the appellation of the buccaneers of Jamaica, some of whose bold exploits against the Spanish towns, and ports in Mexico, &c. would pass for mere romances, had they not been too well known by both nations*.

In this year the French, though at peace with England, in Europe, marched from Canada over land, and surprised four of the Hudson’s-bay company’s forts, so that there only remained to us the fort at Port-Nelson.

In November, this same year, the kings of England and France concluded a treaty of peace and neutrality for America, whereby,

Articles I, II) It is agreed, that there shall be between them a firm

* The ferocious and desperate valour, and the astonishing successes, of the buccaneers, struck the Spaniards with such a terror, that they abandoned all thoughts of navigation ; and, regardless of what they owed to their fame, their interest, and their policy, they gave themselves up to a habitual indolence, which has ever since been the bane of all

their colonies. Such were the wonderful, important, and permanent, effects produced by a handful of desperadoes. [See *Raynal, Hist. philos. et polit. V. v, p. 180.*] If the industry and vigour of the Spaniards were equal to the local advantages they possess in Europe, America, and Asia, they alone would drive the trade of the world. *M.*

peace, as well in South as in North America, in both continents and islands, by sea and land; and that no ships of either nation shall be permitted to invade or attack the dominions of the other in America.

III) Nor shall any soldiers, or armed men, living either in the English or French American islands and colonies, commit any act of hostility or damage to either party; nor shall they give any assistance or supplies of men or victuals to the wild Indians, with whom either king shall have war.

IV, V) Both kings shall retain and possess all the dominions and prerogatives they now enjoy in America; and, therefor, the subjects, inhabitants, commanders, and mariners, of each king, respectively, shall absolutely abstain from trading to, or fishing in, all or any of the places so possessed, or which shall be possessed by the other, either in their havens, bays, creeks, roads, or other places; and ships or vessels, found so trading or fishing, shall be confiscated with their cargoes; always provided, that the freedom of navigation be in no manner disturbed, where nothing is committed against the genuine sense of this treaty.

VI) Ships of war, as well as merchant ships, being forced, through stress of weather, or pursued by pirates and enemies, or through any other urgent necessity, to take shelter into any of the rivers, creeks, havens, ports, &c. belonging to the other in America, shall be treated kindly, protected, and supplied with refreshments, and all things needful, at reasonable rates, and may depart whither, and when, they shall please; provided they do not break bulk, nor sell any of their cargoes, nor receive any merchandize onboard, nor employ themselves in fishing, under the forfeiture of ships and goods. But before they enter such ports, they shall, at coming in, hang out the flag of their nation, and shall also give notice of their so coming in, by firing a cannon thrice, or, if they have no cannon, a musket thrice, otherwise they shall forfeit as above.

VII) Ships of either nation, stranded or shipwrecked, shall have friendly assistance and relief.

VIII) But if three or four ships together be driven into the ports of either nation, so as to give just ground of suspicion, they shall stay no longer than the governor or other magistrate of such port will allow them, after supplying them with necessaries as above.

IX) The king of Great Britain's subjects of the island of St. Christophers may fetch salt from the salt ponds there. As, on the other hand, the French subjects of St. Christophers may enter into the rivers of the great road, to provide themselves with water; but both these mutual permissions must only be in the day-time. And they shall, on both sides, hang out their flags, and fire a cannon thrice, &c. as in the sixth article*.

* St. Christophers, it must be remembered, was settled on by both nations. A.

X) Neither nation shall harbour the barbarous or wild inhabitants and slaves, or the goods which they may have taken from the subjects of the other nation, nor shall they protect them.

XI) The governors, officers, and subjects, of either nation shall not molest nor disturb the subjects of the other in settling their respective colonies, and in their commerce and navigation.

XII, XIII) The ships of war and privateers of either nation shall be strictly enjoined not to injure the other, as shall also their privileged companies, otherwise they shall be punished, and also make satisfaction for all damages; for which end they shall be obliged, before they receive their commissions, to give security to the amount of £1000 sterling, or 13,000 livres; and if any such ship has above 150 men, then for £2000 sterling, or 26,000 livres, on pain of forfeiting their commissions; and the ship shall also be liable to make satisfaction for injuries and damages done by her.

XIV) The governors and officers of either nation shall be strictly enjoined to give no assistance nor protection to any pirates, of what nation soever they may be; and shall also punish as pirates all such as shall fit out any ship without lawful commission and authority.

XV) No subject of either king shall take a commission, or letters of mart, for privateering in America, from any prince or state with which the other is at war, otherwise he shall be punished as a pirate.

XVI) The French king's subjects shall have liberty to fish for turtles in the island of Cayaman*.

The other four articles contain the usual forms of provisos, in case of a rupture between the two nations, or of complaints of differences arising on either side, in America.

It is easy to see by this remarkable treaty, how egregiously the French king imposed on King James. For, 1st, France's American isles were then much more feeble than ours; and, as the buccaneers from Jamaica might possibly have made very free with them, James hereby gave them entirely up as pirates; 2dly, the *uti possidetis*, hereby stipulated, secured to France the possession of some of her colonies, to which England, till now, had strong pretensions; and, 3dly, it may be said, that by this pacification France had an advantageous respite for the improvement of her island, and continental colonies in America, and of which she made a very good use to our cost; 4thly, here is no mention of the four forts taken from our company in Hudson's-bay, not known in England when this treaty was concluded.

We must, however, on the other hand, observe, that by these treaties of peace and neutrality, for America, 1st, between Spain and Holland in 1648; 2dly, between Portugal and Holland in 1661; 3dly, between England and Spain in 1670; and, 4thly, this treaty between England

* A small island west of Jamaica.

and France ; the possessions of those several potentates in America were ascertained, and the freedom of commerce in those seas was more firmly established than had hitherto been effected.

The Dutch being at war with the Algerines, the later were shamefully encouraged therein by King James, who, for some time, permitted them to have the use of his ports, and allowed them to sell their prizes in England, whereby they had opportunities, as observed by Burchett, in his Naval history, to go out as they pleased, and to cruise against the Hollanders, from whom, in the space of six months, the Algerines took, in or near the Channel, above 30 rich merchant ships.

According to Sir William Petty's fourth essay on political arithmetic, (licenced in 1686, and printed in 1687) the proportion of the eight following cities, as to their numbers of inhabitants, is as follows, viz.

London,	-	696,000	Rome,	-	125,000
* Paris,	-	488,000	Dublin,	-	69,000
* Amsterdam,	-	187,000	* Rouen,	-	66,000
* Venice,	-	134,000	* Bristol,	-	48,000

N. B. He makes the medium of the annual burials at London to be 23,212, which number, multiplied by 30, (as one out of every 30 is generally supposed to die in London in a year) gives 696,360 *.

1687.—The commissioners appointed by King James to treat with the French commissioners for the restitution of the forts in Hudson's bay, taken in the preceding year, reported to him, that they had clearly made out his right to the whole bay and straits, and all the adjacent lands, together with the sole right of trading within the straits and bay. The king thereupon declared, that he would insist on full restitution and satisfaction to the company, whose loss, by the invasion of the French in the preceding year, amounted to £108,514 : 19 : 8, as was afterwards set forth by the company, in their petition to Queen Anne, in the year 1712, though never paid to this day. The result of this patched-up treaty with France was, that Louis agreed to restore those forts to the company.

This year the Dutch East-India ships imported from Ceylon 170,000 lb. weight of cinnamon ; which, though less in quantity than in some years before, does, nevertheless, demonstrate the great importance of the island to that company.

We may here, once more, remark, that persecution, and the dread of the prevalency of popery in this reign, as well as towards the close of

* This humour of magnifying London, and lessening Paris, and other foreign cities, was probably pleasing to the king, but, I conceive, was far from being just ; and, with respect to London, surely the present bills of mortality, in our time, must be egregiously erroneous, if, after so many thousand houses have been added, it scarcely ex-

ceeds that number. This, therefore, could answer no good end, and was only deceiving ourselves. Possibly every one of the cities marked thus *, are considerably under-computed, but more especially Paris and Amsterdam, which surely could answer no wise or solid purpose. A.

the last, drove numbers of protestant dissenters to settle in New-England, New-York, &c. which brought a considerable accession of strength and improvement to those colonies.

Pont-Chartrain, the French prime minister, being an enemy to their East-India company, it is no marvel that they did not prosper. Their importing vast quantities of white cottons, and causing them to be painted in France in the manner of the Indies, drew upon them the enmity of the French manufacturers, who were much injured by the sale of the company's cottons and silks. So that Pont-Chartrain this year procured an edict against the unlimited importation thereof, whereby the company declined more and more; and the war of the grand alliance against France added to their distress, from which they never recovered, till after the peace of Utrecht; in the meantime, having no ability themselves to carry on an extensive trade, they were constrained to let out their privileges to some private merchants of St. Maloes, who got rich by a trade in which the company could not prosper; and thus it remained till the regency of the duke of Orleans, in the minority of Louis XV, and the year 1719.

1688.—The gradual increase of the foreign commerce and home manufactures of England, the improvement of her lands and mines at home, and of her foreign colonies and plantations, had occasioned very much wealth to be accumulated in the space of about 150 years past, the nation not having been engaged much or long in foreign wars, and those, too, mostly naval wars, which had not caused much of our treasure to be carried from us, any more than did our own civil wars. From these, and such like considerations, some authors, who wrote soon after this time, have been of opinion, that the English nation was now in its zenith of commercial prosperity; yet, since that period, notwithstanding our many, and very expensive, foreign land wars, the great consumers of treasure, our commercial, as well as royal, shipping, have greatly increased; as have also manufactures and foreign plantations, and almost every part of our general commerce, both foreign and domestic. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, that about this same year, 1688, we were arrived at a very great degree of prosperity in all those respects; for the proof and illustration of which, the following brief memoirs of several very able authors, will afford us considerable light, viz.

1) We have an eminent instance of the increase of England's commerce and shipping in only 22 years space, from Dr. D'Avenant's Discourses on the public revenues and trade of England, and also from Colliber's History of English naval affairs, (octavo, second edition, 1739) if the computations be absolutely exact, viz. that the tonnage of the merchant ships of England in this year 1688 was near double to the tonnage of the year 1666.

Also that the tonnage of the royal navy, which in the year 1660 was only 62,594 tons, was now increased to 101,032 tons.

II) D'Avenant farther acquaints us with what he must have been perfectly well versed in, as he was inspector-general of the customs, that in the year 1666 the farm of the customs of England was but £390,000 yearly. Yet, from michaelmas 1671 to michaelmas 1688, being seventeen years, the customs yielded net to the crown £9,447,799, which, at a medium, was, per annum, £555,752.

III) The same able author gives us also a view of the gradual increase of the general rental of England, occasioned principally by the increase of commerce, and in part also by the great improvements made in lands, by inclosing, manuring, and taking in waste grounds, and meliorating what was poor and barren, viz.

The general rental of England, for land, houses, and mines, before we became considerable in trade, viz. about the year 1600, did not exceed, per annum - - - - - L 6,000,000 0 0

Which general rental we take now (1698) to be 14,000,000 0 0

Moreover, in 1600, the said six millions, at 12 years purchase, the common price of lands at that period, was worth but - - - - - 72,000,000 0 0

But the lands, &c. of England, at the rental of fourteen millions, and worth 18 years purchase, in the year 1688, amounted to - - - - - 252,000,000 0 0

How amazing is this alteration in the space of less than one century.

So prosperous was the Dutch East-India company at this time, according to Consul Ker's Remarks on Holland, published at Amsterdam, 1688, and since in English, in Ker of Kersland's memoirs, that they were said to have 30,000 men in constant pay, and above 200 capital ships, beside sloops, ketches, and yachts.

The same author, treating of the city and republic of Hamburgh, observes, that its greatness and vast commerce were partly occasioned by the residence of our English company of merchant-adventurers, but much more by the Netherland protestants, who, in the duke of Alva's time, forsook the Low countries and settled here; and by the protestants turned out of Cologne and other parts of Germany, even though Hamburgh be forced to keep 6 or 7000 men in pay, to guard against the continual alarms of the king of Denmark, or other neighbours, besides two or three ships of war to guard their merchant ships from pirates, yet their wealth and trade increase daily. And it is believed, that, small and great, there are belonging to the commonwealth of Hamburgh, 5000 sail of ships*. He adds, that the bank of Hamburgh,

* Surely this author must be somewhat mistaken, even though he should include all the hoys, lighters, &c. employed in carrying goods upon the river Elbe. A.

next to those of Amsterdam, Genoa, and Venice, is reckoned the chief in credit : but in trade that city is accounted the third in Europe, and comes next to London and Amsterdam, having now become the magazine of Germany and of the Baltic and Northern seas. Hamburgh gives great privileges to the Jews, and to all strangers whatever ; but more especially to the English company of merchant-adventurers, to whom they allow a large building, where they have a church, and wherein the deputy-governor, secretary, ministers, and other officers of the company live, to whom the magistrates make an annual present of wine, beer, sheep, salmon, and sturgeon, in their seasons. Yet he acknowledges their bigotry in not permitting the calvinists to have a public church within their city, who are forced to go out of the gates to Altona, a fine village, a quarter of an hour's walk from Hamburgh, belonging to the king of Denmark, who, though a lutheran prince, has the wisdom to allow the calvinists a public church there : which conduct of the Hamburghers may possibly hereafter turn to their great prejudice. He also observes, that the city of Lubeck has been guilty of the like bigotry, and is at present much fallen from its pristine splendour and commerce, having been in old times so powerful as to wage war against Denmark and Sweden, and to conquer sundry of their places and islands, &c. But here our author should have noted, that generally those conquests were made by Lubeck only as the head, but in the name, and by the aid, of the other cities of the Hanseatic league. We have elsewhere traced the rise, prosperity, and decline, of that city, and shall therefor now only observe, with this author, that their bigotry to lutheranism made their magistrates, through the persuasion of their clergy, banish the papists, calvinists, Jews, and all other dissenters, from their city and territory, to the almost entire ruin of their commerce. He says, that in his time (1688) they had not above 200 ships, nor any other territory but the city itself, and a small town named Travemund, at the mouth of the river Trave, eight miles below Lubeck ; the rest of their antient territory being long since in the hands of the Danes and Swedes, (the former from Holstein, the later from Wismar) by whom the burghers, says he, are kept in such continual alarm, as to be quite tired out with keeping guard and paying taxes : yet, he says, they still maintained 1500 soldiers in pay ; and, besides them, 400 of their burghers, in two companies, are obliged to watch daily. To this once-glorious city, we, in England, ought to acknowledge ourselves beholden for some of our earliest improvements in ship-building and commerce, and for our first water-conduits in London, Bristol, Exeter, &c. taken from their models : the Lubeckers having had much the start of us in respect of many advantageous improvements, the natural effects of an earlier extended commerce, though now it be only the skeleton of its antient commerce and grandeur.

Ker also observes, that Cologne is so much depopulated by intolerance and persecution, that vines and corn now grow within its wall, and that Strasburg has also suffered in the same manner and from the same cause.

The conquests of Mexico and Peru, where such immense treasures were more easily to be had, induced the Spaniards to neglect the noble and extensive island of Hispaniola, although it is said there are still mines of gold and silver, as well as of copper, therein, which were formerly worked to very great profit; but they are said to have destroyed three millions of the natives of that island, who, while they were permitted to enjoy their possessions, were very serviceable in fishing for them, and in tilling their lands, &c. so that they were then in greater affluence than they have been ever since, the greatest part of the country being depopulated, whereby they have been rendered unable to work their mines. This, it is said, makes them carefully conceal their having any such, lest foreigners should be allured to invade them. They have still, however, plenty of sugar, cocoa, cotton, ginger, indigo, coffee, tobacco, wax, honey, ambergris, salt, drugs, and dying woods. In this feeble state, a company of pirates, usually then called buccaneers, settled themselves on the north-west part of Hispaniola, till then solely possessed by Spain, and occupied the port and town of Petit-Guaves*: after some years, they applied to King William for his protection, promising submission and allegiance to the crown of England: but that king being in alliance with Spain against France, disregarded their application. Whereupon those buccaneers applied to the French court, who readily took them under their protection, and supplied them with proper assistance. From this obscure and singular beginning has gradually grown up the present powerful French colony in our days, possessed of the best part of the great island of Hispaniola, where they have excellent sugar-works, coffee, ginger, cotton, indigo, and all the other productions of the West-Indies; while the Spaniards, on the other part of that island, proved rather useful than hurtful to them, by supplying them with cattle, &c. in return for the French East-India merchandize, and their own manufactures and product, with which also the French there supply ships from the continent of Terra Firma and New-Spain, &c. coming to St. Domingo, where is fixed the last ap-

* A settlement was made in the year 1630 by some English and French refugees who had been driven from St. Christophers, first on the north side of Hispaniola, and afterwards on the adjacent small island of Tortuga or Tortue. Most of the first settlers were massacred by the Spaniards; but the remainder of them, under the direction of Willis, an English adventurer or buccaneer, resumed the possession of Tortuga in 1633, and fortified it. The island, after being several times

taken by the Spaniards, and after several quarrels between the French and English inhabitants, was wholly given up in the year 1659 to the French, who soon after removed to more ample possessions on the greater island of Hispaniola (or St. Domingo). In 1665 the first governor arrived from France, who by his prudence and virtue brought the rude and disorderly colonists to be useful to themselves and their mother country. [*Raynal, Hist. philos. et politique, V. vii, p. 99, ed. 1782.*] M.

peal, or dernier resort, in all suits at law for Spanish America, which therefor draws thither many people. This has proved an unlucky incident for the neighbouring English islands; and so much the rather, as the feebleness of Spain obliged that crown, at the treaty of Ryswick in the year 1697, to cede to France that noble part of Hispaniola, of which they had till then violently possessed themselves.

1689.—The English nation, as well as those of Scotland and Ireland, having at this time had their religious and civil liberties and free constitution openly invaded and trampled on by King James II in a most flagrant manner, by the united voice of all true protestants and lovers of our national constitution and laws, William prince of Orange, that king's nephew and son-in-law, was invited over from Holland to rescue us from those worst of evils, and was established on the throne of these free nations, whose religious and legal constitutions were thereby settled on more sure and firm foundations than ever they had been in any former period whatever: which felicity of ours even foreigners have celebrated in their writings. Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, gives us the following remarks thereon, viz. 'this was the proper era of English liberty. The nation, represented by its parliament, now fixed the so-long-contested bounds between the prerogative of the crown and the rights of the people. They prescribed the terms of reigning to the prince of Orange, and chose him for their sovereign, in conjunction with his consort Mary.'

The establishment of this free constitution did most certainly contribute greatly in its consequences, as it was natural to suppose and expect, to the increase and advancement of our commerce. This will, in part, be seen in King William's declaration of war against France, whither the unhappy abdicated king had retired for protection.

In the beginning of 1689 the prince and princess of Orange were recognized by the convention of estates, and the voice of the people, as king and queen of those realms, and by an act of the convention of estates of England, afterwards turned into an act of parliament, [1 *Gul. et Mar. c. 6*] a new form of a coronation oath was prescribed to be taken by them: whereby they (as all their successors must do) solemnly promised, and swore on the gospels, to govern their people according to law: to cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all their judgments; that, to the utmost of their power, they will maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and protestant reformed religion established by law; and will preserve to the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law appertain unto them.

Moreover, by a statute of this first session [*c. 8*] the tyrannical oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated; and in their stead were the two following substituted, viz. 1, 'I, A. B. do sincerely promise

‘ and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties;’ and 2, ‘ I do, from my heart, abhor, detest, and abjure, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.’

The revenue of hearth or chimney money being found grievous to the people of England, by occasioning many difficulties and questions; a great oppression to the poorer sort, and a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man’s house to be entered into and searched at pleasure, by persons unknown to him; it was therefor absolutely abolished forever. [1 *Gul. et Mar. c. 10.*]

It then appeared, says the continuator of Rapin’s history, [*V. iii, p. 52, notes*] that the number of houses in England and Wales, soon after the restoration, was about 1,230,000. And reckoning six persons at a medium, to each house, it fixes the number of the people then to be 7,380,000.

In the same session it was enacted, that, when malt or barley is at L1 : 4 per quarter, or under; rye, at L1 : 12, and wheat, at L2 : 8 per quarter; then it shall not only be lawful to export the same, but the exporters shall also receive the following bounties, viz. for malt or barley per quarter 2/6, rye 3/6, wheat 5/ per quarter; without requiring any thing for customs or fees whatever; provided security be given for such corn being legally landed beyond sea, and that the ship and its crew, in which it shall be exported, be duly qualified according to the acts of navigation. [1 *Gul. et Mar. c. 22.*]

This was the first law for allowing any bounty on corn exported; which bounties have generally been esteemed so beneficial to the landed interest, by enabling tenants to pay their rents in years of plenty, that unless in years of scarcity, when the current prices were higher than the above-named ones, it has been judged prudent to continue the same. How much this bounty contributed to the improvement of husbandry is too obvious to be disputed. Yet some are of opinion, that, instead hereof, all the corn of plentiful years should be purchased of the farmers by the public at a moderate price, to be laid up in granaries against a year of dearth. This would not only be a great help to our poor in a year of scarcity, but would bring foreign ships to purchase it at our price, and would also employ great numbers of our own ships, for supplying other nations at higher rates, as is done in Holland. In other countries, says a French author, the people pay their sovereign for leave to carry out their corn, but wiser England pays her people for exporting it.

As nothing tends more to the advancement of commerce and industry than giving ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of their religion, an act was passed, for exempting all their majesties protestant subjects, of the severall denominations dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws: which, as its preamble sets forth, might be an effectual means to unite their majesties' protestant subjects in interest and affection. [1 *Gul. et Mar. c. 18*] This legal toleration, some wicked party measures at certain times excepted, has generally answered the wise and good ends proposed by that law.

The statute [5 *Hen. IV, c. 4*] against the multiplying of gold and silver was repealed; because 'since the making of the said statute men are arrived to great skill and perfection in the art of refining of metals, and of extracting gold and silver therefrom; but yet dare not exercise their skill, for fear of incurring the felony of that statute; but do therefor exercise their skill in foreign parts, to the great detriment of the realm: provided, however, that all the gold and silver so to be extracted from other metals, be employed for coinage in the king's mint, and no other way. Provided, also, that henceforth no mine of copper, tin, iron, or lead, shall hereafter be adjudged to be a royal mine, even although gold or silver may be extracted out of the same.' [1 *Gul. et Mar. c. 30.*]

Louis XIV, by his great injustice and violences against England, Germany, Spain, and Holland, brought about a grand alliance of those four potentates this year, for reducing that lawless monarch to reason; the consequence whereof was an immediate declaration of war, by each of them. That of King William of England, dated the 7th of May, 1689, after reciting Louis's unjust invasion and ravaging of the territories of his ally, the emperor and empire, as far as is relative to commercial concerns, was summarily as follows, viz.

I) 'That although it was not long before, that the French took out licences from the English governor of Newfoundland, to fish on that coast, paying tribute for such licences, as an acknowledgement of the sole right of the crown of England to that island; yet, of late, their encroachments on that island, and our subjects trade and fishery, have been more like the invasions of an enemy, than becoming friends, who enjoyed the advantages of that trade only by permission.'

II) 'But that the French king should invade our Caribbee islands, (St. Christophers, &c) and possess himself of our territories in New-York and Hudson's bay, in an hostile manner; imprisoning some and murdering others of our subjects; burning their houses and seizing on their effects; are actions even not becoming an enemy. Yet at that very time, Louis, far from declaring himself so, was, by his ministers

‘ in England, soliciting a treaty of neutrality and good correspondence
‘ in America.’ [*Anno* 1686.]

III) ‘ His proceedings, moreover, against our subjects in Europe are
‘ so notorious, that we need not enlarge thereon: such as, countenancing
‘ the seizure of our ships by his privateers; prohibiting a great part of
‘ our product and manufactures; and imposing exorbitant customs upon
‘ the rest: these are sufficient evidences of his design to destroy the
‘ trade and navigation, upon which the wealth and safety of this nation
‘ very much depend.

IV) ‘ His disputing the right of the flag, inherent in the crown of
‘ England.

V) ‘ His unchristian prosecution of many of our English protestant
‘ subjects in France for matters of religion, contrary to the law of na-
‘ tions and express treaties; forcing them to abjure their religion by
‘ unusual cruelties; imprisoning some of the masters and seamen of our
‘ merchant ships, and condemning others to the galleys, on pretence of
‘ having onboard, either some of his own miserable protestant subjects
‘ or their effects.

VI) ‘ And, lastly, his endeavouring, for some years past, by insinua-
‘ tions, and promises of assistance, to overthrow the government of Eng-
‘ land; and now, by open and violent methods, to invade Ireland, in
‘ support of our subjects in rebellion against us.’

This prohibition of commerce with France produced the good consequences of inducing the people of England to improve their old, and to invent fundry new, manufactures, &c. which they formerly took from France; not a little to the detriment of that kingdom in the end.

In the declaration of Holland, amongst many other allegations against Louis, they affirm, 1st, that he had endeavoured, by all manner of ways, to ruin their navigation and commerce, as well in Europe as elsewhere, by seizing their ships and cargoes. 2^{dly}, By violently forcing even their ships of war to be searched, at a time of profound peace. 3^{dly}, By his new tolls and impositions, hindering their subjects from selling their manufactures and fish in his country, so as it was become impossible to continue their trade to France, where their complaints were rejected with scorn. 4^{thly}, Having begun a horrible persecution of his own protestant subjects, he had therein involved the subjects of the states-general, though only living in France, on account of commerce; parting wives from their husbands, and children from their parents, &c.

The declaration of Spain, of the 3^d of May this year, was in consequence of France’s prior declaration of war against that crown, on the 15th of the preceding month, though destitute of all justice; as also of his invading and ravaging the empire, and bringing the Turks to invade and ravage Hungary.

And that of the emperor and empire was much to the same effect.

In the remarkable convention between the commissioners of King William and those of the states of the United Netherlands, (dated in August 1689) concerning their prohibition of commerce with France, it was stipulated :

‘ I) That the subjects of neither nation shall be allowed to traffic to or with those of France, either with ships of their own or of any other nation. Neither shall they import into either country any merchandize being the produce of the French king’s dominions.

‘ II) If, during this war, the subjects of any other potentate shall have commerce with France, or their ships are met with in their passage thither, they shall be seized and condemned as lawful prize.

‘ III) The other potentates of Europe, at peace with France, shall have due notification, that if their ships or vessels shall be found at sea, before this notification shall have been given, making their way to France, they shall be obliged by the ships of England and Holland forthwith to turn back ; and if sailing from France, loaded with French merchandize, they shall be obliged to sail back to France, and there leave the said merchandize, upon pain of forfeiture. And in case the ships of those kings, princes, and states, or their subjects, shall, after the said notification, be found at sea, and sailing either towards the ports of France, or returning from thence, they shall be seized and forfeited, together with their cargoes, and shall be reputed good prize.

‘ IV) And as to the princes and allies who are already at war with France, notification shall be given them as aforesaid ; and they shall be desired at the same time to concur with such methods as are so conducive to the common interest, and to give and execute such orders as tend to the same end.

‘ Done at Whitehall, August 12th—22d, 1689.’

Part of a secret article, viz.

‘ It is agreed, that in case either the one or the other party shall be incommoded or molested, by reason of the execution of this present treaty, or any article thereof, his Britannic majesty King William, and the lords the states-general, do promise and oblige themselves to be guarantee for and to one another upon that account.’ [*General coll. of treaties*, V. i, p. 284, ed. 1732.]

Voltaire (in his *Age of Louis XIV*) observes, “ that France was never in so flourishing a condition as in the period from the death of Cardinal Mazarine to this war of 1689 ; contrary to the opinion of a certain author, who (it seems) had affirmed, that France, since the year 1660, had sunk in real value 1,500 millions ; the very contrary whereof was true ! Thus (adds he) in England, in the most flourishing times, papers are continually coming out to prove, that the kingdom is undone !” Which observation is extremely just.

Although King Charles II, and his brother King James II,

had in their treaties with France generally stipulated, that in case of any rupture between the two nations in Europe, the subjects of both crowns in America should remain in a state of neutrality, yet, at the grand revolution in England, the French broke through that agreement, by entering in an hostile manner into the English pale at St. Christophers, even before war was declared there between those two nations: and, although the English of that isle had sent for succour from Barbados, (after taking shelter in their fortresses) yet they were necessitated to surrender their part of it to the French in July 1689, and to retire to the neighbouring isle of Nevis, to the great loss of many merchants in London and Bristol.

Soon after which the French drove the Dutch out of their own island of Eustatia in that neighbourhood.

It was about this time that the first convention was made at London between England and Spain, for supplying the Spanish West-Indies with negro slaves from the island of Jamaica.

About this time (according to a pamphlet, said to be written by Mr. William Wood, a great undertaker in metals, entitled, the State of the copper and brass manufacture in Great Britain, humbly offered to the consideration of parliament, 4to, 1721) ‘the raising and refining of copper-ore was revived in England, and chiefly in the county of Cornwall, after having been lost or disused ever since the time of the Saxons, who, as well as the Danes, formerly made copper in England, as appears by the old mines wrought by them in several counties: but by reason of great quantities of those metals being imported from foreign parts, (on which high duties should have been laid) that valuable branch of our product was dropped for many ages.’ Yet General Malynes, in his *Lex mercatoria*, (1622) observes, that copper mines were then actually worked in many English counties: so that Mr. Wood must, in this respect, be under an historical mistake. Under the year 1399 we have likewise noted that several projects for mining were set on foot in the reign of Richard II. Mr. Wood observes, ‘that formerly we had all our copper and brass from Sweden and Germany, though now (1721) we are in a great measure supplied from our own mines. It was later (he says) that the art was gained to England of converting copper into brass.’

On the breaking out of King William’s war against France, a company of sword-cutlers was erected by patent, for making hollow sword-blades, in the county of Cumberland, and the adjacent counties, for the use of the army. But though they were enabled to purchase lands, to erect mills, and to receive and employ great numbers of German artificers, yet it did not succeed as was expected. The first patentees, therefore, sold or assigned their patent to a company of merchants in London, who thereupon purchased under that patent to the value of £20,000 per

annum of the forfeited estates in Ireland. But the Irish parliament, in the reign of Queen Anne, knowing they had purchased those lands at very low rates, would not permit them, in their corporate capacity, to take conveyances of lands, lest they might have proved too powerful a body in that kingdom. This obliged them to sell off their Irish estates, which put a period to the corporation. Yet a private copartnership of bankers in London, possessed of their obsolete charter, retained the appellation of the sword-blade company till after the year 1720, though long since broke up.

King William having found it necessary to declare war against France, an act was passed, for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, from the 24th of August 1689, for three years, and to the end of the next following session of parliament, if the war shall last so long. The preamble remarks, that it hath been found by long experience, that the importing of French wines, vinegar, brandy, linen, silks, salt, paper, and other commodities of the growth, product, or manufacture, of France, hath much exhausted the treasure of this nation, lessened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof, greatly impoverished the English artificers and handicrafts, and caused great detriment to this kingdom in general*. All such French merchandize imported shall be forfeited to the crown, and shall be destroyed: with sundry penalties on the importer, vender, and possessor; on the resister of execution; on the informer acting by collusion; on the master, seamen, &c. importing them; and the ship to be forfeited likewise, as also the carts, &c. bringing those goods from such ships. No brandy, or other spirits, shall at all be imported from any country whatever, on forfeiture thereof and of the ship†. And though the said French goods are to be destroyed, yet a value is hereby put on them, viz. wines £30 per ton, and brandy £40 per ton; the rest as in the book of rates of the 12th of Charles II, or by a jury trying the cause, in case they be not found in the book of rates: one third of which value shall go to the seizer or fuer, and two thirds to the crown. With power for officers to search houses, and to break open locks. Persons resisting, punishable, &c. [1 *Gul. et Mar. c. 34.*]

In the second session of the parliament of the first year of King William and Queen Mary, a most memorable and glorious statute [*c. 2*] was enacted, entitled, an act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown: ‘ Or, a legal confirmation of ‘ the DECLARATION OF RIGHT, presented to the prince and princess of ‘ Orange, on the 13th of February preceding, by the lords and commons

* Instead of this absolute prohibition of French wines and brandies, high duties were afterwards laid on them in the 2d, 4th, and 5th years of this reign. *A.*

† This absolute prohibition was intended to encourage the home distillery of brandy and spirits from corn, on which a duty was laid by an act of the second year of this reign, *c. 4.* *A.*

‘ assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely, representing all the estates of the people of England, viz.

‘ 1) Whereas the late King James II, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers, employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom,

‘ 1. By assuming a power of dispensing with the laws, without the consent of parliament ;

‘ 2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power ;

‘ 3. By his commission, under the great seal, for erecting a court, called the court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes ;

‘ 4. By levying money by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and, in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament ;

‘ 5. By raising and keeping up a standing army in time of peace, without consent of parliament, and quartering of soldiers contrary to law ;

‘ 6. By causing several good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law ;

‘ 7. By violating the freedom of elections of members to serve in parliament ;

‘ 8. By prosecutions in the court of king’s bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament ; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses ;

‘ 9. By obtaining partial, corrupt, and unqualified, persons to be returned to serve on juries in trials for high treason, who were not freeholders ;

‘ 10. By excessive bails being required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects ;

‘ 11. ‘ By excessive fines having been imposed, and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted ;

‘ 12, and lastly, By several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

‘ All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws, and statutes, and freedom, of this realm ; wherefor, the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, do, in the first place, as their ancestors, in like case have usually done, for the vindicating and asserting their antient rights and liberties, declare,

‘ 1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution

- of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal ;
2. As is also the dispensing with laws ;
 3. And the like of the court for ecclesiastical causes ;
 4. The like as to levying money without grant of parliament ;
 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king ; and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal ;
 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law ;
 7. That the subjects, who are protestants, may have arms for their defence, suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law ;
 8. That the election of members of parliament ought to be free ;
 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court, or place out of parliament ;
 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted ;
 11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned ; and that jurors who pass upon men in trials for high treason, ought to be freeholders ;
 12. That all grants, and promises of fines and forfeitures, of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void ;
 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving, of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.
- And they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties ; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people, in any of the said premises, ought in anywise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.
- Having therefor particular encouragement from the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, and an entire confidence, that he will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties.
- II) The said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, prince and princesses of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland ; to hold to them during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them ; but the sole and full exercise of the regal power to be only in the prince, though in the names of both ; and, after their decease, the crown to descend to the heirs of the princess, and, failing such, to the princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of

‘ her body ; and, for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of
‘ the said prince of Orange.

‘ III) That the oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated, and
‘ in their stead the two following oaths be substituted.’ [These we have
already exhibited with the new coronation oath.

‘ IV) Upon which their said majesties did accept the crown and royal
‘ dignity aforesaid.

‘ V) And thereupon their majesties were pleased, that the said lords
‘ and commons, being the two houses of parliament, should continue to
‘ sit ; and, with their said majesties royal concurrence, make effectual
‘ provision for the settlement of the religion, laws, and liberties, of this
‘ kingdom.

‘ VI) Now, in pursuance of the premises, the said lords spiritual and
‘ temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, for the ratifying
‘ and confirming of the said declaration, by the force of a law made in
‘ due form by authority of parliament, do pray, that it may be de-
‘ clared and enacted, that all and singular, the rights and liberties, as-
‘ serted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, antient, and
‘ indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so
‘ shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, and firmly and strictly holden
‘ and observed ; and that all officers and ministers, whatsoever, shall
‘ serve their majesties and their successors, according to the same, in
‘ times to come.

‘ VII) And the said lords and commons seriously considering, how
‘ it has pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous providence, and merci-
‘ ful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said majesties
‘ most happily to reign over us, for which they render unto him, from
‘ the bottom of their hearts, their humblest thanks and praises, do firm-
‘ ly, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby
‘ recognize, acknowledge, and declare, that King James II, having abdi-
‘ cated the government, and their majesties having accepted the crown
‘ and royal dignity, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this
‘ realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen, as aforesaid,
‘ &c.

‘ VIII) And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm
‘ by reason of any pretended titles to the crown, and for preserving a
‘ certainty in the succession thereof, the said lords and commons pray,
‘ that it may be enacted ;’ [here the succession, as in the preceding ar-
‘ ticle II, is enacted] ‘ and thereunto the said lords spiritual and tem-
‘ poral, and commons, do, in the name of all the people of England
‘ aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs,
‘ and posterities, forever ; and do faithfully promise, that they will
‘ stand to, maintain, and defend, their said majesties ; and also the limit-
‘ ation and succession of the crown herein specified and contained,

‘ with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt any thing to the contrary.

‘ And whereas it hath been found by experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist, we pray that it may be enacted, that every person holding communion with the church of Rome, or else that shall marry a papist, shall be for ever excluded, and be incapable to inherit and possess the crown of this realm; and in every such case, the people of this realm, and of Ireland, are hereby absolved of their allegiance, and the crown shall descend to the next protestant in succession, who should have enjoyed the same, had the other been naturally dead.

‘ X) And whoever shall hereafter succeed to the crown, shall, if of twelve years of age or upwards, make and subscribe the declaration in the statute of the 30th year of King Charles II, entitled an Act for the more effectual preserving the king’s person and government, by disabling papists from sitting in either house of parliament.

‘ XI) All which shall hereby be declared, and enacted to be the law of this realm forever.

‘ XII) And that no dispensation by *non obstante*, of, or to, any statute, or of any part thereof, shall hereafter be allowed, except it be allowed in such statute; and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by a bill, or bills, to be passed during this present session of parliament.

‘ XIII) Provided that no charter, grant, or pardon, granted before the 23d day of October 1689, shall be invalidated by this act; but that the same shall remain of the same force and effect in law, and no other, than as if this act had never been made.’

Whoever is even but slenderly acquainted with the history of several preceding reigns in England, but most especially with that of King James II, cannot fail to pronounce this act of parliament, which we have here contracted as far as the very important matter of it would permit, to be a new and complete magna charta, or a solemn re-establishment, with improvements, of all the privileges of the English people, formerly at any time claimed by virtue of the power of parliament, and of the laws and statutes of England; and, in one word, that this solemn statute has most essentially fixed the just boundaries of the prerogative of the crown, and of the rights and privileges of the subject, the most happy consequences whereof have ever since been sensibly seen and felt, and, it is to be hoped, will so remain to the end of time.

The good effects of this firm establishment of the liberty and property of the people of England have in nothing been more conspicuous, than in the great increase of commerce, shipping, manufactures, and colonies,

as well as of riches and people, since that happy period, notwithstanding our having been since engaged in several very expensive and bloody wars, in vindication of our invaluable liberties, civil and religious.

We may here farther note, that the parliament of Scotland, about the same time, made a like act, claim, or declaration, of their rights and liberties, when they recognized King William and Queen Mary, for king and queen of Scotland.

King James's net revenue, when he abdicated, was £2,061,855 yearly; for which yearly revenue, though granted by parliament, neither he, nor any of his predecessors, deemed themselves accountable to their people or parliament. It is, therefore, one of the great blessings of this happy revolution, that exact boundaries are set by parliament to the expense of the civil list; and that, excepting the post-office revenue, and the small remains of the hereditary crown rents, the application of the supplies granted annually by parliament, have constantly and punctually been accounted for in every succeeding session of parliament.

The ground on which the streets called the Seven Dials, in the parish of St. Giles's in the fields, in the western suburbs of London, stand, was not begun to be built on till about this year, as appears by the continuator of Rapin's History of England, [V. iii, p. 97, notes.] It was crown land, and granted by King William to the earl of Portland.

In Dr. D'Avenant's Essay on way and means, (published in 1695) he tells us, that the ordinary revenue of France was, before this war, yearly, about one hundred and fifty millions of livres, or about twelve millions sterling. 'We all know' (says he), how hardly this great sum was extorted from the people; but they were enabled to pay it by the balance that arose to them from the vent of their commodities and manufactures. Their most staple trade was in wine, oil, salt, linen, and paper; their other manufactures are innumerable: and a vast profit they did constantly make by the resort of strangers to their country, and likewise by furnishing all Europe with their fineries and vanities.'

It is not very certain how long the English East-India company have been settled on the famous river Ganges in the kingdom of Bengal. Their first factory in that kingdom was at the town of Huguely, on a river of that name, being a branch of the Ganges, 160 miles from its mouth. About this year the company removed to Calcutta, on the same river, where they built Fort William, for protecting their vessels coming down that river from Patna with piece goods, raw silk, and saltpetre, being the principal staple commodities of Bengal, otherwise the rajas, whose dominions lie on that river, and who are either tributaries to, or else powerful governors under, the mogul, were apt to make, and sometimes have made, arbitrary demands of duties for pass-

ing that way. Higher up, at the town of Huguely, the Dutch have a noble fort and factory for the like trade, and also for Bengal stuffs, calico, cotton and muslin, for the European markets; and opium, ginger, long pepper, tobacco, &c. for the country trade.

On the same river too the French lately had a fort and factory. Here likewise, the Danes had formerly a factory. Likewise, in the year 1723, the late Ostend company had a factory.

At Huguely the great Mogul has a custom-house, and on that river there is a vast trade carried on for all kinds of India goods, backward and forward; and, besides their staple goods before mentioned, they trade in stuffs of herba *, aloes, opium, wax, laque, civet, indigo, canes, spices; and also in sugar and rice, carried all over India in immense quantities. This great kingdom of Bengal had its own monarchs till the year 1582, when it was conquered by the mogul. It is one of the finest countries of all Asia, and is said to bring five millions sterling annually into the mogul's treasury; and is likewise obliged, on occasion, to supply him with 40,000 horse, and 80,000 foot soldiers.

The Portuguese had once sundry factories here, but have been long since expelled by the moguls, for their rapacious and outrageous conduct.

Higher up Huguely river, at Cossimbazar, the English and Dutch have their out-factories; as at Dacca, an island in the most easterly branch of the Ganges; and at Maldo on another branch of that vast river; all depending on the before-mentioned principal and fortified ones. The English, Dutch, and French, have each a factory at Balasore, or Bassora, in the bay of Bengal, chiefly for taking in pilots to conduct them up the Ganges. At this time the English company published a state of their trade, shipping, and forts, viz. ' 1st, that within seven years
' past they had built 16 great ships, from 900 to 1300 tons each. 2dly,
' that in lieu of Bantam, from whence they had been expelled, they
' have erected and garrisoned three forts in other parts of India, for the
' pepper trade. 3dly, That they had now at sea, in India, and coming
' home, eleven ships and four permission ships, whose cargoes amounted
' to above L360,000. 4thly, They had seven great ships and six per-
' mission ones, all for Coast and Bay, whose cargoes amounted to near
' L570,000. 5thly, They had seven ships for China and the South seas,
' whose cargoes amounted to near L100,000, besides about 30 other
' small armed vessels, constantly remaining in India. 6thly, That they
' have now remaining India goods unfold at home to the value of
' L700,000. 7thly, That, by means of their isle of Bombay, they
' have brought thither the principal part of the trade of Surat; where,
' from 4,000 families, computed when the company first took possession

* The rind of a certain tree, which they dress and draw out so fine, that it works like silk, with which, and also with cotton, it is woven. A.

‘ of it, they are since increased to 50,000 families, all subject to the company’s laws. Lastly, the company had made a most successful war with the mogul, and brought him to reasonable terms, confirmed by that prince’s own phirmaund, and secured by a strong garrison at Bombay; which, being one of the best ports in India, and lying so near Surât, the great emporium of the Indian trade to Arabia, Persia, Bassora, and the Red sea, if the English trade had not been brought thither to load home, and not at the river of Surat, as formerly, it would not have been near so beneficial.’ This is indeed a very pompous view of that company’s condition; as published by themselves; but their enemies soon after gave a very different view of it.

1690.—Besides the benefits elsewhere mentioned, as received by England from the French king’s revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, it did good service to the English colonies in America; and particularly in the year 1690, when King William settled some hundreds of French refugee families on the south side of James’s river in Virginia, above the falls, where they have since much improved that naturally-fine country.

The French in the province of Canada growing troublesome neighbours to the English province of New-York, by endeavouring to draw to themselves the whole trade of peltry with the Indian nations, the government of New-York made an attempt on Quebec, the capital town of Canada, distant about 400 or 500 miles from New-York city. For this end they marched from Albany, with 300 English and 300 allied Iroquois Indians; and though the French governor of Canada had with him above double the number of regular troops, besides Indians, yet the English defeated him, and killed about 300 of his men: but not having artillery, &c. proper for attacking their forts, which surely they should have foreseen, they were fain to be content with this victory, and so to return home.

But in this same year General Coddington, commander in chief of the English leeward islands, had better success in the West-Indies; for, by the help of succours from England, joined to the regiments he had raised in those islands, he retook from the French, with the loss of 200 men, the island of St. Christophers, from whence he conveyed the French inhabitants, consisting of 1,800 men, besides women and children, to Hispaniola and Martinico. The same year he likewise retook the isle of St. Eustatia, which the French had, the preceding year, taken from the Dutch: he also took from the French St. Martins and St. Bartholomew, but he failed in his attempt on Guadaloupe.

Sir William Phipps, with a fleet and land forces from New-England, failed for Nova-Scotia, and took the fort and town of Port-Royal, since named Annapolis Royal, in the bay of Fundy, which had so greatly annoyed our commerce in America, by means of the French privateers, as to obtain the appellation of the Dunkirk of America. He also demolished a

fort at St. John's river; and erected better forts in their stead. The French till now had, from Port-Royal, carried on a considerable trade to the sugar isles, &c. with fish, lumber, and peltry. Yet King William's pressures obliged him to restore it to France by the treaty of Ryf-
wick, and so it remained till the following century.

So great is the quantity of timber in that country, and the adjacent parts of New-England, that, in after years, the surveyor-general for the woods of the crown of Great Britain in America had directions to set out 300,000 acres of the best woodlands, in order to preserve the white pine trees for masts and other ship timber, near the sea or navigable rivers, for the navy; which, it is hoped, will be ever carefully looked after, whatever reports there may be of neglects therein.

The number of houses in England and Wales this year, as returned by the books of the hearth duty at lady-day 1690, was 1,391,215; which, at six persons to a house, makes the number of souls 7,915,290, or very near eight millions. [*D'Avenant's Essay on ways and means of supplying the war, London, 1695.*] So that, reckoning one million and a half in Scotland, which may be near the truth, and two millions in Ireland, which we have elsewhere shewn to be near the truth, there is good ground to believe, there may be at least eleven millions of souls in England, Scotland, and Ireland: that author makes the houses in Yorkshire to be 121,052; in Wales 77,921; and in London, Westminster, and Middlesex, 111,215.

Till about this time there was scarce any other kind of paper made in England but the coarse brown sort. But the war with France occasioning high duties on foreign paper, the French protestant refugees settled in England, and also our own few paper-makers, now began to make white writing and printing paper: which, in length of time, has been brought to so great perfection, both for beauty and substance, that, in our own time, we import only certain kinds of Genoa and Dutch paper; which, however, bears but a small proportion to all the paper used in the British dominions. How great a saving this has proved to Britain, may partly be conceived from what has been often formerly affirmed by such as were well acquainted therewith, viz. that to France alone, from which we now take none even in time of peace, we paid annually to the amount of £100,000 for paper only.

At this time, or a little before, some mines of lead and copper were found in the lands of Sir Carbery Price in Cardiganshire, in South Wales; which requiring great expense to work, he this year divided them into 24 shares. This was the original rise of the mine-adventurers company, by the mismanagement of which so many persons and families were greatly hurt, and others utterly ruined. In the year 1693, that gentleman and his partners subdivided their 24 shares into 4,008 shares, for the term of twenty-two years and an half; in which sundry

lords and gentlemen of worth were deeply concerned. Yet for want of a sufficient stock of money for carrying on so expensive a work, it languished and went retrograde until the year 1698, when a new constitution was established, by indenture, in a pompous manner; the duke of Leeds being thereby established governor of this company, and Sir Humphry Mackworth deputy-governor, both during life, with a select committee of managers or directors; and a new capital stock of £20,000 was raised, for paying off debts before contracted, and for vigorously carrying on the mines; and five years were hereby added to the said twenty-two years and an half of their grant. Sir Humphry Mackworth's proposal and plan were accepted; and he undertook to dispose of the 4,008 shares by a lottery for £125,000, consisting of 25,000 tickets, at £5, whereof 2,500 were to be fortunate; with abundance of wild, perplexed, and romantic, articles, which, however, drew in many persons of worth and character. Sir Humphry Mackworth brought into this new constitution, his own lands, coal-pits, and mines, near Neath in Glamorganshire, where wharfs and warehouses, refining-houses and mills, were erected, and much lead ore was raised, from whence quantities of silver were extracted, and also litharge of lead, which is used by apothecaries, surgeons, and painters; but chiefly by potters for glazing their earthen ware, and by the makers of fine glass, and of red-lead, into which litharge is easily transformed. Thus they went on, at a vast expense, till next century, till when we shall leave them, after only observing, that it is somewhat strange, so many sagacious persons as Sir Humphry Mackworth drew into this project, did not entertain any suspicion of his vastly pompous out-set, and of his proposal of one twelfth part of the clear profit of the mines to be disposed of to such charitable uses as he should direct, previous to their knowing any thing certain whether there would be any profit at all from a mere embryo project. By such means, and likewise by his charity-proposal, many clergymen's widows, and orphans, were engaged therein.

1691.—After the English East-India company's very great expense of money and men in their war with the great mogul, they at length obtained peace with him, and the restitution of their former privileges, in the year 1691; when they likewise re-established their revolted factory at Bombay, and quieted the isle of St. Helena. Nevertheless, the above great expense, the incessant clamours of the interlopers, and of the friends of those put to death at St. Helena, jointly conspired to bring that company into great discredit; inasmuch, that printed papers were handed about, displaying their crimes and miscarriages, doubtless not without exaggerations: proposals also were published for dissolving this, and erecting a new company. And so far was the house of commons influenced thereby, as in this same year to address King William to dissolve the company, agreeable to the power reserved by the crown in

their charter, and to incorporate a new one. The king's answer was, 'that, it being a matter of very great importance, it required some time to consider their address.' In the meantime he referred it to a committee of the privy council; whereupon the company did, in writing, declare their submission to such regulations as that committee of council should prescribe; which were in substance, that their capital stock should be made up £1,500,000 at least, but not to exceed two millions; of which the present company's capital of £740,000 was to constitute a part: and the present company, jointly with the new subscribers, should be incorporated for twenty-one years*.

The government of New-England, still finding the French in Canada very troublesome neighbours, sent out a fleet of 32 sail, with 2000 land forces onboard, to attack Quebec; but being eight weeks in sailing up the river of St. Laurence, they thereby gave time to the French to bring all their strength to Quebec; before which place, our people being repulsed, they were obliged to re-embark, many of their ships in coming down that river were wrecked or lost; and when 2000 English and 1500 Indians had marched over land from New-York, Connecticut, &c. they found no canoes to transport them over the lakes; they were therefor likewise forced to return home. In this unfortunate and ill-conducted expedition, the province of New-England contracted £140,000 debt; and there were said to have been 1000 lives lost, one way or other.

1692.—We shall now give the English East-India company's vindication of themselves, by way of reply to the regulations proposed by the committee of the privy council, at the close of the preceding year, viz. 'that their present quick and dead stock and revenue are really worth more than £1,500,000†, the present current price of their capital stock at market being 150 per cent: that they knew no law nor reason for their being thus dispossessed of their estates at an undervalue: that their forts, towns, and territories in India are theirs for ever by their charters, and have cost them, first and last, above a million sterling: that all the other proposed regulations are better provided for by their present charter than they can be by any new one, &c.' [*Account of some transactions in the house of commons and before the lords of the privy council, relating to the late East-India company, quarto, 1693.*]

The answer given by the king this year to the address of the commons, for dissolving the East-India company, was, in substance, that, upon due consultation, he found he could not dissolve the company in less than three years warning; during which time they could not be hindered from trading, nor could a new company trade, till those three years were expired; that the company having rejected most of the re-

* The company's answer and vindication will be found under the next year. *A*

† Quick stock comprehends ships and merchandize; and dead stock, forts, factories, houses, &c. *A*

gulations made by the committee of council, he was of opinion, that what was needful to preserve this valuable trade could not be perfected without the concurrence of parliament; wherefor he recommended to them to prepare a bill for that purpose. This was speaking like a good king to a free people. Hereupon the house of commons took the settlement of this trade into consideration, yet, through their divisions, and the company's great interest, they did nothing effectual; only at the close of that session they addressed the king to dissolve the company at the end of the three years; which, he told them, he would consider of.

A war with France having before been seen to be unavoidable by England, it was soon found to be very unfortunate for the later, that as her maritime commerce was much greater than that of France, she was thereby very much exposed to captures by French privateers; inso-much, that by an account laid before the parliament in this year, it appeared, that the French had in the two years past of this war, taken from England no fewer than 3000 sail of trading vessels, great and small: and within the same period we had taken from France only 67 merchant ships. A terrible difference indeed, yet not so difficult to be accounted for as some might imagine, when it is considered that so great a part of France's commerce was at this time driven in foreign ships, chiefly till now in Dutch bottoms.

On the other hand, (for balancing part of this great misfortune) the strict prohibition of commerce by both nations during this war, proved the occasion of gradually destroying sundry very profitable French manufactures, which were either transferred to England directly, or else set on foot by other nations. Thus, I) France was almost entirely deprived of a most profitable linen manufacture (never likely to be regained) of two particular species, viz. dowlas and lockram, chiefly manufactured in Normandy and Brittany; of which England was said to have taken off to the value of £200,000 sterling annually. For England, not being well able to be without those two sorts of linen, set the Hamburgers on imitating them so well, that the very names of those French linens with us are buried in oblivion.

II) France, before this war, manufactured good and cheap felt hats at Caudbeque, Havre de Grace, and other places in Normandy; and by our prohibition of them, we have in time learned to make them better, as well as cheaper, than the French can do.

III) Before this war the fine glass manufacture was almost entirely French: for, not only the greatest part of the plate-glass of our coaches and chairs, and of our fine looking-glasses, came from France, but likewise our finest window-glass, which was usually called Normandy glass, and French crown-glass; both which we have since made entirely our own manufacture, in the greatest perfection.

We have before noted, under the year 1685, the great benefits which

had accrued to England by receiving the French protestant refugees, who introduced sundry new manufactures: nevertheless, the improvement of them, and of the others above mentioned, could not have been so speedily nor so effectually accomplished, had it not been for the strict prohibition of intercourse between the two nations by this war. Whereby also (IV) cutlery-ware, watches, toys, ribands, &c. and most especially England's broad-silk manufacture, have been so greatly improved as even to outdo the French in all of them. Hence it may well be imagined, how great the loss of France must have been in the decrease of these manufactures.

This year was propitious to England, by the great and signal victory over the naval power of France off La Hogue on the coast of Normandy, where an army of 20,000 men lay ready to embark with the late King James to invade England, in case the French fleet should prove victorious. Voltaire (in his *Age of Louis XIV*) relates, that 300 transport-ships were got ready at Brest; and Admiral Tourville, with 44 ships of war, waited for them on the Norman coast. D'Etrees also was on his way from Toulon with another Squadron of 30 ships of war, but happened to be detained from joining Tourville by contrary winds. The combined fleet of England and Holland, according to him and others, consisted of near 100 sail, commanded in chief by Admiral Ruffel, (afterward created earl of Orford.) In this tremendous naval engagement 21 of the best ships of France were destroyed, amongst which was the superb admiral-ship the Royal sun, of 110 brass cannon, set on fire in sight of that army and of the late King James. Voltaire relates, that 14 of the largest French ships of war were run a-ground on the adjacent coast, two of which number carried each 104 cannon; and their commanders, knowing that they must be destroyed by the enemy, with their own hands set fire to them. This (he adds) was the first check, which the maritime strength of Louis XIV had as yet received.

This year the French refugees in England, having formed a successful project for making lustrings and alamode silks, articles then in great vogue, and for which France had received from England great sums of money yearly, they got a patent for the sole privilege of making those silks, which they soon brought to great perfection. And, though, by the change of fashion, those silks are not now in request, the project however contributed to the improvement of the English silk manufacture in general. By an act of the 8th and 9th of King William, [c. 36] it appears, that the Royal lustring company had then brought this manufacture to the greatest perfection; wherefor foreign lustrings and alamodes were thereby prohibited. This obsolete charter was made one of the bubbles of the year 1720, and fell with them soon after to nothing. It was called the Royal lustring (vulgarly lutestring) company.

1693.—The parliament passed an act for continuing certain acts therein

mentioned, and for charging several joint stocks; whereby, *inter alia*, it was enacted, that for every £100 of East-India joint stock, there should be answered to their majesties, £5, valuing the whole joint stock of that company at £744,000, to be paid quarterly by their governor or treasurer, and to be deducted from the several persons interested in the said stock, according to their several shares and proportions therein, upon their next dividends.

And for every share in the joint stock of the Royal African company, £1.

And for every share in the joint stock of the Hudson's-bay company, £5*.

And in case any of the companies shall make default in payment at the times herein specified, the charter of such company respectively, shall be, and is hereby, adjudged to be void. [4, 5 *Gul. et Mar. c. 15.*]

These were the only joint-stock commercial companies then in England; the other three great commercial companies, viz. the Russia, Turkey, and Eastland, ones, being only regulated companies, wherein every member or freeman traded solely on his own bottom; subject only to certain regulations and restrictions by the bye laws and general orders of each company; which have therefor the appellation of regulated companies.

It happened (either intentionally or most unaccountably) that the East-India company neglected to pay the tax within the time limited by this act; whereby they legally forfeited their charter. Yet King William was unwilling to take advantage thereof, as it would have occasioned great disorders and losses to the proprietors. The company, however, hereupon was said to have distributed *great sums* of money to *men in power*†: they therefor obtained a new charter, on the 7th of October 1693, restoring them to all the powers, &c. which former charters had given them; but with the following proviso, viz.

‘That if the company do not accept of, submit to, and effectually execute, such orders, directions, additions, alterations, restrictions, &c. relating to the constitution and powers of their corporation, and its trade and joint stock, &c. as the king shall by charter ordain, under his great seal, before the 29th September 1694, then their majesties may revoke this charter.’ Which regulations and orders were accordingly made:

* The act does not ascertain the number of shares, or amount of stock, in the two later companies.

† Great sums indeed! the house of commons having ordered an examination of the East-India company's books, it appeared, that the sums paid for *special services*, which before the revolution scarcely ever exceeded £1200 in a year; had ever since gradually increased, and in the year 1693 they amounted to near £90,000.—£110,000 were

traced to the king; £5000 to the duke of Leeds, and other sums to other men in power.—The duke was impeached by the house of commons: the most material witness was sent out of the country; and, in nine days after it was demanded by the lords, a proclamation was issued to stop his flight.—‘Thus ended a wretched farce.’ [Macpherson's *History of Great Britain*, V. ii. p. 79.] M.

by two royal charters : the first of which was on the 11th of November 1693, in substance as follows, viz.

- ‘ I) All subscribers shall be members of the company.
- ‘ II) £744,000 shall be the whole capital of the company.
- ‘ III) None shall subscribe above £10,000.
- ‘ IV) In general courts £1000 stock shall have one vote ; and none shall have above ten votes.
- ‘ V) Such as shall become proprietors by purchase, shall pay for their freedom £5. Who (as also the new subscribers) shall take the oaths appointed by law, and also the freeman’s oath.
- ‘ VI) The governor, or, in his absence, the deputy-governor, to have a casting vote in all courts ; each of them to have £4000 in their own right : and each committee-man £1000*.
- ‘ VII) No permission shall be granted for ships to India on a private account, on the penalty of forfeiting the charters.
- ‘ VIII) No private contract is to be made, for sale of the company’s goods, (saltpetre only excepted, sold for the king’s use.) But all to be openly and publicly sold. And no one lot (jewels excepted) to exceed £500 value.
- ‘ IX) The company shall annually export to India, of the growth and product of England, to the value of at least £100,000.
- ‘ X) The company shall annually supply the crown with 500 tons of saltpetre, at £38 : 10 per ton in time of peace, and at £45 in time of war.
- ‘ XI) All dividends of the company’s profits shall, for the future, be made in money only.
- ‘ XII) A book shall be hereafter kept by the company, wherein the value of their stock shall be entered, as attested upon oath, to be viewed by all concerned ; and the like as to all mortgages, alienations, transfers, and assignments.
- ‘ XIII) The joint stock of the company shall continue for 21 years : and one year before its expiration, books shall lie open for new subscriptions to a new joint stock.’

In an act of parliament for regaining, encouraging, and settling, the Greenland trade, it is observed, that the trade to the Greenland seas, in the fishing for whales, had heretofore been very beneficial to England, both in respect to the employment of seamen and ships, and the consumption of great quantities of provisions †, as also in the importation of great quantities of oil and whale-fins ; yet that this trade had been wholly lost to the kingdom, and could now no otherwise be revived than by united endeavours in a joint stock : ‘ wherefor this act incorporates Sir William Scawen, and forty-one persons more, to be a cor-

* The committee-men are now called directors.

† How different is this stile from the proclamations of King James and King Charles I? *A.*

‘poration, by the name of the company of merchants of London trading to Greenland, with the usual powers of succession, &c. this company having already subscribed L40,000 for that end: the master and only one third of the mariners to be English*, and the ships to be English-built. All contracts, agreements, and bargains, for their stock to be void, unless transferred within ten days after. This corporation to exist only for fourteen years from the 1st of October 1693.’ [4, 5 *Gul. et Mar. c. 17.*]

The English and Dutch naval exploits in this year proved almost as unfortunate as they had been prosperous in the preceding one: for Sir George Rooke, with 23 ships of war, having the Turkey fleet under his convoy, was attacked by the grand fleet of France, commanded in chief by Tourville, off Cape St. Vincent, who took or destroyed 12 English and Dutch ships of war, together with 80 merchant ships, English and Dutch; which was a severe loss to both nations.

The French, we have seen, having, even in time of peace, seized on all the forts of England in Hudson’s bay, excepting that at Port-Nelson, in the year 1686, King William now sent out such a force as retook them all. Nevertheless, soon after, the French, with a stronger force, again took all the forts in that bay.

1694.—The revenues of the city of London having in some former times been under bad or negligent management, the fund for the orphans of freemen was suffered to run so far in arrear, that the chamber of London (where that fund was and is still kept) was shut up for several years. Hereof great complaints were made at different times, insomuch that this shutting up was compared to the shutting up of the exchequer in the year 1672. After three or four years solicitation, the magistracy coming into better hands, they obtained an act of parliament [5, 6 *Gul. et Mar. c. 10*] for relief of the orphans and other creditors of the city of London, purporting, ‘that whereas the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, are answerable for all monies of their orphans; but that, by reason of sundry accidents and calamities, they are now indebted to the said orphans and other creditors, for principal and interest, in a much greater sum than they are able to satisfy, (viz. L600,000) unless some assistance be given them. It was therefore enacted, 1st, that towards raising a perpetual fund to pay the yearly interest of 4 per cent for the whole debt, to any orphans, or their assigns, or other creditors, of the city of London, all the manors, messuages, markets, fairs, aqueducts, and revenues, of the city, (excepting the public hospitals and the revenues of London bridge) should be charged forever, from midsummer 1694, towards raising the clear yearly sum of L8000 forever, and L2000 more per annum to be raised on personal estates.

* The want of English harpooneers, &c. being at this time so great. *A.*

And, for the increase of this fund, L600 per annum was to be paid out of the profits of the convex lamps, (then in vogue, since come to nothing) 4*d* per chaldron for metage on coals imported, and 6*d* more per chaldron or ton, (for fifty years, from michaelmas 1700) to be collected in the same manner as by the act of the 19th of Charles II for rebuilding the city of London; also 4*s* per ton on wines imported, 2*s* 6*d* for binding every apprentice, and 5*s* for every new freeman. And to the intent that this fund might be perpetual, it was now enacted, that from the time when the imposition of 6*d* on coals should cease, (viz. michaelmas 1750) then the city lands, manors, messuages, markets, &c. and all other the city's revenues, should be charged with the farther yearly sum of L6000, over and above the before-named annual sum of L8000 applicable to the same use. All which sums should, in the first place, be applied to pay the said 4 per cent yearly for interest on the said orphans debt, to be paid half-yearly, on midsummer and St. Thomas's day: which debt should be a perpetual transferable stock. But no orphan should for the future be compellable to pay any money into the chamber of London. And any orphan (under 21 years of age) applying hereafter to pay a sum of money into the chamber of London, may take advantage of this act, and the chamberlain may thereupon pay off the like sum to any who are not orphans under 21 years of age, and admit the said orphan in his stead. There are also clauses in favour of the corporations of the water companies of the New river, York-buildings, Shadwell, and London bridge.

We may here add, that, upon the credit of this new orphans fund, a project was afterward proposed to be ingrafted by Mr. William Paterfon (the first projector of the bank of England) and others, for raising an additional joint stock of L600,000, for lending money on land securities, for a voluntary register of lands, and for issuing and circulating a paper-credit, &c.; which, however, did not take place.

By the great increase of the shipping of London, the suburbs east of the Tower and below St. Catherine's, called Wapping, were become so populous, that it was now found necessary to erect a new church and parish for the inhabitants thereof, by the name of the parish of St. John in Wapping, in the county of Middlesex.

A tax was laid on London hackney coaches (then fixed at 700 in number) of L4 per annum each, beside a fine of L50 for a licence for twenty-one years, and L8 per annum on stage coaches. [5, 6 *Gul. et Mar. c. 22.*] And (that we may have no more to say hereafter on this point) by an act of the 9th year of Queen Anne, [*c. 23*] the hackney coaches of London were fixed at 800 in number, to commence from midsummer 1715, when the former term was to expire; from which term each of those coaches were to pay 5*s* weekly. Also 200 hackney

chairs were thereby licenced at 10^s each per annum; in the year following they were increased to 300; and by another act [12 *Geo. I.* c. 12] the hackney chairs were increased to 400 in number, by reason of the great increase of new buildings westward.

This year is memorable for the erection of the present most useful and laudable corporation of the BANK OF ENGLAND, which has not only proved extremely beneficial to commerce, but has also on many emergencies been a great support of the public credit of the nation. We have seen, that before this time there were proposals and schemes offered to the public for a like purpose: and it is indeed somewhat strange, that a public or general bank, capable of not only supporting its own credit by a paper currency, for the benefit of commerce, especially with respect to large payments, but also supporting the national credit, was not sooner established in a country so much abounding in wealth and commerce.

There were in Europe at this time but four very considerable banks, those of Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, and Hamburgh; of which all but that of Genoa are solely for the convenience of merchants. At Amsterdam, Venice, and Hamburgh, all bills of exchange and other large payments are usually paid in their banks, which saves much trouble to merchants.

There are banks in other parts of Europe, which are not only for the convenience of commerce, but also for the emolument of their proprietors, who had originally advanced money to the state, for which they had a perpetual fund of interest; and they obtained also the privilege of being cash-keepers for merchants and others. Such are the banks of Genoa, Naples, and Bologna; there being two such in the latter city, in one of which, though only 10 per cent was ever paid in, they are said to make a dividend on the whole nominal capital; and they are also said to lend money at 1 per cent per annum, proceeding from the great cash they are entrusted with without interest. After this second sort of banks was the bank of England modelled, as were also the two incorporated banks of Edinburgh.

Most of the former printed proposals for public banks in England seem to have had that of Amsterdam principally in view: but although that famous bank be doubtless a noble and very useful one amongst a people whose wealth consists almost entirely of money, and what we call personal estates, it is at least doubtful whether one entirely on that model would be so suitable for England. Be this as it may, it is certain that sundry men of good abilities had for several years past employed their thoughts on a bank nearly resembling that of Genoa, and partly those also of our own private bankers, having circulating notes or bills, but with more than all the conveniences of those private ones, and without the hazard of bankruptcies. It was also well judged, that,

in order to bring down the high rates of interest and premiums at this time paid by the government, (which was big with mischief to commerce, by inducing men to draw their money out of trade), it would be requisite to establish a public transferable fund of interest; and that the bank should also be for the conveniency of daily receipts and payments; and should be constituted a body-politic, with proper powers, &c.

Mr. William Paterson, merchant, who had been much in sundry foreign countries of Europe, had laboured this point ever since the year 1691 with Michael Godfrey Esq. and others of the same mind: and as the government at this time was put to very considerable difficulties for raising the annual supplies, in order to support an expensive war against so potent a foreign enemy, while the public measures were at the same time clogged and distressed by a violently-disaffected faction at home, who alleged, that banks could thrive nowhere but in a republic, and yet would at other times argue, that such a bank as was proposed would make the king absolute; he hoped that the government would therefor readily incorporate, with certain powers and privileges, a number of well-affected gentlemen, who would advance a large sum, by way of loan, for the public exigencies: yet, as he himself relates in his 'Account of his transactions in relation to the bank of England and 'the orphans fund;' (1695, folio) he found it much more difficult to get it consented to by the privy council, (the king being in Flanders) in order to be brought into parliament, than he had at first apprehended. The monied men also opposed it, lest it should diminish (as it certainly soon after did) their exorbitant gains from the public distresses; for even 8 per cent on the land-tax, besides additional premiums, though payable within the year, did not satisfy them. Other anticipations of the public revenues were much higher, the interest, premiums, and discounts thereon running up to 20, 30, and 40, per cent. And sad it was to consider, that contracts for things sold to the government were made on the foot of 40, 50, to 100 per cent above their current value, according to the same author, who was known to be well acquainted with the state of things in those times.

At this time, Mr. Paterson observes, (in his ingenious book called the *Conferences on the public debts*, by the Wednesday's club in Friday street) that so great was the difficulty of raising the annual supplies, that the ministry were obliged to stoop to solicitations to the London common council for borrowing only one or two hundred thousand pounds at a time, on the first payments of the land-tax, as particular common-councilmen did to the private inhabitants in their respective wards, going from house to house for the loan of money.

The debates held long in the privy council, (Queen Mary present) many being of opinion that a bank would not answer, as they were

only to have 8 per cent interest on the £1,200,000 to be advanced by the proposers of this bank. The disaffected were all against it, alleging it would ingross the money, stock, and riches, of the kingdom.

At last, the parliament having passed an act [5, 6 *Gul. et Mar. c. 20*] for granting several rates and duties on tonnage of ships, and on beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompenses, &c. to such persons as should voluntarily advance £1,500,000, it was thereby enacted, that their majesties might grant a commission to take particular subscriptions for £1,200,000, part of the said £1,500,000 *, of any persons, natives or foreigners, whom their majesties were empowered to incorporate, with a yearly allowance of £100,000, (viz. £96,000, or 8 per cent, for interest, till redeemed, and £4000 for charges of management.) The corporation to have the name of *The governor and company of the bank of England*. Their fund to be redeemable, upon a year's notice after the 1st of August 1705, and payment of the principal; and then the corporation to cease. The company were enabled to purchase lands, &c. unlimitedly, and to enjoy the other usual powers of corporations: their stock to be transferable. The corporation were not to borrow or give security under their common seal, by bill, bond, covenant, or agreement; nor owe at any one time more than £1,200,000, except by future acts of parliament, upon funds to be agreed on in parliament. And in case of their borrowing any greater sum than £1,200,000 under their common seal, then every private member, and their heirs, executors, and administrators, are proportionably chargeable therewith, or for the repayment thereof. This corporation must not employ or trade with any of their stock, monies, or effects, in buying or selling any goods or merchandize whatever, on forfeiture of triple the value of what is so traded for. They may deal in bills of exchange, and in buying and selling bullion, gold, or silver, and in selling any goods or merchandize which shall be pledged to them for money lent, and which shall not be redeemed at the time agreed on, or within three months after; and may also sell such goods as shall be the produce of lands purchased by the said corporation. Provided always, that all bills obligatory under the seal of the corporation may be assignable by indorsement; and such assignment shall absolutely vest the property in the assignees. proviso, that if the governor, deputy-governor, directors †, managers, or other members, of the corporation, so to be established, shall, upon the account of the said corporation, at any time purchase any crown-lands or revenues, or shall advance to the crown any money by way of loan or anticipation on any branch of the revenue, other than on such branches on which a credit of loan is or shall be granted by

* The ministry would not trust the whole money to this new scheme. *A.*

† The name of *directors* now begins to come into use instead of committees. *A.*

parliament, they shall forfeit triple the value of money so lent *. Provided, that no letters of signet, privy seal, or great seal, of the crown, shall pardon or remit any fine or amerciamment charged on this corporation on account of any suit brought against them; but such fine shall be deducted out of their annual fund. The rest of this long act relates to annuities for one, two, or three, lives, for £300,000 principal money; the residue of the £1,500,000 raised by this act to be granted by the king.

In consequence of this act of parliament, the subscriptions for the £1,200,000 were completed in ten days time, and £25 per cent paid down. And the king's charter of incorporation was executed on the 27th of July 1694; though it must be here observed, that the charter was in fact little more than a piece of form, all the essential powers, privileges, &c. granted to the bank, being included in the act of parliament, which has virtually been a leading one for the erection of all future great trading corporations; whereby, agreeable to the act of the year 1689, for declaring the rights and liberties of the subjects, &c. the crown is limited and restrained from granting, by its sole authority, new exclusive powers, privileges, &c. to any person or body-politic whatever; upon which ground it is, that all corporations, erected solely by the crown, without the sanction of parliament, (whether before or since the date of that famous act) which claim any exclusive rights by their charters, have, upon proper and public inquiry, been determined to be so far illegal.

We may here also farther remark, that this is the first instance of any national fund being managed by any other than the crown officers at the exchequer. This new method of allowing a round sum for charges of management has been ever since followed, not only with respect to the bank, but also to the East-India and South-sea companies. The allowances for the expense of management (i. e. for salaries of governors, directors, clerks, office-rent, &c.) were at first usually computed from what such funds had formerly cost the crown when managed at the exchequer; though in later times, I conceive, mostly with some saving to the public in this new method.

The erection of this famous bank (says its projector Mr. Paterfon, who was chosen one of its first directors) not only relieved the ministerial managers from their frequent processions, as he terms them, into the city, for borrowing money on the best and nearest public securities, at an interest of 10 or 12 per cent per annum, but likewise gave life and currency to double or triple the value of its capital in other branches of public credit; and so, under God, became the principal means of the success of the campaign in the following year 1695, as particularly in

* This clause seems intended to guard against such a disaster as Charles II brought upon the commercial interests of the country by shutting up the exchequer in the year 1672. A.

reducing the important fortress of Namur, the first material step towards the peace concluded at Ryfwick in the year 1697.

Mr. Godfrey, in his judicious Brief account of the intended bank of England, (1694) wisely foretold, 'that if the bank can circulate their foundation of L1,200,000, without having more than L300,000 lying dead at one time with another, the said bank will be in effect as L900,000 fresh money brought into the nation. Thus' (continues he) 'it will make money plentiful, trade easy and secure; will raise the price of lands, will draw the species of gold and silver into the hands of the common people, as we see it in Holland, Genoa, and other places, where these funds are accommodated to receipts and payments. But after all,' (says he) 'the happy effects of this undertaking, like almost all other great things in trade, will be best understood by the practice thereof, when time shall convince the ignorant,' &c. And as this has actually happened as that able gentleman foretold, we shall not need to say more in this place on the great benefits of this bank.

The charter directs, that there be a governor, deputy-governor, and twenty-four directors*, of whom thirteen or more shall constitute a court, the governor or deputy-governor to be always one. L500 stock to be the lowest qualifications for a vote in general courts; and no proprietor, how much soever his stock may be, to have more than one vote. The governor's qualification stock to be at least L4000, the deputy-governor's L3000, and each director's L2000; and all these shall be natural-born subjects, or naturalized. Lessening their qualification stock vacates their offices, which shall be only annual. They shall take the state oath, and also the oath of office, and the oath of stock-qualification. Voters also in general courts shall take the qualification oath and state oath. No dividend to be made but by consent of a general court, and only out of the interest, profit, or produce, arising by such dealing, buying, and selling, as the act of parliament allows. General courts may make bye laws, &c. agreeable to the act of parliament and

* The names of the first directors of this great and opulent corporation ought not to be omitted in a history of commerce. They were,

Sir John Houblon, governor,
Michael Godfrey, Esq. deputy-governor.

Directors.

Sir John Husband,
Sir James Houblon,
Sir William Gore,
Sir William Scawen,
Sir Henry Furness,
Sir Thomas Abney,
Sir William Hedges,
Brook Bridges,
James Bateman,

George Boddington,
Edward Clerke,
James Denew,
Thomas Goddard,
Abraham Houblon,
Gilbert Heathcote,
Theodore Jansen,
John Lordell,
Samuel Lethieullier,
William Paterson,
Robert Raworth,
John Smith,
Obadiah Sedgwick,
Nathaniel Tench, and
John Ward, Esquires.

the general laws of the kingdom; may impose fines on delinquents; may appoint salaries to governors, directors, &c. Stock to be deviseable by will, to be attested by three or more witnesses*. Lastly, neither the governor, nor the deputy-governor in his absence, shall have any vote, either in general courts or in courts of directors, save where there shall appear to be an equality or equal number of votes.

It is evident from the act of parliament and charter, that this bank is empowered to lend money on pledges; yet the corporation has as yet made little or no use of that power, although in the London gazette of the 6th of May 1695 is the following advertisement, viz. 'The court of directors of the bank of England give notice, that they will lend money on plate, lead, tin, copper, steel, and iron, at 4 per cent per annum.' They have hitherto contented themselves with banking only, including therein the dealing in bullion, gold, and silver, discounting bills of exchange, advancing money to the public on the credit of acts of parliament, and circulating their own sealed bills, which bore interest, (though since laid aside) and their cash-notes on demand, bearing no interest; as also circulating exchequer bills for the government on a stated allowance. In all which this happy corporation has proved extremely advantageous to the nation, and has preserved its integrity, and, as far as was possible, its credit, even in very perilous times, down to our own days, chiefly owing to their great care in electing for their governors and directors only gentlemen of known abilities and integrity, as well as of fortune.

Notwithstanding all the precautions used in the powers given by law to the bank, it had many enemies to struggle against. Even before this year expired it was sharply animadverted on in print as unfit to be continued. Some very ridiculous objections passed down with many; as, that all national banks have hitherto been peculiar to republics, this being the first of any in Europe erected in a monarchy; that its managers and chief subscribers were inclinable to republican principles; that it may subvert the regal government, by getting the public money, &c. into their hands; that it draws the money out of trade for the sake of 8 per cent interest; that it destroys personal credit, on which young merchants were wont to be supported in their commerce, &c.

On the 28th of September 1694 the English East-India company had a second charter of regulations, which, after reciting the substance of the two preceding charters, made the following alterations and explanations, (*inter alia*) viz.

I) The company may licence their own commanders and mariners, but no others, to trade on their own private account in such commo-

* This was altered by an act of the 8th and 9th of King William, which made bank stock a personal estate, and to descend accordingly. A.

dities, and to such value, as a general court shall direct, provided entry be first duly made, as well as custom paid, before landing the same.

II) To the intent that the company's annual exportation to India of the value of £100,000 of English goods may truly be proved, a just account thereof in writing, signed by the governor or deputy, shall be annually laid before the king and council, attested on the oaths of the proper officers; which goods shall not be reloaded, nor carried anywhere out of the company's limits.

III) Neither the governor, deputy, nor committee, shall lend out the company's money, without the authority of a general court, &c.

IV) If this and the two last charters shall not appear to be profitable to the crown and realm, either in whole or in part, then, after three years warning, all the three charters shall be determined and void, and the governor and company shall no longer continue a corporation. Lastly,

V) This company shall, by a writing under their common seal, declare their acceptance of, and submission to, this and the said two last charters, or else they shall no longer act as a corporation.

We may here just briefly note a temporary law for encouraging the building of good and defensible ships, which grants one tenth part of the tonnage and poundage duty to the builders of three-decked ships, of at least 450 tons burden and 32 guns, for ten years to come, to be allowed only on their first three voyages. [5, 6 *Gul. et Mar. c. 24.*]

This year the Dutch took from the French the fortrefs of Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel, whereby (as *Voltaire* in his *Age of Louis XIV* observes) the commerce of France declined very much in India. Yet Louis obliged the Dutch, at the peace of Ryfwick in 1697, to restore Pondicherry to the French company; and it was thereupon better fortified by that company. They have also since then greatly increased their commerce to India, as both the English and Dutch companies know to their cost.

By the new subscription of £744,000 which added 781 members to the English East-India company, it might have been imagined, that they had now effectually secured themselves against the future attacks of opponents. But as this company had expended vast sums of money to courtiers, members of parliament, and others, as well for obtaining the last three charters, as in endeavouring to divide and buy off the interlopers; and more especially in endeavouring to obtain an act of parliament for their absolute legal establishment, their enemies found means to influence the house of commons so far against them, as to enter upon a strict examination of their practices. In the course of the inquiry they discovered, that in the year 1693 alone, whilst Sir Thomas Cooke was governor, and Francis Tyssen, Esq. deputy governor, upwards of £80,000 were expended for secret services by the former, and by Sir Basil Fire-

brafs, (lately brought off from the interloping intereft) which two laft-named gentlemen, refufing to difcover to whom the faid fecret-fervice money was given, were, together with Mr. Charles Bates and Mr. James Craggs, committed to the tower of London by the houfe of commons in the year 1695. And although, in obedience to an act of parliament of this year, Sir Thomas Cooke made a difcovery of many things to both houfes of parliament, yet it did not give entire fatisfaction, as may be more fully feen in a printed collection and fupplement of the debates and proceedings of parliament of the years 1694 and 1695, upon the inquiries into the late briberies and corrupt practices, (quarto, 1695) concerning which we fhall juft obferve, that fundry finifter arts at that time ufed, were afterward practifed on a fimilar occafion in the famous year 1720: fuch, for inftance, as Sir Bafil Firebrafs's contracting with the Eaft-India company to put (i. e. to oblige that company to receive of him) L60,000 India ftock at 150 per cent, when the charter fhould be granted, although their ftock was then only at 100 per cent: whereupon the company paid him the difference, being L30,000; the difpofal of which laft fum Sir Bafil Firebrafs could never be brought to difcover. Great fums were alfo laid out for the refufal of ftock at certain prices on the fame fuppoftion. Refufal of ftock was a contract for having the option of demanding ftock at a fixed price; as the put of ftock was a contract by which, for a premium paid down, the contractor obliged himfelf to take a fixed quantity of a ftock, at a future time, for a fixed and higher price therein fpecified. Thefe new-fangled or cant terms were firft brought into ufe by this company; and in this way of ftock-jobbing dayly bargains were made for many fucceeding years, fo as to be fince reduced into a kind of fcience; but moft eminently in the famous year 1720, and fome years after, till all fuch time-contracts and bargains for ftocks were made penal by act of parliament. Great fums were alfo laid out by the managers to anfwer the company's contracts for fale of ftock, &c. The houfe of commons had alfo impeached the duke of Leeds, then lord prefident of the council, on the faid account; but the prorogation of the parliament put an end to it. Some years after all this buftle was over, Sir Thomas Cooke had L12,000 beftowed on him by the general court of this company, by way of compensation for his former fufferings on their account.

This year the noble and magnificent hofpital at Greenwich, for the reception of decayed failors ferving in the royal navy, was founded. King William and Queen Mary had for fome time had this much at heart; and they accordingly made a grant of the royal palace at Greenwich, (a part of which, on the weft fide, had been begun to be rebuilt for a royal palace by King Charles II) as alfo of a large adjoining fpace of ground, for this end. King William, after Queen Mary's death, on the 25th of October 1695 appointed by patent a number of commif-

sioners for directing the building and endowing of the intended hospital, and granted a large sum out of his civil list for that end; and his royal successors were also considerable benefactors to it. At length annual sums were granted by parliament for finishing this truly magnificent ornament and glory of Great Britain, which was fully completed in the reign of his late majesty King George II.

In the second edition of Gibson's Continuation of Camden's Britannia, we have an authentic view of the vast increase of the royal navy of England, exhibited in this year 1695, by Samuel Pepys Esq. viz.

	In Camden's time, anno 1607.	At this time, anno 1695.
Number of ships and vessels from fifty tons and upwards	- but ———— 40 ships,	now above 200 ships.
The general tonnage of the whole	- was under 23,600 tons,	now above 112,400 tons.
The number of men required for manning the same	- - was under 7,800 men,	now above 45,000 men.
The medium of its annual charge during the last 5 years of peace,	under L15,500 ———	above L400,000
Ditto of war,	under 96,400 ———	above 1,620,000

In this remarkable year, the parliament, gentry, and merchants, of Scotland made a very great effort, perhaps one of the greatest that had ever been essayed at one time by any European nation in their very first attempt, for establishing a colony of their own people in America; and, at the same time, a company for commerce to Africa and East-India: which, however, proved ultimately very fatal to Scotland. It was said to have been underhand set on and encouraged by the interlopers in the English East-India trade; who, finding that both king and parliament inclined to favour the company, flattered themselves with hopes, that, by thus encouraging the Scottish design, they might obtain their own particular ends.

Be that as it may, it is certain, that the Scots had long lamented their being almost the only maritime nation in Europe, without the Mediterranean and Baltic seas, who had no colony nor settlement out of Europe. This point was more especially in their thoughts since the restoration of King Charles II; but the violent measures of the two royal brothers prevented that harmony, which was necessary to reconcile people of opposite parties in so great a national concern. Upon King William's accession they began to think more seriously about such mercantile schemes in Scotland; and in the year 1693 their parliament passed

an act for encouraging foreign trade, by empowering merchants to enter into commercial societies; more especially for trading to Asia, Africa, and America. And that act paved the way for another in this year, and for a royal charter in consequence of it, incorporating a company to trade to those parts. It had been framed by Mr. William Paterfon *, the projector of the bank of England, and of the new orphans fund, who proposed a place in the country called Darien, very near the isthmus which joins North and South America, uninhabited by any European people, for a Scottish colony; and to have another settlement opposite to it, on the South sea near Panama; whereby a great trade might be carried on both to the East and West Indies. The substance of the Scottish act of parliament and charter was,

I) That a number of persons of quality, and of eminent merchants, &c. and their successors, shall constitute a company for a trade to Asia, Africa, and America; to be called *The company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies.*

II) Half its capital stock, at least, shall always belong to native Scots, always residing in Scotland; the rest to Scots in foreign parts, and to foreigners.

III) The qualifications of members.

IV) The company's power to purchase lands, &c.

V) And to levy forces and fit out ships, for war as well as commerce, and that they may plant colonies and erect forts anywhere not being the property of any European state, &c. provided, that all their ships shall return directly to Scotland with their cargoes.

VI, VII, VIII) The trade to Asia and Africa to be for ever exclusive of all but the company; but to Darien only for thirty-one years, to hold their lands of the crown in sovereignty. And *if any damage be done to the company, the king promises to interpose at the public charge, for justice and restitution.*

IX) Ships and merchandize to be free from all restraints and prohibitions; as also from all customs and taxes for twenty-one years, as shall also the company's members, servants, &c.

No sooner was the company erected, than Mr. Paterfon and his friends in England had influence to get £300,000 sterling subscribed in nine days. Soon after £300,000 more was subscribed in Scotland, the whole capital being at first designed to be but £600,000 sterling. But, fearing that the English subscribers would soon be obliged to withdraw their subscriptions, Mr. Paterfon and his associates went to Amsterdam, where they at first met with encouragement: but the magistrates soon

* Mr. Paterfon had lived some years in America, and in other foreign countries, and had entered deeply into speculations relating to commerce and colonies. He was so much regarded for his merit

and public services, that the British house of commons in the year 1713 voted £18,241:10:10 to be paid to him on account of his losses in this unsuccessful project. A.

suspecting the prejudice this new company might do to their East and West India companies, entirely frustrated their subscriptions there. So their next attempt was at Hamburgh, where they were cordially received, the citizens expressing their sorrow that there was room for no more than £200,000 sterling for them to subscribe. Thus far the company's wishes succeeded; and, as it was expected, that in Scotland £200,000 more would be subscribed to make the capital up to one million sterling, they therefor hastened the building and purchasing ships of great burden at Hamburgh and Amsterdam, when suddenly this fine project was overclouded, by the alarm taken by both the English houses of parliament, who in December 1695 very pathetically addressed the king against the great advantages which he had granted to this company:

'whereby say they, a great part of the stock and shipping of England
 'will be carried into Scotland, where there will be a free port for all
 'East-India commodities; and consequently, the several places of Eu-
 'rope, till now supplied from England, will from thence be furnished
 'much cheaper. The East-India merchandize also will be run into
 'England by the Scots, to the unspeakable prejudice of England's trade
 'and navigation, and of your majesty's customs: and, if the Scots be
 'suffered to settle plantations in America, our commerce in tobacco,
 'sugar, cotton, skins, masts, &c. will be utterly lost.' With much more to the same effect.

King William's first answer was, that he had been ill served in Scotland; but nevertheless he hoped that remedies might be found out to prevent the mischiefs suggested.

The house of commons also inquiring into the subscriptions made in England, the managers thereof disappeared, and two of them were impeached by that house. The first subscription money was therefor repaid to the subscribers, whereby £300,000 was at once cut off from the new company's capital. It was also apprehended, that, should this company succeed, the Scots would in time become so powerful as to be able to separate themselves altogether from England, which would be attended with very fatal consequences. It is therefor not at all to be wondered at, that the English ministry and council, as well as the parliament, so strongly urged the king to crush this company in its infancy. For which end, Sir Paul Rycart, the English minister at Hamburgh, earnestly remonstrated to that opulent city against permitting the deputies of the Scottish company to keep an open office for subscriptions there, as having no authority for it from King William. Yet the traders at Hamburgh, being very fond of the scheme, esteemed it a great hardship to be prevented from subscribing. They were however forced, with much regret, to relinquish their subscriptions; whereby £200,000 more was cut off from the company's capital, after it had cost £30,000 in obtaining it. The council-general and the court of directors of the

Scottish company in vain applied to the king, and they got addresses to him from all parts of Scotland, for obtaining the sitting of their parliament: and, notwithstanding all these disappointments at London, Amsterdam, and Hamburgh, they took an additional subscription at home of £100,000, which made their entire capital in Scotland £400,000 sterling: and (that we may dispatch this matter entirely, now we are upon it) having, as they imagined, well weighed all the treaties with Spain, they strongly insisted, that the country of Darien, in which they determined to plant, was never planted nor settled by Spain; but was always under the independent government of its own Indian chiefs, who have, for the most part, remained in a state of enmity with the Spaniards. Wherefor, with five stout ships and 1,200 men, and all kinds of implements for war and commerce, they sailed thither in the year 1698, with many brave and experienced men, who had served in the late war, and were dismissed at the peace of Ryfwick. The same year they landed in Darien, and immediately erected a fort, and formed a plantation on a point of land, within which, about a league from Golden island, they found a safe and capacious harbour, calling their first fort St. Andrew, and their new town there New Edinburgh. Recruits of two ships and 300 men at one time, and of four ships and 1,300 men at another time, with stores, &c. were sent after them; all which, and several other ships with supplies, came for the greatest part to unforeseen misfortunes in their way to Darien, which they had now named Caledonia. There were exceeding great rejoicings all-over Scotland on the news of their landing: for, as they pompously, and truly, termed this settlement the height of the world, as lying between the spacious North and South seas, their views were at first very towering. By the proposed settlements on each shore of the isthmus, they flattered themselves they should be beforehand with all the trading nations of Europe; first, by supplying Peru and Mexico with whatever they wanted from Europe, and, in return, supplying Europe with the treasure and other product of those two rich empires; secondly, it being about six weeks sailing from their intended port on the South sea to Japan and to some parts of China, and as there is but a small land carriage of a few leagues over that isthmus, they computed, that in four or five months time they could bring the riches of Japan and China into Europe, and thereby greatly undersell all the other East-India companies of Europe. They were not aware, that these flattering considerations were so many undoubted bars to their success, and that it would be the evident interest of all the commercial nations of Europe to frustrate their whole alluring plan. Besides all these romantic schemes, and their projected trade to the south and south-east coasts of Africa, they had farther in view the production of cochineal, sugar, indigo, tobacco, and many other undoubtedly feasible things, in their own colony of Caledonia; and in-

deed, it must needs be owned, that, supposing all Europe but themselves to be fast asleep, the very advantageous situation of their colony, together with the national bottom, and still large capital of their company, seemingly promised, sooner or later, the accomplishment of most of the great things they had in view. But they ought certainly to have expected opposition, from almost every quarter, to every part of this fine-spun scheme: for, besides the general interest of England, considered by all men to be in imminent danger from this scheme, King Charles II of Spain was then our ally, and his minister at London presented a very sharp memorial to King William against the Darien settlement, which he termed ‘an insult of the Scots, in attempting to settle themselves in the very heart of the Spanish dominions in America; and which his master therefor looked upon as a rupture of the alliance between the two crowns.’ To this the Scottish company replied with great labour and learning, and exhausted all the civil-law arguments, touching the nature of the possession of countries; urging, that they had at least as good a right to settle in Darien as the French had to settle on Hispaniola and on the Mississippi, or the Dutch at Surinam, &c. all which had been esteemed parts of the Spanish dominions in America, and were generally surrounded with Spanish colonies; with much more to this same purpose. The Dutch likewise were extremely jealous of this Scottish settlement, as what might greatly spoil their contraband trade from Curaçoa, &c. to the Spanish American coasts; and might in time also prove very detrimental to their East-India company. Lastly, the French were no less jealous of this company, on the score of their West-India commerce, which at this time began to be considerable. They therefor excited the king of Spain’s resentment, and modestly hinted their readiness to assist him in driving the Scots out of Darien, at the very time (anno 1698) they were just beginning a French colony in the bay of Mexico, at the entrance into the great river Mississippi, always esteemed a part of Spanish Florida; and were likewise extending their late possession of the west end of Hispaniola, always, from Columbus’s days till very lately, possessed by Spain. Thus was King William teased and pressed on every side, for the suppression of this new company, and was therefor necessitated to comply with the urgent desires of his parliament and people of England; of the Dutch, whose stadtholder he then was; and of his other allies; to send instructions, in January 1698-9, to the governors of all the English American colonies, strictly to prohibit all correspondence with the Scots in Darien. For it seems the colonies of New-England and New-York were thought to have a warm side toward the Scottish colony, and would gladly have supplied them with necessaries, as their success would have opened a new and large market for their fish, corn, pork, beef, butter, &c. Proclamations, therefor, in the spring of 1699, were published in

all the English colonies, strictly prohibiting, under the severest penalties, their holding any correspondence with, or giving any assistance to, the Scots at Darien. The news of this proclamation, and of the temper of the English parliament and people, thunderstruck the colony, who had before that time received supplies both from Jamaica and New-York, and till now depended on the continuance thereof, until their own from Scotland should arrive: of which now despairing, and being also denied any from Jamaica, whither they had sent for a fresh supply, they were necessitated to abandon their settlement on the 20th of June 1699, which they had bravely defended against troops of Spaniards who had attacked it; and, being now starved out of it, it is generally asserted, that, out of so many stout men who went thither, scarce one hundred ever got back to Scotland, where this sad disaster greatly inflamed the parliament and people against their neighbours of England. The company petitioned the king for redress, while they were endeavouring to repossess their colony, by sending out ships with men and stores, when, to their farther sorrow, a second set of proclamations, in the later end of the year 1699, came out in all the English colonies against the Scots: some of whose ships, driven thither in distress, were denied any necessaries; one of them, with a valuable cargo, being driven under the walls of Carthage, was seized by the Spaniards, who from that place had now blocked up the remains of the Scottish settlement both by sea and land, and forced the few people left therein to surrender. King William answered the company's petition with a condolence for their losses, and with a general declaration of being always ready to protect and encourage the commerce of Scotland. But the king's answer to the lords address seemed now the only proper expedient, 'for healing the rancour of the minds of both nations, by uniting them more completely; that, after they had lived near one hundred years under the same head, they might at length become one people; which he therefor earnestly recommended to their consideration.' Whereupon the lords passed a bill for an union; which, however, the commons at that time rejected. This last effort of Scotland was so considerable, and carried in it so many instructive hints relative to commerce and plantations, that we thought it well merited this summary account of it.

The Scots were more successful in their first bank, erected this year, under the sanction of an act of their parliament, by the name of the Governor and company of the bank of Scotland. And though its capital stock was only £1,200,000 Scots, or £100,000 sterling, which in England has but a mean found for a national bank, it has, nevertheless, proved very advantageous to the commerce of that country. It was projected by Mr. William Paterson, who projected the bank of England. Mr. John Law, who afterwards made so great a figure at the head of the finances of France, and who may be presumed to have been well acquainted with

this bank, in his treatise of money and trade considered, asserts, ' that its notes went for four or five times the value of the cash in bank ; and, that so much as the amount of those notes exceeded the cash in bank, was a clear addition to the money of that nation.' He adds, ' that this bank was safer than that of England, because the lands of Scotland, on the security of which most of the cash of that bank was lent, are under a register ; that, moreover, it was more national or general than either the bank of England, or that of Amsterdam, because its notes * pass in most payments throughout the whole country ; whereas the bank of Amsterdam serves only for that one city, and that of England is of little use but in London †.' The Scottish bank soon rose to very great credit : yet it was once obliged to stop payment, partly occasioned, says Law, by a greater consumption of foreign wares than the value of the goods exported, partly from the expense of the Scottish nobility and gentry in England, and partly, also, from a supposed intention in the Scottish privy council to raise the denomination of the coin, all which, together, occasioned so great a run on that bank, that its cash was in a few days exhausted ; but it soon regained its original credit, and might possibly have remained the sole bank there to this day, had not the directors been thought to have testified too great a bias towards disaffection to the state. This occasioned a consideration by some noble patriots in the reign of King George I, whether another bank might not be erected at Edinburgh, for the conveniency of the government, as well as of trade in general, into which bank the public revenues of Scotland might be paid. It was accordingly incorporated by that king's charter, in the year 1727, by the name of the royal bank, and has fully answered the ends proposed by it, its capital being £151,000 sterling. And though it may have pretty much eclipsed the elder bank, they, however, both subsist very well, and are extremely useful to the country.

The million bank was one of the many projects started about this time ; and it has preserved its credit to our own times. It took its rise from a set of London bankers, who lent out money on pledges. They afterwards agreed to purchase tickets in partnership in King William's million lottery in the year 1695, and from thence they were called the company of the million bank. Next, they purchased many reversions of the 14 per cent annuities, and admitted many proprietors of annuities to purchase their joint stock, which amounted, and still amounts, to £500,000. They are no company by charter, but only a partnership by deed, enrolled in chancery prior to the act of parliament

* Many of the notes are so low as twenty shillings sterling. *A.*

Mr. A. did not expect that the bank of England was ever to descend to twenty shilling notes. *M.*

† In the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, when Mr. Law wrote, this assertion might be true ; but now the bank of England is of great use all over the country. *A.*

against such unincorporated partnerships, passed in the year 1721. They divided 5 per cent yearly to their proprietors until lady-day 1728, when they reduced their annual dividend to 4 per cent.

In these times a great number of new projects were set on foot in London, many of which were at bottom good for nothing, and drew in numbers of people to their ruin. Some of them started up with the bank of England in the preceding year, others in this year 1695.

Such as, I) Two land banks; the one projected by Dr. Chamberlain, a famous man-midwife, (of which more by and bye) the other by one John Briscoe.

II) A project for circulating notes of hand, and bills of credit.

III) Another, called the London bank, proposed to be managed by the magistrates of that city.

IV) Lotteries; many private ones all over the kingdom; some for money, and some for merchandize: the last kind the greater cheat of the two, for thereby old and decayed merchandize of many sorts were put off by means of those roguish lotteries.

V) Many metallic and mineral projects, for gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, lead, lapis calaminaris, for turning copper into brass, antimony, coals, salt, &c.

VI) Diving engines of various kinds, all come out since the taking up of the treasure out of the sea in the West-Indies, called the duke of Albemarle's Spanish wreck, or Sir William Phipp's, which set men's heads at work; and royal patents were obtained for the sole fishing for such wrecks in the American seas, and on the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal &c. These wreck projects made much noise at this time; and shares for them were presented to persons of distinction, to give reputation to the affair, and to draw in others. Expeditions were made on these accounts to sundry sea-coasts: by which, however, nothing was taken up but a few cannon, &c. So the patentees were sure to be gainers, but the sharers under them lost all they paid in: some of whom, however, it seems, were men of good understanding, but were allured with the hopes of getting vast sudden wealth without trouble.

VII) Projects for pearl fishing, for hollow sword blades, glass bottles, japanning, printed hangings, leather, Venetian metal, &c. Some of which were very useful and successful, whilst they continued in a few hands, till they fell into stock-jobbing, now much introduced, when they dwindled to nothing. Others of them were mere whims, of little or no service to the world. Many of them, too, though pretended to be new, were either old English projects revived, or else were, on this occasion, borrowed from unsuccessful ones in foreign nations.

Moreover, projects, as usual, begat projects. Lottery upon lottery, engine upon engine, &c. multiplied wonderfully. If it happened that

any one person got considerably by an happy and useful invention, the consequence generally was, that others followed the track, in spite of the patent, and published printed propofals, filling the dayly newspapers therewith, thus going on to juttle out one another, and to abuse the credulity of the people. All these, and much more, we have abridged from a quarto pamphlet, published by an anonymous author (who stiles himself a person of honour) under the title of *Angliæ Tutamen*, or the Safety of England, being an account of the banks, lotteries, diving, draining, metallic, salt, linen, and lifting, and sundry other engines, and many other pernicious projects now on foot, tending to the destruction of trade and commerce, and the impoverishing of this realm. London, 1695.

VIII) Embryo banks, continues this author, begotten, but not brought forth; sundry of such being at this time hatching.

IX) The projectors of many of these made a great noise in the town, for drawing in people to join with them, making use of sundry tricks and stratagems. As, first, they pretend a mighty vein of gold, silver, or copper, to have been discovered in a piece of ground of their knowledge; then they agree with the lord, or patentee, for a small yearly rent, or a part reserved to him, to grant them a lease for twenty-one years to dig that ground, which they immediately fall to, and give out, it is a very rich mine. Next, they settle a company, divide it usually into 400 shares, and pretend to carry on the work for the benefit of all the proprietors, who, at the beginning, purchase shares at a low rate, viz. ten or twenty shillings, &c. then all on a sudden they run up the shares to L3, L5, L10, and L15 per share; then they fall to stock-jobbing, which infallibly ruins all projects, when those originally and principally concerned sell out their interest; and by this and other underhand dealings, trickings, and sharpening, on one another, the whole falls to the ground, and is abandoned by every body.

X) The English, Scottish, and Irish, linen manufactures met with all due encouragement, King William and Queen Mary honouring them with their names, which made their fame to rise: abundance of people of condition came into them, some from lucre, others for love to their country. They got to be incorporated, chose governors, &c. and actually set to work spinners, weavers, whitsters, &c. and all seemed to promise fair; but here again stock-jobbing ruined all: they had even brought linen cloth to great perfection, having some Dutch hands, and a few heads to assist them. By the assistance of the Dutch, continues our author, we have much improved our lands in the north parts of this kingdom, by sowing vast quantities of lint-feed, rape-feed, &c. whereof making oils in great quantities, we export in abundance, and consume at home, in lieu of foreign and dearer oils, to our double advantage.

XI) White, blue, and brown, paper, we have had the good fortune to

improve wonderfully; and although we cannot reach the French perfection, we come pretty near it *.

XII) Water companies, as the New River, Thames, of London bridge, of Shadwell, and York buildings, Hampstead, Conduit, &c. These deserved good encouragement; and so the first, viz. the New River, has had, to the vast emolument of the proprietors, though the unhappy gentleman, Sir Hugh Middleton, who began the work, suffered extremely in his fortune. It seems, none of these had as yet suffered stock-jobbing to prevail among them, excepting the Hampstead water, whereby this author foretells ruin to it, (as has since happened.) What helped to bring most of them down was, their setting up so many against each other.

XIII) The rock-salt project our author highly commends, on account of the integrity and care of its managers, being a number of gentlemen and traders. They have built a wharf at Frodsham in Cheshire, and export great quantities of it to Ireland, Holland, and London.

XIV) The saltpetre company had a worse fate. Great sums have been paid in; large refining houses have been built in four or five several places about London; societies have been established, and a mighty noise made for a time; persons of loud-sounding name and quality have appeared at the head of them; and abundance of gentlemen and traders concerned, all things being seemingly disposed in a good method. Yet of all these saltpetre companies, our author could hear of none that made any great hand of it, excepting the first projectors, who always are gainers, and then, as usual, they withdraw. Stock-jobbing was brought in, and thereby, and by other mismanagements, they fell to nothing.

XV) Draining engines, of divers sorts, have been lately made, to clear mines of coal, lead, tin, &c. from waters, as well as for draining flats, meers, inundations, springs, &c. These are profitable designs for the public, as the more land we gain the richer we are. The earth, also, of such land is generally rich, being much of it marl, the best of land; and these projects have actually proved successful, says he, in Cornwall and Devonshire.

(Here our author assures us, his intent is not to discountenance any really good and well-managed projects, but merely to expose knavish ones, for the service of the public, by discovering the private intrigues, plots, and underhand dealings, of the principal projectors of this nation, nothing of this kind being ever attempted before.)

XVI) Lustrings, alamodes, hats, &c. in imitation of those of France. Those companies, says he, have thriven, and will continue so to do, whilst they keep stock-jobbers from breaking in upon them.

* Almost every kind of paper is now made in this country in the greatest perfection. M.

XVII) Convex lights, and others of that kind, are useful inventions : but other pretenders, besides the first, discouraged this business ; and London streets were not so well lighted as was to be wished for.

XVIII) New settlements in Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tobago, &c. make a great noise in the world. The first planters fared but ill, having wasted their substance, without being able to reap the benefit, laying only a foundation for the next comer, who may succeed better ; yet here, he complains, that those plantations drain England of its people, already too much exhausted by the unnatural and imprudent persecutions in the late reigns, and the long war in the present one.

XIX) Our royal, Greenland, Newfoundland, and other fisheries are worthy of our care and application. The royal-fishery company has been long talked of, and some steps taken to make it successful ; but still one ill accident or another has damped it : and it is now again set on foot.

The Greenland fishery is like to flourish, notwithstanding some losses already sustained *.

The reader needs not to be told how useful such remarks and notices may prove to every one who is inquisitive, and may point out to all, the danger of being too credulous in respect of new projects.

An act of parliament [6, 7 *Gul. III, c. 6*] seems to have been injudiciously framed, in respect to commerce and the propagation of people, viz. the act for granting certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, and upon bachelors and widowers, for the term of five years ; more especially that part of it relating to marriages, births, and burials ; and even the later part, relating to bachelors and widowers, seemingly intended for the encouragement of virtuous propagation, was, in some respects judged obviously unreasonable ; wherefor, this law was not revived at the end of the five years.

D'Avenant, in his Essay on ways and means of supplying the war, published this year, [p. 34] says, it appeared from the books of hearth-money, that there were not above 1,300,000 families in England ; and allowing six persons to a house, one with another, which is the most common way of computing, it is not quite eight millions of people. It thereby also appears, that there were 500,000 of those families who were poor, living in cottages, who contribute little to the public expense.

In that same ingenious work, [p. 115] the author combats a vulgar opinion, that the growth of London is pernicious to England, and that the kingdom is like a rickety body, with a head too big for the other members. To which he replies, in general, that some people, who have thought much on this subject, are inclined to believe, that the growth of that

* Here our author has failed in his remarks, which, however, are generally just. A.

city is advantageous to the nation ; for the following reasons, viz. that no empire was ever great, without having a great and populous city : that the Romans drew all the conquered cities of Italy into Rome : that the people of Attica were no better than a crew of rude herdsmen, and neither flourished in war nor in civil arts, till Theseus persuaded them to inhabit Athens : that the greatness of London will best preserve our constitution ; because, where there is a great and powerful city, the prince will hardly enterprize upon the liberties of the people : in the same manner, a rich and powerful city seldom rebels upon vain and slight occasions : that there is not an acre of land in the country, be it ever so distant, that is not, in some degree, bettered by the growth, trade, and riches, of London. To which may be added, that the increase of London is not casual or fortuitous ; but is an obvious and necessary consequence of the gradual increase of foreign commerce, navigation, and manufactures, in London and the whole kingdom. To all which may be farther added, that in a free commercial country, like England, by so vast a capital city as London, whose inhabitants are so numerous and opulent, the public has often been more speedily and effectually relieved in great emergencies, than could otherwise have been done : of which there are many instances with regard to London : beside that, perhaps, five of her inhabitants do pay more towards excise, customs, and other taxes, than ten times as many can do scattered up and down in the country. A judicious reader will be able to find other reasons in behalf of the increase of London's being beneficial to the nation ; some of which we have, in another part of this work, borrowed from Botero, and others *.

1696.—During the years 1694 and 1695, Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, senior, (an eminent man-midwife of London, already mentioned) published proposals for a land bank of current credit for lending money at a low interest, on land security ; which was the principal difference between it and the bank of England ; in opposition to which corporation, now in its infancy, struggling with many difficulties, this ill-judged project was set up.

It was principally encouraged by those of (what was then called) the tory party, and by the earl of Sunderland, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Foley : Lord Sunderland's aim therein being to bring the tories into the king's interest ; although the bulk of the king's best friends were against it. The anonymous author of *Angliæ tutamen*, observes, that estates to a very great value in the several counties of England and Wales were subscribed to this project in a very short space ; a deed settled ; a company formed ; and all things disposed to put this wonderful project into execution. To raise lands to 30 years purchase by reducing the inter-

* Mr. Anderson does not seem to think that a judicious reader can find any reasons on the opposite side of the question. *M.*

est of money to 3 per cent ; the profits to be divided amongst the subscribers. But it is (says he) such a hodge-podge and medley, a body made up of such strange members, subtle, politic, and designing men, that the fair face it carries wins abundance to believe its design to be good ; though a little time will shew the truth. An act of parliament accordingly passed for continuing the duties upon salt, glass-wares, stone and earthen wares ; and for granting several duties on tobacco-pipes, and other earthen wares ; and for establishing a national land bank ; also for taking off the duties on tonnage of ships, (which was universally disliked) and upon coals. [7, 8 *Gul. III, c. 31.*]

Upon the credit of these duties it was thereby enacted, ‘ that ‘ L2,564,000, should be paid into the exchequer : for which the contributors were to have an annuity of L179,480, or 7 per cent ; ‘ subscriptions to be received of any persons or corporations (the ‘ bank of England excepted) on or before the 1st of August 1696 ; ‘ and for all such voluntary subscriptions as should be made of land, ‘ his majesty was empowered to incorporate the subscribers by the ‘ name of the governor and company of the national land bank. ‘ But in case the said sum of L2,564,000, or a moiety thereof, ‘ were not subscribed by the 1st of August 1696, then the corporation should not take place. This intended corporation should annually lend out L500,000 at least, over and above what they should ‘ lend to their own members, on land-securities, at an interest, not exceeding $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent if payable quarterly, or 4 per cent if payable ‘ half-yearly, at the election of the owners of the lands, in case sufficient securities for the same be tendered to them. The lands conveyed and entered in the company’s books, should be assignable from one ‘ to another, (by way of transfer) or might be devised by will, &c.’ These, and fundry other regulations concerning this intended land bank, may be seen at large in the statute : but as the subscriptions did not take place within the time prescribed by the act, owing to the dislike of the monied men, who believed it to be an impracticable scheme, and the fund also like to prove very defective, there was an end of this romantic land-bank ; whose projector, and his associates, it seems, insisted on L300,000 for framing the above-named supply. The government was indeed, at this time, reduced to great distress for raising the necessary supplies, owing to the very bad state of the silver coin, whereby guineas ran up to thirty shillings, and exchequer tallies were at 30 to 40 per cent discount ; and thereby the monied men could make greater advantage than by subscribing to the proposed land bank, whose undertakers, failing to make good their engagements, brought the public into still greater distress ; which however was, in some measure, remedied by the invention, in this same year, of exchequer bills. Chamberlain went after this to Scotland, with a scheme of something of the like nature ; but the

Scottish parliament did not relish it, any more than one of a similar kind proposed by the famous Law.

We are now come to a very distressful part of the reign of King William, viz. the deplorable state of the silver coin of England; which some think began to appear towards the close of King Charles's, and more evidently in King James II's, reign; but still more soon after the accession of King William and Queen Mary, when the broad silver hammered money appeared to have been greatly damaged and lessened. The first law for redress of it, after that period, was in an act [4, 5 *Gul. et Mar. c. 14*] for review of the quarterly poll, (long since expired, and therefor not in the printed statute-book) which only enacted in substance, that whoever should refuse to receive in payment any cracked money of the current coin of the kingdom, should forfeit £5 for every offence. But this law rather increased than lessened the evil.

By an act intended to prevent counterfeiting and clipping the coin of the kingdom, it appeared, 'that the silver coins had been greatly diminished by clipping, washing, grounding, filing, and melting; and that many false and counterfeit coins had also been clipped for the better disguising thereof; whereby what remained unclipped and undiminished came to be deemed of much greater value in tale than the diminished money;' so that most of the hammered money was thereby reduced to about half its just value, to the great disgrace of the nation, and which brought the public securities, as tallies, &c. to 40 per cent discount. It was therefor enacted, that if any person shall thenceforth exchange, receive, or pay, any broad, unclipped silver money for more in value than the same was coined for, he shall forfeit £10 for every 20s thereof.

II) None shall cast ingots or bars of silver, or mark them in imitation of Spanish bars, under the penalty of £500.

III) None shall buy, sell, nor have in custody, any clippings or filings of coin, under a like penalty.

IV) None shall transport any melted silver till first marked at goldsmiths-hall, and a certificate, upon oath, made by the owner, that the same is lawful silver, and that no part of it was (before it was melted) the current coin of this kingdom, nor clippings therefrom, nor of plate wrought within this realm.

V) None but goldsmiths and refiners shall deal in buying or selling silver bullion.

VI) When bullion is seized on ship-board, and questioned whether English or foreign, the proof shall lie upon the owners thereof, that the same was foreign. With a proviso, for the king to export a quantity of 700,000 ounces of bullion for paying his troops beyond sea. [6, 7 *Gul. III, c. 17.*]

But as these measures could not answer the end proposed, and as

therefor the diminution of the old hammered money dayly increased so far, that, it is said, many shillings scarcely contained more than three-pence in silver, the condition of the nation became very alarming; which gave the greatest joy to the disaffected at home, who hoped thereby for a total overthrow of King William's government. The French king also had great expectations from this calamity, so far as to say, that King William would never be able to surmount the difficulty; and his being afterwards undeceived therein, as also of his hopes from the disaffected in England, of being able to restore the abdicated king, have been usually assigned as one main reason for bringing him into the peace of Ryswick, in the year following.

The great question then in parliament, was, whether it was now absolutely necessary to call in and recoin the old and diminished silver money? It was plausibly said by the anti-ministerial men, that calling it all in would bring great distress upon commerce, more especially in the time of an expensive war. Yet the ministry, and particularly Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, argued, with greater reason, that the longer it remained unremedied, the more fatal it would prove, till by farther diminishing it, commerce would suffer an entire stagnation: that it had already done very great mischief, by our exchange with foreign states being brought so much to our disadvantage, and by occasioning so much difficulty and disadvantage in raising the supplies, for which the government were forced to allow exorbitant premiums and interest; it dayly more and more depressed the market price of tallies, and other public securities: and it had made guineas to be run up to thirty shillings, and foreign gold in proportion, whereby much gold was run in upon us from beyond sea, to our great detriment, being over-loaded with gold, while we had so great a scarcity of silver: for, in return for guineas and foreign gold, they carried away all our weighty silver coin, as well as our bullion: insomuch, that at length we should be in the utmost distress for smaller sums, so much wanted in dayly business. That though Queen Elizabeth had coined no less than £4,632,932 : 3 : 2½, in silver, yet all her crowns, half-crowns, groats, and quarter-shillings, half-groats, three-halfpenny pieces, three-farthing pieces, and halfpence, were wholly sunk; and most of her shillings and sixpences were either melted down or lost. That in the reign of King James I there was coined £1,700,000 in silver; and in that of King Charles I £8,776,544 : 10 : 3 in silver; yet the crowns, groats, twopences, pence, and halfpence, of those two reigns were quite gone; so that there might not be now in being above one third part of the silver coinage of all the above three reigns, or about £5,036,492. To which adding the unmelted and undiminished coins (£563,508) of King Charles II and James II, and those of the present reign, all the silver money now in the kingdom might amount to about £5,600,000, of which there were about four millions of clip-

ped, and otherwise diminished coin; and the other L1,600,000 were still pure money; the just weight of L100 of which was 32 lb. 3 oz. 1 pwt. 22 gr. But upon examination, and at a medium, the weight of L100 of our clipped money was found to be but 16 lb. 8 oz. 18 pwt. A terrible state this of our coin, already diminished, being very near one half, or two millions! Yet the real loss was afterwards found to be L2,200,000 sterling.

The parliament, therefor, having maturely considered this most important matter, finally resolved to recoin the diminished silver money, by calling it into the mint by tale, whereby our people had good new silver coin returned to them from the mint.

Their next debate was, whether, as silver was now at $6/3$ per ounce, the new money should not have its standard raised, by calling a crown-piece $6/3$, and a shilling $1/3$, though of no greater quantity of silver than before. Those, who argued and wrote for this enhancing method*, alleged, that raising the standard would prevent the exportation of our coin, and would also prevent its being melted down; and that thereby also, people would be the more induced to bring in their plate and bullion to the mint.

On the other side, it was more justly argued, both in parliament, and without doors in print, that the common consent of all civilized nations had fixed silver at one and the same price, or very near the same price: that the worth of it was relative: that the weight and fineness, or the quantity of pure silver, and not the bare denomination, were the only rules which governed, not only foreign nations in their exchanges and other dealings with us, but also our own people in the home trade: since $6/3$ of the new coin, so called, would purchase no more of any commodity, nor go farther in paying bills of exchange than $5/$ of our unclipped present coin would purchase; because the later contained as much pure silver as the former. That this was clear in the case of guineas, now at $30/$, all commodities being raised in price, in proportion to the price of guineas. That an ounce of silver was not, even at present, worth $6/3$ of good coin, but only of the diminished and clipped money; since one ounce of silver could not be worth more than another ounce of like fineness; and with $5/2$ per ounce of the new-milled money, they could buy as much bullion as they pleased. That with respect to the argument, that raising the denomination would keep our silver at home, it is of no weight; since nothing can keep or bring us money, but a balance of trade in our favour: for if we take more goods from foreigners than they take from us, the balance must be paid to them in our money, or in bullion, which is all one. That with particular regard to our home concerns, there are many objections against raising the standard. 1st,

* Mr. Lowndes, secretary of the treasury, and others. A.

All poor labourers, foldiers, and failors, would thereby be defrauded of part of their juſt wages; as would alſo the creditors of part of their juſt debts; as alſo the landlord of part of his rent; or elſe great confuſion and diſpute would ariſe about theſe matters. All which, and ſuch particulars, were moſt judiciously and clearly demonſtrated by the great Locke, in his excellent treatiſe on coin, which then came forth in print, in anſwer to Lowndes's report, containing an eſſay for the amendment of the ſilver coins, to the abſolute ſilencing of the oppoſite opinion. In concluſion, it was finally reſolved to recoin the ſilver money of the old weight and fineneſs; and that the nation, collectively conſidered, ſhould bear the loſs. The great inconveniences of calling in all the diminiſhed money at once were alſo duely conſidered, and obviated by calling it in by degrees, and recoining it as quickly as poſſible; to promote which, by an act, [7, 8 *Gul. III, c. 19*] fixpence per ounce was allowed on all wrought ſilver plate brought to the mint: and an act was alſo paſſed, [8 *Gul. III, c. 7*] for encouraging the bringing in wrought plate to be coined; whereby the old ſtandard of fineneſs of ſilver, being 11 oz. 2 pwt. was thenceforth altered to 11 oz. 10 pwt. fine, and 10 pwt. allay *. Laſtly, the uſe of ſilver plate (ſpoons excepted) was prohibited in public houſes, then much uſed both in town and country; inſomuch that one alehouſe, near the Royal exchange in London, had to the value of L500 in ſilver tankards, &c.

Means were alſo uſed for reducing the price of guineas to near their juſt value in ſilver in foreign parts; the parliament, with great judgement, directing the manner of gradually lowering them, viz. from 30ſ to 29ſ, 28ſ, 25ſ, and laſtly to 22ſ, whereby the leaſt hurt was done to private men. So, in about a year's time, or little more, our ſilver coins came forth from the mint, the fineſt and moſt beautiful of any in all Europe. And although many inconveniences happened in trade before the coinage was finiſhed, yet, in the end, it aſtoniſhed and confounded all the enemies of the king and kingdom, both at home and abroad, and procured great credit to Mr. Montague (afterwards Lord Hallifax) who then had the chief management in the treaſury.

It was on this occaſion that Mr. Montague firſt ſet on foot a new circulating paper credit, by iſſuing bills from the exchequer; at the ſame time contracting (as has ever ſince been done) for their being circulated for ready money on demand. And as many of thoſe firſt exchequer bills were for ſums ſo low as L5 and L10, they were of very good uſe at this time, when there was ſo great a ſcarcity of ſilver money during the re-coinage, as they were taken at the exchequer for all payments of the revenue, and as, when re-iſſued, they were then allowed L7 : 12 per

* This regulation muſt be underſtood, not of the money, but of wrought plate; and it was intended to prevent ſilver-smiths from melting the current ſilver money, as the act expreſſly ſays. *M.*

cent interest, they soon rose from a small discount to be better than par. These have since been issued yearly, and the bank of England has constantly, for many years past, been the contractors for their circulation, at a certain premium; for which end the bank takes annual subscriptions for enabling them to circulate them. By all which means, the public was assisted to support the general trade of the nation, though not without great difficulty, till the new money was issued from the mint.

Thus was this most arduous affair of the recoinage brought to a happy issue by the close of the year 1697; and the currency of all the old hammered silver coins was absolutely prohibited by act of parliament. [9 *Gul. III.*, c. 3.] This famous recoinage (which, one way or other, was thought to have cost the public near three millions of money) was performed at London, and in the cities of Exeter, Bristol, Chester, York, and Norwich.

D'Avenant, in the first part of his Discourses on the public revenues and trade of England, [p. 50, ed. 1698] makes the clipped money amount to nine millions: and he says, there were four millions of guineas current. According to his New dialogues, [V. ii, p. 75] there was at this time recoined from the old hammered money £5,725,933. Now if the old broad pieces, and jacobus's of gold, and the fine milled silver money of King Charles II, and later, be well considered, it seems probable that the whole cash of England may have been about sixteen millions: which computation (including Scotland) comes pretty near what is generally thought to be the present cash of Great Britain, (1760) exclusive of a large quantity of foreign gold coins, at present, and for a long time past, circulating in the kingdom.

From the year 1673, when the former standing council of commerce was dropped, till this time, disputes and regulations relating to commerce and colonies were usually referred to committees of the privy-council: but such *occasional* committees, being a constantly-varying set of members, and having, besides, no stated appointments for their trouble and attendance, it is no marvel that they acted but *loosely* and *superficially*. It was now therefor high time to establish a regular and permanent board for such important ends; our foreign commerce and plantations, as well as most branches of our home trade, and of our numerous manufactures, being so greatly increased and improved. This new board (besides some of the ministers of state who only attend on extraordinary occasions) consists of a first lord commissioner, who is usually a peer of the realm, and of seven other commissioners, with a salary of each £1000 yearly*.

* Instead of Mr. Anderson's account of the nature of this new board, composed from his own knowledge, I have substituted the following au-

thentic extract of the names of the first commissioners, and of the duty required of them.

* King William, by a commission dated the 15th

The king of France this year erected a new exclusive company, called the Royal Senegal company, on the resignation of the old one. Their limits were from Cape Blanco to Sierra Leona, including the fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, formerly belonging to England. They were authorized to deal in slaves, leather, gums, wax, gold, &c. to have storehouses for their negroes in the West-Indies, and to refine their sugars, and, in short, to enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by the French West-India company before their abolition; but they were not to interfere with the Guinea company established in the year 1685.

The Eddystone rock, lying off the port of Plymouth, being very dangerous, and many ships having been cast away thereon, the corporation of the trinity-house this year began a light-house upon it, and completed it in three years; great numbers of masters and owners of English shipping agreeing, in consideration thereof, to pay 1*d* per ton outwards, and the like inwards, &c.; and it has proved a very great benefit to shipping passing that way, till the dreadful storm in the year 1703, which destroyed it. It was again directed to be rebuilt, and the same duty for its support was granted to the corporation of the trinity-house by two acts of parliament [4 *Anne*, c. 20; 8 *Anne*, c. 16]; yet it has once more been lately demolished by a storm, and is again restored by the like means to its former usefulness, to the great benefit of not only the British trade and navigation, but of the numerous shipping of other nations passing that way*.

‘ of May 1696, appointed the keeper of the great seal or chancellor, the president of the council, the keeper of the privy seal, the first commissioner of the treasury, the first commissioner of the admiralty, the principal secretaries of state, and the chancellor of the exchequer, who were to attend occasionally; and also the earl of Bridgewater, the earl of Tankerville, Sir Philip Meadows, William Blathwayte, John Pollexfen, John Locke, Abraham Hill, and John Methven, Esquires, who were to attend more constantly, to be commissioners for promoting the trade of this kingdom, and for inspecting and improving the plantations in America and elsewhere, with several directions and instructions, the chief whereof are as follows:

‘ To examine into, and take an account of the state and condition of the general trade of England, and of the several particular trades into foreign parts.

‘ To examine what trades are, or may prove, hurtful, and what beneficial, to this kingdom; and by what means the advantageous trades may be improved, and those that are prejudicial discouraged.

‘ To consider by what means profitable manufactures, already settled, may be further improved, and how other new and profitable manufactures may be introduced.

‘ To consider of proper methods for setting on work and employing the poor, and making them useful to the public.

‘ To inquire into the condition of the plantations, as well with regard to the administration of government there, as in relation to commerce, and how those colonies may be rendered most beneficial to this kingdom.

‘ To inquire what naval stores may be furnished from the plantations, and how the same may be best procured.

‘ To prepare instructions for governors, and to take an account of their administration.

‘ To examine the journals of the councils, and the acts or laws made by the respective general assemblies, in order to his majesty’s approbation or disallowance thereof.

‘ To require an account of all monies given by the assemblies for public uses, and how the same is expended.

‘ And to make representations and reports to his majesty, or the privy council, in writing, as there shall be occasion.’ *M.*

* And to the great credit of Mr. Smeaton, the judicious engineer, who has erected it in a firmer manner of construction than ever was seen in any such building before. *M.*

An act of parliament for the increase and encouragement of seamen [7, 8 *Gul. III, c. 21*] directed that 30,000 men, consisting of mariners, watermen, fishermen, lightermen, bargemen, keelmen, or other seafaring men, between the ages of eighteen and fifty, should have their names and places of residence registered, and receive a bounty, or retaining fee, of 40^s annually, for which they should at all times be in readiness to man the royal navy. For their encouragement they were to have twice as much prize-money as unregistered seamen of equal rank; they only were to be appointed to warrant offices in the navy; and they only were to have admission, when maimed or superannuated, to the new hospital at Greenwich; which admission was also extended to the widows and children of registered seamen slain in the service. A deduction of 6^d per month is ordered to be made from the pay of all seamen, whether in merchant ships or in the navy, for the support of Greenwich hospital*.

The parliament, in order to prevent frauds and abuses in the plantation trade, enacted, that all vessels trading to or from our Asian, African, or American, plantations or settlements, should be English, Irish, or plantation, built; and that their cargoes should be either English, Irish, or plantation, property, and registered as such, &c. And whereas our North-American colonies were of late become of much greater importance to England than formerly, it was therein also farther enacted, 'that no charter-proprietors of lands on the continent of America should sell or otherwise dispose of their lands to any but natural-born subjects, without the king's licence in council for that purpose.' [7, 8 *Gul. III, c. 22.*]

This was undoubtedly a most necessary and reasonable proviso, since it might happen, in unfavourable conjunctures, that a great charter-proprietor (such, for instance, as those of Carolina, since made a regal colony, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, &c.) might alienate the same to some foreign rival nation, there being till now no express law to the contrary. Moreover, in order to keep the proprietary governments in America the more under due subjection to the crown and kingdom of England, they being now become very considerable, it was hereby enacted, that all governors nominated by such proprietors should be allowed and approved of by the crown, and take the like oaths as are

* This law was further enforced by an act, 8, 9 *Gul. III, c. 22*; and the duty or stoppage for Greenwich hospital was confirmed by an act, 10 *Annæ*, for bettering, collecting, and recovering, duties, &c. and by an act, 18 *Geo. II, c. 31*.

This register act was (unhappily in our humble opinion) repealed in the ninth year of Queen Anne. Though many schemes have since been laid before the public, yet so many objections have been started, that no law has yet been framed for

so important a matter as having a competent number of seamen continually in readiness for the navy, without having recourse to the barbarous and unconstitutional practice of pressing. May Heaven inspire some worthy patriot with spirit, genius, and zeal, equal to this seemingly, or supposed, arduous task. And also may the sailors of merchant ships, as well as those of king's ships, then be entitled to admission into Greenwich hospital.

A.

taken by the governors of the regal colonies, previous to entering on their respective governments. Another clause in this statute has been thought by the Irish to bear somewhat hard on them, viz. that whereas ships laden with sugars, tobacco, &c. of the English plantations, have sometimes been discharged in several ports of Ireland, contrary to law, under pretence that the said ships were driven thither by stress of weather or some other calamity, it was now enacted, that on no pretence whatever any kind of goods from the English American plantations should hereafter be put on shore, either in the kingdoms of Ireland or Scotland *, without being first landed in England, and having also paid the duties there, under forfeiture of ship and cargo. The main hardship hereof, say the Irish, consisted in comprehending the unenumerated as well as the enumerated commodities, whereby also much money goes from Ireland to foreign nations, which our own plantations might otherwise have had †.

The parliament passed an act [7, 8 *Gul. III, c. 28*] for more effectually preventing the exportation of wool, and encouraging the importation of it from Ireland: but as there have been, both before and after this period, so many laws made for effecting what relates to the former part of this act, though all hitherto insufficient for keeping our wool to ourselves, we think it superfluous to be particular thereon. The only ports licenced for the importation of Irish wool into England were Whitehaven, Liverpool, Chester, Bristol, Bridgewater, Minehead, Barnstaple, and Biddeford.

It appears that the Greenland company, established in the year 1693, who had then subscribed £40,000 as their original capital, had afterward increased their subscription to £82,000, the completion whereof was to be made at any time before the year 1703, because, on account of the scarcity of seamen occasioned by the war with France, they could not then employ so much money in that trade. In the meantime the parliament enacted, that the company, for the encouragement of their trade, during their term of 14 years, (which was to end in the year 1707) should be free of all duty, custom, or imposition whatever, for any oil, blubber, or whale-fins, caught and imported by them. [7, 8 *Gul. III, c. 33.*] But the company were so unfortunate, partly through unskilful management, and partly from real losses, as to run out their capital of £82,000 some years before the expiration of their term, so that they broke up entirely. And by a statute for enlarging and encouraging the Greenland trade, that trade was entirely laid open as before, and all the queen's subjects were thereby to enjoy the same privileges as the company had done: yet their misfortunes deterred others

* This clause was rendered void as to Scotland by the union in the year 1707. *A.*

† See the enumerated commodities under the year 1660. *A.*

from prosecuting that fishery till the year 1725, when the South-sea company revived it, though much to their loss, as will be seen.

Great sums being continually carried out of England for hemp, flax, and linen, which might in a great measure be supplied from Ireland, if proper encouragement were given to induce foreign protestants to settle in that kingdom, the parliament passed an act for allowing hemp, flax, linen, and linen yarn, the produce or manufacture of Ireland, to be imported into England by natives of England or Ireland without paying any duty. And the manufacture of sail-cloth being already brought to good perfection in England, all English-made sail-cloth was thenceforth allowed to be exported without paying duty, either in the piece, or made into sails. [7, 8 *Gul. III, c. 39.*]

This law was wisely framed, for the encouragement of French protestant refugees, many of whom were well skilled in the once noble linen manufacture of France, since sunk to almost nothing; and experience has shewn that this law laid the foundation of the great and flourishing manufacture of linens and cambrics in Ireland.

The foreign commerce of Russia, except what was carried on by the English and Dutch at Archangel, was till our own times so inconsiderable, as hardly to deserve being mentioned. But the czar Peter, so justly titled the Great, had now formed vast plans of commerce and conquest, and also naval power. By his conquest of the strong fortress and port of Asoph, near the mouth of the river Don, he opened for the Russian vessels a passage into the Black sea, upon which he determined to keep a naval force sufficient to cope with that of the Turks, who, for some centuries past, had excluded all other nations from the navigation of that sea. For this end he procured ship-wrights from Holland for constructing great ships of war, and from Venice for galleys; and he got no fewer than forty of the former, and fifty of the later, besides bomb ketches, &c. built at Woronitz on the river Don, and thence conveyed to Asoph; which mighty enterprise was completed, through his vast genius, in three years time, having oak-timber and other naval stores in plenty of his own, and ready at hand. He also fortified the port of Taganrock on the Black sea; at which work, it is said, above 300,000 persons perished through hunger, and by distempers contracted from lying on the marshy ground. Had the czar succeeded in compelling the Ottoman Porte to allow him a free passage by the Propontis and Dardanelles into the Archipelago and Mediterranean sea, what strange alterations might not his success have produced in the balance of power in Europe; and how disadvantageous would it probably also have proved to the Turkey trade and the general commerce of the other European nations in those seas? How precarious also would the very existence of the Turkish empire have thereby been rendered? But in the next century we shall see this towering prospect overclouded, and

all the vast expense thereof absolutely thrown away. This great prince, however, did wonders for reforming and improving his country and people. He travelled for this end into most countries of Christendom, in order to learn their mercantile and maritime arts. In Holland and England he discovered so great a genius in his judicious inquiries, observations, and remarks, on ship-building, naval affairs, manufactures, &c. as surprised every body, and of which Russia at this day experiences the good effects. King William gave him a respectful reception in the year 1697, and cultivated his friendship and alliance, in hopes of forming an useful balance of power against France.

This year King William sent out two ships of war and some land forces, who retook the forts in Hudson's bay, which the French had held for three years. Yet once more those forts, in Queen Anne's war, were regained by the French, all but Fort Albany, and so it remained till the peace of Utrecht.

The running of English and Irish wool into France, whereby the woollen manufacture of that kingdom has been so greatly increased, has employed the pens of many ever since the restoration of King Charles II; and many plausible proposals have been made, both within doors and without, for an effectual cure, though hitherto unsuccessfully. Among the more modern ones, Samuel Webber, in his short account of the state of our woollen manufactures, (printed in 1739) ascribes the great rise of the French woollen manufactures about this time to the duty of 4/ in the pound imposed by the parliament of Ireland on all their woollen goods exported to foreign parts, because such exportation interfered with England's exportations of the like woollen goods; and that this was agreed to by Ireland, in return for no less than £9,000,000 sterling, expended by England in the reduction of Ireland at the revolution: and to prevent their glutting England with their wool*, they were limited to eight † western ports for its importation. Such hardships, according to that author, constrained the Irish to run their combed wool into France, which the French mixed up with their own coarser wool, whereby they were enabled, at a cheaper rate, to supply many foreign markets with woollen goods formerly supplied by England. The computations of most of those who write on this subject, are, we apprehend, too extravagant, and particularly those of this author, to obtain universal credit; for he ventures to affirm, 'that of 800,000 packs of wool, annually produced in Britain and Ireland, France gets from us yearly, one way or other, 500,000 packs, whereby that nation gains annually above £8,000,000 sterling; that not one third of our wool is manufactured at home; for, beside what goes to France, there is not a little run into Holland, Sweden, and elsewhere; that whenever we

* He also says *woollen goods*; but *wool* only was permitted to be imported from Ireland. A.

† He says only five. A.

happen to be at variance with France, so as to prevent a correspondence, the demand for our woollen goods at foreign markets has then proved sudden and great; that we have hands enow in Great Britain to work up all our wool at home, since in England alone, by an estimate of the parish rates, in the year 1735 the poor amounted to 1,400,000 persons, of whom 300,000 were reckoned helpless through age, &c. and orphans; but that the remaining 1,100,000 poor were all, in some measure, fit for labour. Lastly, that the only effectual means to keep our wool at home would be to establish a registry in every parish of Great Britain and Ireland, of stock in hand, of wool, and of the daily increase or decrease of the said stock, by transferring the property from one to another, &c.

Now, though all that is therein asserted is not absolutely to be relied on, and most of the writers on this very interesting subject seem, in their computations, to have more or less overshot the mark, some from zeal, or perhaps private interest, and others merely from ignorance and want of abilities, yet, it must be allowed, that a remedy for so pernicious a practice, as running great quantities of our wool into foreign parts, well known to be a reality, is very much wanted; and that, whether by a registry, as above mentioned, or by more strict guard-shops on our coasts, or by both jointly, whoever shall be so happy as to point out an effectual remedy for so great an evil, will richly deserve a high reward from the public*.

1697.—The ill-judged abortive scheme of a land bank in England, already described, with the deficient funds for the annual supplies; the bad state of the silver coin, more especially in the years 1695 and 1696, and the ill humours contracted thereby, and by disaffection to the government, had brought the infant bank of England into such difficulty and distress, that their cash notes were now at a discount of 15 to 20 per cent, their credit being so low as to be necessitated to pay those notes only by 10 per cent once in a fortnight, and, at length, to pay only 3 per cent on those notes once in three months. This distress was occasioned by the bank having taken the clipped and diminished silver money at the legal or par value by tale, and guineas at 30s, for which they issued their notes payable on demand, and not having received from the mint a sufficient quantity of the new silver coins to answer the daily demands on them for their outstanding notes. The directors were thereupon obliged to make two different calls, of 20 per cent each, on

* Will there ever be any effectual means to prevent the Irish from selling their wool to those who are willing to give the best price for it, except encouraging them to manufacture it themselves? I have several accounts of Scottish vessels carrying whole cargoes of wool about this time to Holland, Sweden, &c. In the beginning of October 1697,

there arrived in the one port of Rotterdam, nineteen vessels from Scotland with 982 great bags of English and Scottish wool; and in the year 1698, fifteen vessels from Scotland carried 981 bags to the same port. Similar causes must produce similar effects. *M.*

their members in the year 1696, and to issue bank sealed bills, at 6 per cent interest, in exchange for bank cash notes; and to advertise, for the conveniency of trade, whilst the silver was recoinage, that any person might keep an account with the bank, and transfer any sum under £5, from his own to another man's account; which was getting into the method of the bank of Amsterdam; yet, such was the distress of the times, that, on the 6th of May 1697 the bank advertised in the gazette, for the defaulters of the last call of 20 per cent, which should have been paid by the 10th of November 1696, and also those indebted to the bank upon mortgages, pawns, notes, bills, or other securities, to pay in the said 20 per cent, and the principal and interest of those securities, by the 1st of June next. Even so late as the 21st of June 1697, we see in a newspaper, called the Postman, the following paragraph, viz. 'Bank notes were yesterday between 13 and 14 per cent discount.' Notwithstanding the great difficulties the bank had then to struggle with, in a few months after, by the recoinage being completed, and by the second, or engraftment, subscription of the tallies, orders, and bank notes, to the amount of £5,160,459 : 14 : 9 $\frac{1}{4}$, the credit of the bank was quite restored, with the greatest applause to the conductors of it. After the parliament had settled the funds for the ensuing year, and had provided for the deficient funds in the former and present year, they took the distress of the bank into their deliberate consideration, and finally determined, that the capital stock of the bank should be increased by new subscriptions, of four fifths in exchequer tallies and orders, and one fifth in their own bank notes, with an interest of 8 per cent. And, for securing the payment of that interest, an additional duty was laid on salt; and the other duties were extended to a longer term, &c. in order to make up a general fund for past deficiencies, now amounting to no less than £5,160,549 : 14 : 9 $\frac{1}{4}$, besides the current service of the year 1697. But, previous to their taking in the new subscriptions, their old capital of £1,200,000 should first be made up to each member 100 per cent, and what remained of effects or interest over and above, should be divided among their old members. The bank, after this new subscription, might issue an additional number of notes, equal to the total of the new subscription, provided always, that those notes be answered on demand, and that, in default of their so doing, they should be answered from the exchequer, out of the first money due to the bank. The bank should continue a corporation till one year's notice after August the 1st in the year 1710; and no other bank should be allowed during their said term. The bank should not, at any one time whatever, owe more by bonds, notes, sealed bills, &c. than the total amount of all their increased capital. The capital stock of the bank should henceforth be deemed a personal estate. For the future,

not above two thirds of the preceding year's directors should be capable of being re-elected in the succeeding year *. [8, 9 *Gul. III, c. 19.*]

D'Avenant, in his Discourses on the public revenues and trade of England, (*part i, p. 265, 1698*) justly remarks, that it would be for the general good of trade if the bank of England were restrained by law from allowing interest for running cash, (as was the case at this time); for the ease of having 3 or 4 per cent without trouble or hazard, must be a continual bar to industry.

King William's ministry had flattered themselves, from year to year, with the hope of a speedy peace. Many of the funds, therefor, upon the credit whereof money had, in different years, been granted by parliament, had by this time been found, or suffered to be, very deficient: the treasury gentlemen, though otherwise men of abilities, having, in sundry instances of appropriating the duties, judged very wide of the true amount of those duties; as particularly might be instanced with respect to glass bottles, earthen ware, tobacco-pipe clay, &c. The deficiencies of the funds were soon observed by the monied men, who were creditors of the public, and who also took advantage of the remoteness of the courses of payment of the tallies and orders charged on some other funds. This had, since the revolution, given rise to a new trade of dealing in government securities, very much to the damage of the public, as well as of those proprietors of the funds, who were obliged to part with them at the discount of from 40 to 50 per cent. D'Avenant, in his Essay upon loans, printed in 1710, justly remarks of those melancholy times, 'that the government appeared like a distressed debtor, who
' was dayly squeezed to death by the exorbitant greediness of the lender;
' the citizens began to decline trade, and to turn usurers; foreign
' commerce, attended with the hazards of war, had infinite discouragement; and people in general drew home their effects to embrace the
' advantage of lending their money to the government.' To prevent the ill effects of this unhappy trade, a law was made to restrain the number and ill practices of brokers and stock-jobbers, which premises, that sworn brokers were antiently allowed in London for making bargains between merchants and traders for merchandize and bills of exchange; but, of late, divers such have carried on most unjust practices, in selling and discounting tallies, bank stock, bank bills, shares in joint stocks, &c. confederating themselves together to raise or fall, from time to time, the value thereof, as may most suit their own private interest; wherefor, &c. they were now restrained from acting without a licence from the lord mayor and court of aldermen. They were also to take an oath of fidelity, to be limited to 100 in number, whose names should be written on the Royal exchange; to incur a penalty of £200, if they

* The capital stock of the bank was raised to £2,201,171: 10; and the dividends were raised from eight to nine per cent. [*Allardyce's Address to the proprietors of the bank, p. 129.*] M.

dealt for themselves in any merchandize, or in those tallies, stocks, &c. ; to enter into an obligation for their faithful actings, and on failure, to forfeit L500, &c.

After this account of the ill state of things, we shall conclude the account of the engrafting act by observing, that the new subscribers to the bank were thereby to deliver up to the governor and company of the bank of England their tallies and orders, which were to be paid off in course *. The capital stock of the bank was thereby to be exempted from any tax. No contract for sale of the bank stock was to be valid, unless registered within seven days in the bank books, and actually transferred within fourteen days †. No act of the corporation, nor of its court of directors, nor sub-committees thereof, should subject the particular share of any member to forfeiture. The shares, however, were made subject to the payment of all the just debts contracted by the corporation ‡. By this act it was made felony to counterfeit the common seal of the bank, affixed to their sealed bills, or to alter or erase any sum in, or any indorsement on, their sealed notes, signed by order of the governor and company, or to forge or counterfeit their bills or notes. Members of this corporation were not to be liable to bankruptcy, merely by reason of their bank stock, which stock, moreover, was not liable to foreign attachments. This is all that is essentially necessary to be recited from this long act of parliament, so judiciously framed for restoring public credit. Two great points were effected by it, viz. the exchequer tallies and orders were rescued from the stock-jobbing harpies by being engrafted into this company, as were also the bank notes, now cancelled, which had been at 20 per cent discount, by reason the government had been greatly deficient in their payments to the bank ; and a good interest was secured for the proprietors of the increased capital.

This happy engraftment, together with the new silver coinage, redounded greatly to the credit of Mr. Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax. For, it is almost incredible, that in a few months after this provision for the national debt in arrear, the stock of the bank given to the proprietors of exchequer tallies, which before this engraftment had been at 40 to 50 per cent discount, should be currently sold at 112 per cent. ‘ This second bank subscription,’ (says D’Avenant, in his last quoted treatise) ‘ being founded upon parliamentary security, for making good the deficient tallies, was formed by receiving in those tallies

* They actually were paid off by annual dividends in a few years ; and bank stock was thereby reduced to its original capital. *A.*

† It had been happy for hundreds of families, if this salutary clause had been continued in succeeding acts of parliament for this and all other joint stocks. But, as if designedly, it was omitted

in them all, till after the year 1720, when the want of it opened a field of unexampled villany and deception. *A.*

‡ This clause was with great propriety afterwards extended to the other two great companies. *A.*

‘ at par, which cost the subscribers but 55 to 65 per cent * ; by which
 ‘ the greatest estates were raised in the least time, and the most of them,
 ‘ that had been known in any age, or in any part of the world.’ I have
 indeed often heard it said by persons who lived at this time, that one
 single subscriber alone (Sir Gilbert Heathcote) gained by that rise of
 the price above L60,000.

‘ During the recoinage of our silver,’ (says D’Avenant, in the second
 part of his *Discourses on the public revenues and trade of England*, p. 161)
 ‘ all great dealings were transacted by tallies, bank bills, and goldsmiths
 ‘ notes. Paper credit did not only supply the place of running cash, but
 ‘ greatly multiplied the kingdom’s stock ; for tallies and bank bills did,
 ‘ to many uses, serve as well, and to some better, than gold and silver :
 ‘ and this artificial wealth, which necessity had introduced, did make us
 ‘ less feel the want of that real treasure, which the war, and our losses
 ‘ at sea, had drawn out of the nation.’ This able, but venal, author
 wrote in a very different strain towards the close of the next reign.

These prudent measures in England proved the great means of concluding, in September in the same year, a treaty of peace between England and France, much wanted by both nations. In general, by article 7, most places, possessed by either party before the war broke out, were now stipulated to remain to them. Some of the forts in Hudson’s bay were, however, thereby ceded to France, as also those of Nova-Scotia, which we had taken from France in 1690 ; also that part of St. Christophers which we had taken from France in the same year, 1690, was restored to France ; King William’s then untoward affairs not permitting him, at that time, to insist too strenuously on those matters, more especially as the main preliminary of this treaty was the acknowledgement of William as king of Great Britain and Ireland by Louis.

The Dutch restored to France Pondicherry in East-India ; and, at the same time, a separate treaty of commerce and marine was concluded between them for twenty years. All that is memorable therein being, that the Dutch should enjoy the same privileges, franchises, &c. in France, as Louis’s own subjects did, and that they might freely carry to Marseilles, &c. the merchandize of the Levant, as well in their own ships as in French bottoms, without being liable to the 20 per cent on the Levant commerce ; saving only in cases where the French themselves were liable to pay it. The Dutch also might import pickled herrings without being liable to repacking. France also remitted to them the 50 sols per ton on foreigners ships, excepting only when Dutch ships carry French goods coast-ways, from one port of France to another.

To Spain France yielded what she had taken in Catalonia, as also the city and province of Luxemburgh, with Charleroy, Aeth, Courtray, and

* He means such as bought them at so large a discount. A.

Mons; reserving, however, many burghs and villages within those dependencies, under slight pretences.

To the princes of the empire, France restored Triers and Germerheim to the electors of Triers and Palatine; to Sweden, the duchy of Deuxponts; to the bishop of Liege, Dinant; to the house of Wirtemberg, Mompelgard. But, on the other hand, the empire was obliged to confirm forever to France the possession of Strasburgh with its territory. To the emperor, however, France yielded up Friburg and the rest of the Brisgaw, and Philipsburg: to the duke of Lorraine France restored his capital, Nancy, but dismantled and defenceless; and Louis still retained Saar-Louis, and also the road, or way, of half a league in breadth, through Lorraine to Alsace, open for the French troops and armies. If Louis had no latent design in thus yielding up so many important places which he had conquered, men would have said he acted moderately; but his real view in this seeming moderation was to disarm and disunite the allies, that so he might the more easily seize on the Spanish monarchy upon the death of their old and feeble king Charles II.

A French squadron of ships, commanded by Pointis, this year took the famous town and forts of Carthagena in Spanish America, and, by his own account, he got eight millions of crowns thereby. Much more had been expected, but the people of fashion and the religious of both sexes had before retired far into the country out of his reach, with 110 mules laden with treasure. Pointis, sensible that he could not hold Carthagena, left it, after demolishing its forts.

It was high time to put an end to the many privileged places to which debtors retired with the money and merchandize of their creditors, and, by combination in those recesses, set all law and justice at defiance; no officers daring, without the hazard of their lives, to arrest any of those lawless debtors within those places. Wherefor, by a statute, the following pretended privileged places were suppressed, viz. that in the Minories; Salisbury court, Whitefriars, Ram alley, and Mitre court, in Fleet street; Fulwood's rents in Holburn; Baldwin's gardens in Gray's-Inn lane; the Savoy in the Strand; Montague close, Deadman's place, the Clink, and the Mint, in Southwark. [8, 9 *Gul. III, c. 26.*] Yet the Mint was suffered to spring up again in a more outrageous manner than ever, and was not finally suppressed till the reign of King George I. It was a sad shame, that such lawless people should have been so long tolerated or connived at.

Burlington bay on the coast of Yorkshire being a safe road, and the haven and pier of Burlington (alias Bridlington) being conveniently situated for supplying necessaries, and also for a retreat from storms or enemies, it was judged a national benefit to lay a duty of one farthing per chaldron on all coals coming from Newcastle and its members south-

ward, for repairing and rebuilding that pier, which had been thrown down by a storm in the year 1696. [8, 9 *Gul. III, c. 28.*]

This year the silk-weavers of London were extremely outrageous and tumultuous, on pretence of the great quantities of silks, calicoes, and other Indian manufactures, imported by the East-India company, and worn by all sorts of people. They even carried their violence so far as to attempt seizing the treasure at the East-India house, and had almost succeeded in it, but were in the end reduced to order. Yet much clamour was still raised, both in pamphlets and conversation, against the company, who in their defence engaged the famous Dr. D'Avenant to write a laboured and ingenious essay on the East-India trade. He was answered by Mr. Polexfen, an eminent merchant, who this year published his able performance, intitled, *England and East-India inconsistent in their manufactures*, which, with respect to the real matter of fact, as well as its popularity, had greatly the advantage over his venal, though able, opponent.

Notwithstanding the restitutions which France had obtained by the treaty of Ryswick, yet her foreign trade seemed still to languish. Holland reaped much more benefit by her trade with France, than England did or could. The latter had been accustomed before the war to send great sums of money to France for wine, brandy, paper, stuffs, linen, hats, silks, and many other things, over and above the merchandize they carried thither from England, whereby the balance was always greatly in favour of France. But the French commissary, now sent over to England for a treaty of commerce between the two nations, found insurmountable difficulties in his commission, not only on account of the high duties laid by England on French goods, which duties were appropriated to sundry uses, but likewise because the English, during the late long war, had learned to be without the merchandize of France, by supplying themselves mostly with the wines of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and with the linens of Holland and Silesia. The French refugees settled in England now also supplied them with paper, stuffs, silks, and hats, made at home. France, moreover, on the other hand, not relaxing any of her high imposts on English manufactures, &c. which in effect amounted to a prohibition of them, it was not therefor possible for France and England to conclude any tariff or treaty of commerce together which could be advantageous to the latter, and therefor none was made.

1698.—Nevertheless, the foreign commerce and public credit of England soon revived, and the bills or notes of the bank got up to par. The discount on the remaining tallies was become moderate, and the actions or prices of the stocks of other English companies were become more promising.

Yet the complaints against the East-India company's proceedings, together with their great losses of ships and rich cargoes during the war,

which had prevented them from making any dividends for fundry preceding years, had by this time occasioned a general dislike in the people against the company. This broke out more plainly in the spring of 1698, when the house of commons again took the state of the company's trade into their serious consideration, even though it had three years before appeared to be so delicate an affair, that it had been referred by the parliament to the king and council, who sent it back again to the parliament, who after all did nothing material in the main complaints relating to it. The company therefor thought it now prudent to make a proposal to parliament, that they would advance £700,000 for the public service at 4 per cent interest, provided the exclusive trade to India might be legally settled on them. But while the house of commons seemingly listened to this proposal, a number of merchants, headed by Mr. Samuel Shepherd, and countenanced by Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, offered to advance two millions of money at 8 per cent interest, provided they might have the sole exclusive trade to India settled on them; yet the subscribers not to be obliged to trade in one joint stock, unless they should afterwards desire to be incorporated, in which case a charter should be granted to them. This last proposal was best relished, and therefor a bill was accordingly brought into parliament. Against this the company's counsel in both houses of parliament pleaded their several exclusive charters, which, amongst other great privileges, stiled them lords-proprietors of Bombay and St. Helena. They set forth, that the company had actually acquired, at their own sole expense, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Persia and elsewhere, to the amount of about £44,000 per annum, arising from customs and licences for selling wine, for fishings, for farms of tobacco and betle; for quit-rents, house-rents, and garden-rents, to the natives; passes for country ships; tonnage, anchorage, salvage, &c.; all which were constantly increasing; also a large extent of lands in the respective places. That they had also erected forts and settlements, and had procured territories in the island of Sumatra and on the coast of Malabar, without which the pepper trade must have been entirely lost to England. That they had a strong fort in the kingdom of Bengal, and also many factories, buildings, and settlements, in divers other parts; having, moreover, purchased of the Indian princes, at high rates, many privileges and immunities; all which they were encouraged to do out of a firm belief, that their rights and inheritances would on all occasions be objects of the nation's care*. That since this bill was brought in, the company agreed to submit their present stock to a valuation of 50 per cent, viz. 20 per cent for their dead stock, (i. e.

* This account of the various emoluments of the company in India is very instructive, as it explains the nature of them, and shews that they were nearly the same as those of the present company are now (1760). *A.*

their forts, factories, lands, &c.) and 30 per cent for their quick stock, which they were content even to warrant at that rate. And upon these terms the company likewise offered to open subscriptions for two millions. To all this the counsel for the new subscribers replied, that the old company, (for so we must now begin to call them) in reciting their charters, had forgot to mention the provisos therein, viz. that the kings of England, who granted them, reserved a discretionary power to make them void on three years warning. That the king, solely by his charter, could not grant the trade exclusive of all others, as being directly contrary to positive laws: neither had the present king, in fact, granted any such exclusive right. That several recoveries had been made at law against the company for prosecuting such pretended right. That the king's message to the house of commons in 1692 plainly signified, that the concurrence of parliament was requisite for making a complete and useful settlement of this trade*. That, when they mentioned the resolution of the house of commons in 1691, they omitted their other resolution, viz. that it was lawful for all persons to trade to the East-Indies, unless restrained by act of parliament. That the patents for some trades with joint stocks, while the trades for which they were granted were in their infancy, have been permitted, for the sake of settling a trade, and till the first adventurers had reaped some reasonable compensation for their expense and risk; yet afterwards, when such trades have grown considerable, the wisdom of the nation has always, or generally, judged it fitting to open a way for the kingdom to receive a general benefit therefrom†. That it never was esteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the credit of the great seal, or from the honour of our kings, to have their patents annulled by parliament, when it appeared that such grants were either unprofitable or contrary to the common rights of the subject: neither did any kings think themselves bound in honour or conscience to refuse passing an act of parliament for the annulling of such grants. That, moreover, kings having often been deceived in such grants, they have even been frequently annulled by the ordinary course of law.

It was, on the other hand; again farther replied and urged, in behalf of the old company, that the property of many families, widows, and orphans, was greatly affected by this bill, which, moreover, makes no provision for a determined stock; insomuch, that it may hereafter happen, that the trade may be lost to the nation for want of a sufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing by thirty years experience, that it requires at least L600,000 every year to carry on this trade to its utmost.

* Here they expatiated on the bribery and other indirect proceedings of the company in the years 1692—1695. *A.*

† Yet the very same people, who now used these

arguments against the old company, were at this very time asking for, and afterwards obtained, an exclusive trade to India. *A.*

That even during the three years to michaelmas 1701, the new subscribers are, by this bill, permitted to trade as well as the company, which is contrary to the charters, and will create great confusion, and render the said three years trade allowed the old company of no benefit, because they are still bound to export to the value of £100,000 annually in our own manufactures, while the new subscribers are under no such obligation. The old company are, moreover, obliged to pay taxes, and to keep up forts, factories, &c. while the new subscribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade, without either. That since the last new subscription in 1693, the company have lost, either by accidents or by the calamities of war, twelve great ships, which, with their cargoes, would have sold here for near £1,500,000. And yet, notwithstanding such losses, they have paid in customs since that period £295,000, beside £85,000 in taxes. That, moreover, they supplied the king in Holland, on a pressing occasion, with 6000 barrels of gunpowder, and had likewise, at a time of great extremity, subscribed £80,000 for circulating exchequer bills at the instances of the treasury. And that, in short, many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending in the stock of the present company, who must be utterly ruined, if this bill take effect.

In the foregoing debates there are to be found a great many material articles relating to the history and conduct of the old East-India company, and to the nature and legality of exclusive charters, unsupported by parliamentary authority; we could not therefor avoid somewhat enlarging thereon, and shall only subjoin what was, on this occasion, farther alleged against the old company, viz. that the new subscribers to that company's stock in the year 1693 were deluded into it by the charter then obtained by indirect means, and by the hopes of an act of parliament to confirm it, and by the old proprietors having valued their stock at £750,000, whereby they shared £375,000 of the new subscribers money amongst themselves; and as they had warning sufficient, by the transactions before the king and council, nobody was answerable for their loss but themselves.

These reasons weighing, or seeming to weigh, with the parliament, and some of the leaders of the old company being moreover said to have been suspected of disaffection to the state, or, perhaps principally, because the new subscribers were the favourites of the ministry, an act of parliament was passed for raising a sum not exceeding two millions, upon a fund for payment of annuities after the rate of 8 per cent per annum, and for settling the trade to the East-Indies. The substance thereof, as far as relates to this subject, is, that the king might appoint commissioners for taking subscriptions from any persons or corporations, the bank of England excepted, for raising two millions, from and after michaelmas 1698, the entire interest being £160,000 per annum, arising

from the duty on salt, and certain additional duties on stamped parchment and paper. The new subscribers to be called the general society of traders to the East-Indies. They were empowered to trade either directly themselves, or to licence others in their stead; but so as not to trade annually for more than the amount of their respective shares or stock. Yet the king might, by his charter, incorporate the subscribers into one body-politic *, with perpetual succession, &c. and the usual powers; till when the subscribers were to elect out of their body 24 trustees. Corporations having shares herein might trade in proportion to their shares †. Neither this general society, nor any company that may be established in pursuance of this act, shall borrow or give security for any sum on the credit of the funds by this act granted. Neither shall they borrow, owe, or give security for, any other or greater sums than shall be employed in their trade, and which likewise shall be borrowed only on their common seal, and not repayable in less than six months. Neither shall they discount any bills of exchange, or other bills or notes, nor keep books or cash for any persons whatever, other than their own corporation ‡. Five per cent additional duty, rated on the value, from michaelmas 1698, is hereby laid on all India goods imported, to be paid to the general society, or to such company or companies as may be erected, for maintaining ambassadors, and other extraordinary expenses, the overplus whereof to be disposed of for the benefit of all the members. Upon three years notice, after michaelmas 1711, and repayment by parliament of the said two millions, then all the duties, privileges, &c. shall cease §. Provided, however, that the present East-India company may also trade to India until michaelmas 1701. The separate traders, called formerly interlopers, already gone out, may safely return. All future sales of India goods shall be made openly by inch of candle, on pain of forfeiting half to the king and half to the informer ||. The present company shall pay their just debts. No society, to be erected in pursuance of this act, shall owe at any one time more than the value of their capital stock undivided; and if, by any dividends, their debts at any time shall exceed the amount of their capital stock, the respective members shall be liable for the same, so far as the shares they received upon such dividends shall extend, beside costs of suit. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c. 44.*]

On occasion of this contention between the two companies, it was alleged by many at this time, against any exclusive trade, that an open trade, though with less profit, would be more beneficial to the nation,

* This was the intention from the first. *A.*

† This seems plainly designed to favour what presently after fell out in behalf of the old company. *A.*

‡ These clauses were intended to prevent encroaching on the province of the bank. *A.*

§ The term was extended to 25th March, 1726, with three years notice. [*Act 6 Anne, c. 17.*] *A.*

|| This was to obviate the complaint of clandestine sales, said to have been made by the connivance of, or for the benefit of, the directors. *A.*

and less disturb our own manufactures. That it is better for the kingdom, for instance, that L300 be employed at 10 per cent profit, than that but L100 be employed at L20 profit. That wonderful things are said of the gains by trade in Sir Thomas Gresham's time, when for every L100 employed in trade, it was returned again at the end of the year, with 200 or L300 more of profit, divided between the customs of the crown and the merchants; though at this time, perhaps 20 or 30 per cent is all that is so divided; but then, for every L100 then employed, there is probably L1000 now employed in commerce: and consequently, for every L100 so gained in those times, there is at least L1000 gained in our days. Thus, when the African or Guinea trade was laid open on paying 10 per cent to the company, if, from that time ten ships were employed in it for every one that had been employed by that company; if, in the open trade, these ten ships on L1000 could divide 30 per cent between themselves and the customs, and the company's one ship before divided L100 between them and the customs, yet the ten ships are much more beneficial to the nation, because they employ ten times as many persons, and carry out ten times as many manufactures, as the company's one ship did. This is a very important remark for the consideration of legislators.

After so long and so expensive a war, but just ended, wherein also there had been very great losses by captures of so many of our rich merchant ships, it gave foreign nations a high idea of the wealth and grandeur of England, to see two millions sterling money subscribed for in three days time: and had the books been kept open longer, there were persons ready to have subscribed as much more: for though higher proofs have since appeared of the great riches of the nation, because our wealth is very visibly and much increased since that time, yet till then there had never been so illustrious an instance of England's opulence. This, however, was undoubtedly owing in a great measure to the legal establishment of our free constitution by the accession of King William and Queen Mary to the throne, whereby a firm confidence in the public faith was established on a solid basis. For before this most happy and solid settlement of our constitution, whereby the precise limits of the royal prerogative, as well as of the subject's rights, were ascertained, and absolutely established, by the ever-memorable law, named the Declaration of rights, the crown, in spite of the old Magna charta, and the law of King James I against monopolies in 1624, &c. constantly pretended to the right of granting exclusive privileges and charters, though, nevertheless, frequently and strenuously opposed, and sometimes successfully, by upright judges and juries. Yet, till this glorious epocha of liberty, the East-India, African, and Hudson's-bay, companies, with joint stocks, as well as the regulated companies, as they are usually called, trading without a common stock, viz. the merchant-ad-

venturers, Turkey, and Eastland, companies, though none of them were legally established by act of parliament, (as the Russia company was by the 8th of Queen Elizabeth) all of them, nevertheless, presumed so far upon their royal charters, as to give great disturbance to, and often totally to obstruct, the separate and independent traders, whom they thought fit to stigmatize with the opprobrious appellation of interlopers. This therefor was, properly, the first legally-exclusive mercantile company of England with a joint stock. Necessity, however, was the main inducement with the government to pass this law, 8 per cent being, in those times of difficulty, reckoned but a moderate interest; tallies, &c. being still at a considerable discount, though they soon after got up to par.

This law, then, having empowered the king to incorporate all the subscribers into one exclusive community, named the general society trading to the East-Indies, their charter was dated on the 3d of September, 1698; and on the 5th of that month, he incorporated them as one joint-stock exclusive company, and their successors, by the name of *the English company trading to the East-Indies*, with the customary privileges of having a common seal, of making bye laws, of suing and being sued, of purchasing an undetermined quantity of lands, &c. And with this remarkable clause, (which proved the means of afterwards uniting the old and new East-India companies) viz. that all corporations and persons who should derive any right or title from any of the said subscribers, or their successors, should be esteemed members of this new company, and be received and admitted as such, gratis. That this company might augment their capital stock. That members, at their admission, should take an oath of fidelity to the stock-company, and should not trade to India on their private account. £500 to entitle them to one vote in general courts, and none to have more than one vote. That this new company might establish the same courts of judicature as the old company had power to do by King James II's charter; should maintain a minister and schoolmaster at St. Helena, and in every fort and superior factory; as also a chaplain in every ship of 500 tons and upwards. That one tenth part of their whole annual exports to India should be in English product and manufactures*.

No sooner was this new company erected, than great and obvious difficulties and objections were started against their proceeding to trade during the three years remaining to the old company, who were in possession of the forts and of the privileges granted in India by the moguls, &c. And even though the new company should wait till michaelmas 1701, when they would have the exclusive trade, the old one was, nevertheless, still at liberty to dispose of their forts, settlements, factories,

* The rest of it is immaterial, or else a repetition of what is already mentioned. A

&c. at their own price, as not being restrained by the act of parliament from selling them even to foreigners *. Nor were they by this act absolutely dissolved at the end of the three years, seeing their estate is thereby made liable to pay all their debts, which could not be effected within the limits of those three years. Moreover, the old company had artfully subscribed £315,000 into the new stock in the name of Mr. John Dubois, their treasurer, whereby they were possessed of above one seventh part of the whole new capital of two millions. To confirm which possession, they obtained an act of the next session of parliament, importing, that, in consideration of the old company having directed Mr. Dubois to subscribe the said sum in trust for them, they should continue a corporation, subject, nevertheless, to be determined upon redemption of the fund aforesaid: which, being deemed a private act, is not printed in the statute-book. It is intitled, an Act for continuing the old company, (called the governor and company of merchants of London trading to the East-Indies) a corporation till the redemption of the said two millions.

In all this very material affair, there certainly was a strange jumble of inconsistencies, contradictions, and difficulties, not easily to be accounted for in the conduct of men of judgement, unless they were purposely so intended for the service of the old company. For it occasioned a world of trouble afterwards to the new company, as will be seen, as far as is needful, in its proper place. And indeed the ministry were severely handled in sundry virulent pamphlets of that time. As, 1st, that three years before one company could be dissolved, a new company should be established, with power to commence an immediate trade where they had no just right till three years after. 2dly, to suffer the old company to subscribe so considerable a part of the new capital, whereby they were enabled to trade separately from the new one, which was in effect establishing two rival companies at once, besides the separate traders, who still continued to act by themselves. 3dly, after the old company's three years should be expired, of what use could their forts, factories, lands, buildings, &c. be to them. These, and other difficulties and absurdities, might be enlarged on, were it necessary, after dwelling so long on this matter already. A coalition, therefor, of those two companies seemed to be the only effectual expedient. For such was, at this time, the force of party in a matter, which, one would think, should be of no party, that those two companies had divided almost the whole kingdom into the two opposite parties, of the old and new companies, the former generally favoured by the tory party, and the new one by the whigs. And in this condition we will leave them for a little while, for the sake of the chronological order of our history.

* A most unaccountable mistake, if not rather intentionally done. *A.*

It was about this time that the king of France made his greatest efforts for sea-dominion, or a superior naval strength: and it cannot be denied, that he took very wise measures for that end. He erected academies for mathematical studies, and for making expert engineers, bombardiers, ship-builders, and navigators; and he divided all his sea-coasts into departments, over which he placed proper intendants, who kept exact lists of all seafaring people, obliging them by turns to serve in the royal navy for a limited term of years. By such measures, he appeared quickly on the Ocean with a formidable navy, whereby for a while he bade defiance to both the antient maritime powers. Yet in the end he was effectually convinced, that they had still an advantage over him on the watery element, after he had contracted an immense debt on that score: and that, as all monarchies, as well as individuals, have certain limits in point of power and expense, he must either quit his new project of giving law on the Ocean, or else abandon his grand projects of conquests on the land by his vast armies. The later he could not think of giving up, and therefor he was forced to drop the former. So that, towards the close of his reign, his navy was permitted to decline very much: yet his successor has since attempted both again, with as little or less reason, and even with much less success, all things being duely considered.

This year Louis XIV erected a new exclusive company for 50 years, named the royal company of St. Domingo, not only for the great island of Hispaniola, (the west end of which he had seized on and planted, though never as yet yielded to him by Spain in any treaty) but for all the other West-India islands he laid claim to. This grant was confirmed in 1716.

The lustring company now obtained an act of parliament, the preamble of which sets forth, that the company have, with great labour and charge, brought that manufacture to perfection: but that, by reason of the fraudulent importation of foreign alamodes and lustrings, they have not enjoyed the benefit intended them by the royal charter, but have wasted their time and stock in contending with many difficulties and obstructions. And it now appearing that the manufacture cannot be conducted, and secured to England, by any other means than by establishing an exclusive company for the same, it was enacted, that the said company be a perpetual corporation, with the usual powers, &c. of a body-politic, as in their charter, and that they enjoy the sole use, exercise, and benefit of making, dressing, and lustrating, plain black alamodes, renforcez, and lustrings, in England and Wales, for fourteen years. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c. 43.*] But the fashion changed; new fabrications drove out those pretty and glossy filks; and the company ran out their stock, and were quite broke up before the expiration of their exclusive term, which therefor was not renewed.

The Dutch East-India company's charter of privileges was this year renewed by the states-general for 40 years; which gave that company great encouragement and weight for carrying on their commerce to India.

The English separate traders to Guinea and other parts of the west coast of Africa, called interlopers by the royal African company, having a great advantage over that company by being at no part of the expense of forts, governors, factors, and other servants, on that coast, had by this time so far supplanted them in the negro trade, that they were rendered unable any longer to support their forts, &c. without the aid of the legislature. An act of parliament was therefor passed in their behalf; the preamble whereof sets forth, that as those forts and castles, which are undoubtedly necessary for the protection of that trade, have hitherto been maintained at the sole expense of the company, it is most reasonable, that all who trade to that coast should contribute to the support of them: wherefor, it was enacted, that, for enabling the company to support and maintain the said forts and factories, all the king's subjects, as well of England, as America, trading to the coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the said company, should pay 10 per cent *ad valorem* for all the goods and merchandize, which they should export to that coast, either from England or from America. They should pay alike 10 per cent outward, and also 10 per cent homeward, on all goods shipped from or to England or America, to and from any part of that coast between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount, (but redwood should only pay 5 per cent) negroes excepted. Gold and silver brought from any part of that coast should pay no duty at all, but might be freely landed without entry. And separate traders (now no longer to be called interlopers) should enjoy equal protection and assistance at those forts with the company's own ships and people; and they might even, at their own cost, settle factories and do all other matters there which the company might do. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c. 26.*]

Thus a trade, which had before been virtually open, was now made legally so; and, at that time, in every one's judgement, much to the benefit of the nation, more especially with relation to the commerce to our sugar colonies: for it was confessed by all, that the separate traders had considerably reduced the price of negroes to our sugar-planters; and, consequently, had so far the better enabled them to undersell our rivals. Yet we shall hereafter see, that the provision made by this law, which was to endure for thirteen years, could not effectually support the royal African company, who had the management of this duty, which, in the end, was absolutely reduced to nothing.

In the meantime, the company proceeded to trade on their own bottom, by borrowing money by their sealed bonds; and made calls on their members to the amount of £180,000 by way of additional stock,

in hopes to find the parliament sooner or later inclinable to grant them an exclusive trade; for which end they petitioned Queen Anne, in the year 1707, though without effect.

London at this time abounded with new projects and schemes, promising mountains of gold: there were also sundry rational new projects introduced, mostly by the French protestant refugees; the chief of those projectors was one Dupin, who was instrumental in advancing the manufactures of fine linen, thread, tapes, lace, &c. and of fine white writing paper. He pretended, that the court of France was so much alarmed at his first setting on foot the paper manufacture, that Barillon, the French ambassador at London, obstructed it to his utmost, and enticed the chief of our workmen into France, from the paper mills in England. But with respect to the linen manufacture, more especially in the south parts of England, it is probable it will never prove very successful; neither, perhaps, is it for England's benefit that it should succeed there, since it might not a little interfere with our antient and noble woollen manufactures, and also with the silk and steel ones, by diverting our workmen therefrom; since, in the opinion of many, the sowing of much flax in England, and the neglect of the woollen manufacture, which would inevitably follow, might probably lower the price of lands; as, observers say, it requires about twenty acres of land to breed wool for setting on work the same number of hands which one acre of flax would employ: and yet, in the end, the woollen manufacture will be found to employ by far the greatest number of hands, and yield the most profit to the public, as well as to the manufacturers. That even in the linen manufactures of Holland, the Dutch have only the easiest and most profitable part thereof, viz, the weaving and whitening of it; for it is said, that most of the yarn is spun in Germany, Prussia, &c. where the people, being poor, can spin cheaper than the people of Holland or England can do. But in countries where labour and lands are cheap, as in Scotland and Ireland, the linen manufacture has been found to be profitable to the community. The farther planting of the new colonies in America, with such projects at home as insurance offices, saltpetre works, copper-mines, penny-post project, and many more, were now much in vogue: 'so have I seen,' says the author of an Essay on projects, printed in the preceding year, 'shares of joint-stocks, and other undertakings, blown up by the air of great words, and the name of some man of credit concerned, to perhaps L100 for one five hundredth part or share, and yet at last dwindle to nothing.' Writers about this time complain heavily, 'that the Royal exchange of London was crowded with projects, wagers, fairy companies of new manufactures and inventions, stock-jobbers, &c. so that very soon after this time, the transacting of this airy trade of jobbing was justly removed from off

‘ the Royal exchange into the place called Exchange-alley, where it is still carried on *.’

This year the house of peers addressed King William to discourage the woollen manufactures of Ireland, the increase of which had given umbrage to the people of England: and to encourage the linen manufacture of that kingdom, pursuant to an act of parliament in 1696, already mentioned; which has since been brought to great perfection in that kingdom. The house of commons likewise addressed the king to induce the people of Ireland to cultivate the joint interest of both kingdoms; and that, as Ireland is dependent on, and protected by, England, the Irish would be content to apply themselves to the linen manufacture; whereby they would enrich themselves and be beneficial to England at the same time; both which points have since been effected in a great measure.

The French now began a settlement at the mouth of the river Mississippi in the Spanish province of Florida; since grown up to be a considerable French colony. Their main intention herein, as has since plainly appeared, being to open a communication from thence to their colony of Canada, thereby to hem in the English colonies, so as to engross the whole Indian trade to themselves.

Before we leave this year, it may not be amiss to take notice of what D’Avenant has remarked concerning the increase of the people of England, in the second part of his Discourses on the public revenues and trade of England, (published in this year, *p.* 196, octavo) viz. ‘ that there are almost undeniable reasons to be drawn from political arithmetic, that, since the year 1600, we are increased in number of inhabitants about 900,000, which could not be, if the plantations were such a drain of the people, as is injurious to the commonwealth.’

We cannot forget two good statutes of this session for the benefit of inland commerce. The first was for determining differences by arbitration, whereby merchants, traders, and others, desiring to end any controversy (for which there is no other remedy but by personal action or suit in equity) by arbitration, might agree the submission of their suit to the award of any person or persons, which should be made a rule of any court of record; by which agreement, so made and inserted in their submission, the parties should be finally concluded by such arbitration. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c.* 15.

The other, for the better payment of inland bills of exchange, enacts, that all bills of exchange, drawn in England, for L5, or upward, to any other place in England, and payable at a certain number of days, weeks, or months, after date, shall, after presentation and acceptance, which ac-

* From Change-alley the trade in government funds has again removed to a building, erected by a subscription among the stock-brokers, called the stock-exchange: and a great part of it is also transacted in the bank. *M.*

ceptance shall be by under-writing the same under the party's hand so accepting. And after the expiration of three days after the bill shall become due, the party to whom the bill is made payable, his servant, agent, or assigns, may, and shall cause the bill to be protested by a notary public, or any other substantial person of the city, town, or place, in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, refusal or neglect being first made of due payment, which protest shall be made and written under a fair-written copy of the said bill, signifying, that I, A. B. on the — day of —, at the usual place of abode of the said C. D. have demanded payment of the bill of which this is a copy; which the said C. D. did not pay: wherefor I the said A. B. do hereby protest the said bill. Dated at — this day of —. Which protest shall, within fourteen days after, be sent, or otherwise due notice shall be given thereof, to the party from whom the bill was received, and who, upon producing such protest, shall repay the bill, together with interest and charges: and, on default of such protest, (for which 6*d* only shall be paid) or due notice, the person so failing shall be liable to all costs, damages, and interest, accruing thereby: provided, that if any such bill be lost or miscarried within the time limited for payment, the drawer shall be obliged to give another bill; the person to whom it is sent giving security, if demanded, to the drawer, to indemnify him, in case the lost bill shall be found again. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c. 17.*]

Private and fallacious lotteries were at this time become general, not only in London, but in most other great cities and towns of England, whereby the lower people, and the servants and children of good families, were defrauded: an act of parliament was therefor passed, for suppressing such lotteries; even though they might be set up under colour of patents or grants under the great seal, such grants or patents, against the common good, welfare, and peace, of the kingdom, being void, and against law: and a penalty of £500 was laid on the proprietors of any such lotteries, and of £20 on every adventurer in them. [10, 11 *Gul. III, c. 17.*]

1699.—During the unsettled times of the East-India trade, the old East-India company's stock, by the management of stock-jobbers, had, in about nine or ten years past, been sold on the exchange at from 300 per cent down to 37 per cent.

Captain Dampier, in the king's ship the *Roebuck*, having failed upon new discoveries, after various adventures found that the easternmost part of New Guinea did not join to the continent, but was, in fact, an island, which he therefor called New-Britain.

Complaints being still loud concerning the wool and woollen manufactures of Ireland exported into foreign parts; and that even those of our North-American plantations began to be likewise exported to foreign markets, formerly supplied by England; a law was thereupon

made to prevent the exportation of wool out of the kingdoms of Ireland and England into foreign parts; and for the encouragement of the English woollen manufactures. Whereby, 1) No wool, nor manufactures of wool, were to be exported from Ireland to any part of the world, but to England, and only to the ports of Biddeford, Barnstaple, Minehead, Bridgewater, Bristol, Milfordhaven, Chester, and Liverpool; and only from the Irish ports of Dublin, Waterford, Youghall, Kingfale, Cork, and Drogheda, under forfeiture of ships and cargoes, and also of L500 penalty. The like penalties were also inflicted on those who should carry wool or woollen manufactures * of the English plantations in America, by land or water, to any place out of the king's dominions. [10, 11 *Gul. III, c. 10.*]

Dr. Gemelli, who returned this year from his six years travels round the globe, treating of the Portuguese conquests in East India, observes, that the remains of those conquests are so very inconsiderable as scarcely to defray their own expense. At Goa, they have that small island, with three or four other inconsiderable ones near it. On the north coast, the fortresses of Daman, Bazaim, and Chaul. In the kingdom of Guzarat, they have Diu. Near China, the islands of Timor, Solor, and the colony of Macao, subject to China. In Africa, they have Angola, Sena, Sofala, Mozambique, and Mombaza; many in number, but of no great value.

The admission to the freedom of the English Russia company was made more easy by an act [10, 11 *Gul. III, c. 6*] which directed, that after lady-day 1699 every subject desiring admission into that fellowship should pay no more than L5 for the same. The commissioners of the customs were also required to lay before both houses of parliament annual accounts of all naval stores, imported from Russia into England. Though no reason is assigned for this order, it is more than probable, that the legislature had in their thoughts the encouragement of the importation of naval stores from our American plantations.

By another statute, [*same session, c. 25*] several regulations were made concerning the Newfoundland trade and fishery: such as, its being made perfectly free for all subjects alike to trade thither, and to fish on its banks: that the first fishing ship arriving at any of the harbours or creeks of Newfoundland shall be deemed admiral there for that season: the second ship so arriving shall be vice-admiral; and the third shall be rear-admiral. Those three admirals shall have power to decide controversies concerning places or stations in harbours, stages, cook-rooms, &c. there. Moreover, every bye-boat-keeper there shall carry with him two fresh men in every six, viz. one that hath made but one voyage, and one that never was at sea before. And every inhabitant shall em-

* This is the first mention in the statute book of woollen manufactures in the American colonies. *A*

ploy two such fresh men for every boat kept by him. Also every master of a fishing ship shall carry with him one that never was at sea before, for every five men he shall carry. And, for the preservation of timber on the island of Newfoundland, no person shall rind any of the trees, nor shall set on fire any of the woods, &c.

Though the post-office revenue of England be not accountable annually to the parliament, as other branches are, it being properly part of the private revenue of the crown; yet (as has been elsewhere observed) that revenue being a kind of politico-mercantile pulse, whereby to judge of the increase or decrease of the nation's general commerce, we shall here therefor observe, that in a printed letter to a member of parliament, concerning the debts of the nation, (published in 1701) the net revenue of the post-office for the year 1699 is said to have been £90,504 : 10 : 6*.

By D'Avenant's reports to the commissioners of accounts, [anno 1712, *part ii*, *p.* 71] there was exported from England this year, to all parts, - - - - - £6,788,166

Whereof in our woollen manufactures to the value of 2,932,292

This authentic view of the vast importance of our woollen manufacture exported highly merits the constant remembrance of the public, being considerably above two fifth parts of our whole exports.

The judicious Mr. Wood also, in his Survey of trade, [*p.* 46] tells us, that in the year 1662 the total exports from England were £2,022,812

Ditto anno 1699, as per D'Avenant - - - - - 6,788,166

Vast increase of our exports since 1662 - - - - - 4,765,334

Several authors think that the value of all the wool shorn annually in England may amount to - - - - - £2,000,000

The manufacturing whereof is computed to cost - - - - - 6,000,000

And that, when manufactured, its total value is increased to - - - - - 8,000,000

Of which many since that time think we annually export near one

* While the correspondence of England produced a considerable revenue (which however is here over-rated) to the sovereign, that of Scotland appears to have been unable to support its own expense. 'In 1698, Sir Robert Sinclair of Steven-
'son had a grant from King William of the whole
'revenue of the post-office of Scotland, with a pen-
'sion of £300 a-year, to keep up the post. Sir Ro-

'bert, after deliberation, gave up the grant, as
'thinking it disadvantageous.' The revenue
arising to government from the postages of Scot-
land soon became considerable. In our own times
it has been very great; and of late years it has in-
creased prodigiously. See Mr. Creech's letter in
the Statistical account of Scotland, V. vi, *p.* 586. M.

half; more especially since the late increased demand from our own American plantations*.

1700.—The king of France at this time erected a new council of commerce, consisting of his principal ministers of state and finances, and of twelve of the principal merchants of his kingdom, viz. two of Paris, and ten from the cities of Rouen, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Marseille, Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo, Lisle, Bayonne, and Dunkirk; to meet at least once in every week, for treating of all commercial matters, as well by land as by sea, at home and beyond sea: to receive proposals, schemes, petitions, &c. and to determine commercial controversies: also to encourage works, manufactures, &c. The twelve merchants to be annually elected by the magistrates of the cities.

From the very first erection of this famous new council, or board of commerce, we have good ground to date the great and almost surprising increase of the commerce, woollen manufacture, mercantile shipping, and foreign colonies, of France.

The wear of Indian wrought silks, stuffs, and calicoes, was become so universal in England at this time, and the complaints thereof so loud, that it was now thought high time to remedy so great an evil. The preamble to the statute observes, that the continuance of the trade to the East-Indies, in the same manner and proportions as it hath been for two years last past, must inevitably be to the great detriment of the kingdom, by exhausting the treasure thereof, melting down the coin, and taking away the labour of the people, whereby very many of the manufacturers of this nation are become excessively burdensome and chargeable to their respective parishes, and others are thereby compelled to seek for employment in foreign parts. This grievance was greatly heightened by the double importations by two East-India companies, which raised a great clamour in Spitalfields, Norwich, Canterbury, Coventry, &c. whereby also a double quantity of silver was exported to India.

A statute was therefor passed for more effectually employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactures of this kingdom, enacting, that from michaelmas 1701 all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs, mixed with silk or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East-India; and also all calicoes, printed, painted, dyed, or stained, there, should be locked up in warehouses appointed by the commissioners of the customs, till re-exported; so as none of the said goods should be worn or used, in either apparel or furniture, in England, on forfeiture thereof, and also

* From a paper in the *Philosophical transactions*, [V. xxi, p. 230] it appears that a vessel which was thought 'a large ship,' was built at Inverness for the service of Venice. The writer does not say, when she was built; but the paper is dated 1699; and from Fletcher of Saltoun's second discourse

concerning the affairs of Scotland, written in the year 1698, the Scots and the Venetians seem to have been then on friendly terms. In the thirteenth century a French nobleman had a ship built at Inverness, which for her bulk was esteemed wonderful. [*M. Paris*, p. 771, ed. 1640.] M.

of £200 penalty on the person having, or selling, any of them. [11, 12 *Gul. III, c. 10.*]

This wholesome law greatly revived the drooping spirits of our own silk and stuff manufacturers.

By another statute of this session [*c. 11*] for making the laws more effectual against the importation of foreign bone-lace, needle-work, &c. they were again to be re-admitted three months after the prohibition of the English woollen manufactures in Flanders should be taken off. The prohibition of our woollen manufactures in Flanders, which was found very detrimental to us, was occasioned by our prohibition of their lace, &c. wherefor we were now obliged to repeal that law, in order that our woollen manufactures might be re-admitted into Flanders.

The states of the United Netherlands, and the protestant princes of Germany, now adopted the new style in all their deeds, acts, &c.

An act was passed [11, 12 *Gul. III, c. 20*] whereby our own woollen manufactures, corn, and grain, of all kinds, as also meal, malt, pulse, and bread, were exempted from paying any duty on exportation.

In the month of November 1700 King Charles II of Spain departed this life. The French king had managed that weak prince's will absolutely in favour of his grandson the duke of Anjou, and thereupon seized on the entire Spanish monarchy, without regarding the last partition treaty. Hereby the greatest part of Europe was justly alarmed, and most especially the emperor, England, and Holland. By Louis's seizing on Milan, and other imperial fiefs in Italy, the emperor and empire were nearly concerned. By his seizing on the Spanish Netherlands the Dutch were deprived of a barrier against France. And by his possession of Spain itself, both England's and Holland's great commerce in the Mediterranean lay much at his mercy, as did also their West-India commerce, by his dispatching ships of war to take possession of the Spanish dominions in America. Yet both England and Holland found themselves obliged so far to temporize, as at first to recognize his grandson for king of Spain, being as yet in no condition to oppose his title, or openly to favour, what was more for their interest, the claim of the house of Austria to the Spanish monarchy. This grand event occasioned much terror in England, and the prices of the national funds and public stocks were so deeply affected thereby, as to sink so low as 50 per cent, whereby great distress ensued to many; and, on the other hand, it afforded great advantages to the monied men. Thereby also the credit of the bank of England was much shaken for a time.

This year King William concluded a defensive treaty with King Charles XII of Sweden, for 18 years: stipulating, in substance, not to shelter the rebellious subjects of each other: to assist each other, when attacked, with 6000 auxiliary foot soldiers: and that, nevertheless, either party might lawfully carry on commerce with the country with

which the other might be at war, and against whom the said auxiliary forces may have been sent.

1701—There were two particular points in the act for settling the East-India trade, which proved extremely embarrassing, viz.

The leave given to all corporations (the bank of England excepted) to subscribe in their corporate capacity; whereby the old East-India company got into the new one in the manner already related: and the insertion of the words, 'or any', after the word 'all', in the clause giving the king a power to incorporate the contributors into a joint-stock company, which left room for some of the contributors of the general society (as proved actually the case) to decline coming into the new joint-stock company, and instead thereof, to go on as separate traders to India.

Both those difficulties might easily have been prevented, especially the first, seeing an equivalent might have been assigned to the old company for their forts, privileges, &c. and the separate traders might also have been bought off, they amounting only to £7,200 principal, with their annual fund of £576 at 8 per cent, who chose, by virtue of that act, to trade solely and separately: whereby the capital stock of the new corporation was in fact but £1,992,800, and their annual fund but £159,424. These separate traders afterwards gave much trouble to the new company, till by a law of the next reign an end was put to them, and both companies consolidated into the present united company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

This year the contest between the two East-India companies became exceedingly hot, it being about the time that a new parliament was to take place; and both companies strove to gain the court, as well as the new members of the house of commons. The spirit of this time may in some measure be seen, by many warm pamphlets then published; such as, 'the Freeholders plea against stock-jobbing of elections of parliament-men, quarto, 1701:' 'the Villainy of stock-jobbers detected, &c. quarto, 1701;' and many more. And at the two coffeehouses near the Royal exchange, which still retain the names of Garraway's and Jonathan's, affairs were in those pamphlets made so important, as to be said then to prepare and direct the greatest business of the nation. The two companies were at this time reckoned to have no fewer than 60 ships at sea; and great was the emulation at their public sales. These considerations made the government see the absolute necessity of composing their fierce contentions by a coalition, which was at length complied with, though not formally concluded in King William's reign.

We may now see, how great a progress the French council of commerce had made, in about one year after their establishment, in the knowledge of the true commercial interests of France. And as it will display their great judgement, zeal, and diligence for the improvement

of their commerce and colonies, it will, at the same time, afford us very useful and interesting hints and notices, for putting us on our guard against the growing commerce of so active and enterprising a people.

‘ They justly remark, that the commerce to Guinea has so close a relation to that of their West-India isles, that the later cannot subsist without the former.

‘ By those trades we have deprived our competitors in traffic, of the great profits they drew from us *. And we may put ourselves into a condition, by their example, to draw profit in our turn from them; and especially from the English.

‘ That we may increase those trades considerably, seeing that nation, (i. e. England) ‘ in their islands, with less advantage than we, and in territories of less extent, as well as in much less time, have found means to employ annually above 500 sail of ships, whilst we scarcely employ 100 in the same trade.

‘ Every one is sensible of the benefits of navigation; and that the happiness and glory of a state very much depend on it. No one is ignorant, that the navigation of France owes all its increase and splendour to the commerce of its islands, and that it cannot be kept up nor enlarged otherwise than by this commerce, which is more beneficial than all others of the long voyages which are driven by the French; because carried on without the exportation of money, as well as without the aid of foreign goods and manufactures; so as none but the subjects of France reap the profits of it †.’

Next follows a brief representation of the present state of the French American islands, viz.

‘ 1. The small island, with the terra firma, of Cayenne’ (on the coast of Guiana) ‘ comes first in view. Its coast is about 60 leagues in extent; though not above 12 are inhabited: its soil is very good, and its sugars near equal to the white sugars of Brasil: it has not above 600 white people, and about 2000 negroes; so that this large tract of land is almost uninhabited. And being situated nearly in the parallel of the Moluccos, where the fine spices grow, it is believed it might be easy to cultivate them there, and thereby save the purchasing of them from the Dutch: the rather, in that the Portuguese on this side of the river of Amazons, in a situation more distant from the equinoctial line, have cinnamon ‡.’

‘ 2. Granada is about 25 leagues in circuit. Its white inhabitants about 200, and negroes 600: produces sugar, excellent indigo, cotton,

* Meaning our sugar, cotton, and ginger land will soon be sufficient to supply the assortments of linen-drapery for our West-India islands. A.

† The great linen manufacture of France enabled them to make this remark. It is to be hoped that the manufactures of Britain and Ire-

‡ That cinnamon is a bastard kind, and worth very little. A.

' &c. Its soil is good ; and the colony might be considerably augment-
' ed.'

' 3. Martinique is the principal colony : about 60 leagues in circuit ;
' has a good soil, abounding in sugar and cacao, with some indigo, cot-
' ton, &c. It had formerly 3500 men bearing arms, and 16,000 ne-
' groes. It has three good harbours, fundry good roads for shipping,
' and two small unwall'd towns, with a good fort at Cul-de-sac-royal.'

' 4. Guadaloupe has a pretty good soil, producing fine sugar, cotton,
' and ginger. It is not peopled ; though it had formerly 1500 men
' bearing arms, and 8000 negroes.'

' 5. Marigalante has a pretty good soil, which produces sugar, indigo,
' cotton, and ginger. It was taken in the last war by the English, who
' afterwards abandoned it ; though it has not been able to recover itself,
' having but three or four sugar plantations as yet.'

' 6. Santa-Cruz had formerly 600 men bearing arms, and many su-
' gar plantations. It was abandoned last war, because difficult to be
' kept ; and its inhabitants transported to St. Domingo. Yet this is a
' very good island, producing sugar, indigo, and cotton ; has a good
' and safe harbour, and a very good basin for careening ships.'

' 7. The last colony of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola ; about 500
' leagues in circuit. The one half of it is possessed by France, from
' Cape François to the isle of Vaches, and the Spaniards have the other
' half. At Cape François there is a good port, 900 men bearing arms,
' and 2000 negroes. The district of Leogane is considerable : it is the
' seat of the French governor and sovereign courts : it has 2000 men
' bearing arms, and 15,000 negroes. Petit-guaves has a good port ;
' has 600 whites, and 2000 negroes. There are some other isles, as Les
' Saintes, St. Martin, and St. Bartholomew ; but of very little import-
' ance, and almost uninhabited.'

After reflections on those islands being badly conducted by a com-
pany, and of the selfishness, &c. of exclusive companies in general, they
add, ' it is not the Canada company's fault too, that that colony is not
' entirely ruined. It is' (say they) ' a most certain maxim, that no-
' thing but competition and liberty in trade can render commerce benefi-
' cial to the state ; and that all monopolies or traffic, appropriated to com-
' panies exclusive of others, are inconceivably burdensome and pernicious
' to it.' Next they condemn the ' Guinea company, as enhancing
' the price of negroes. And that, in time of war, (like the dog in the
' manger) they would neither carry negroes from Guinea themselves,
' nor suffer others so to do, being possessed of exclusive powers : that
' the many prizes, taken in the last war from the English, have shewn
' to France how rich and useful that commerce is. Wherefor they
' advise the abolition of all companies. Also to lower the duty on su-
' gar, and permit French ships to carry that commodity to foreign

‘ ports directly. About forty years ago’ (i. e. about the year 1661) ‘ the French were little versed in commerce and navigation: it was therefore then thought necessary to form companies, to engage them to strike out tracks of commerce for the king’s subjects, which then were unknown to them. Yet such exclusive grants ought only to be for a limited number of years*.’ They go on to inveigh against such exclusive grants; as, ‘ 1st, that to the port of Marseille, for the sole trade to the Levant; 2dly, the East-India company; 3dly, the prohibiting of foreign raw silk to be carried to Nismes, Tours, Paris, &c. till it had passed through Lyons; thereby tending only to make it dearer; 4thly, divers farms of certain merchandize in trade, &c. destructive to the freedom of commerce.’

In treating of France’s trade to Spain, we learn the vast quantity of merchandize of all kinds then carried thither. Concerning which country, they truly remark, ‘ that the Spaniards, who have within themselves wool, silk, oil, wine, with an excellent soil, producing many things proper for the sustenance of life, and for the establishment of noble manufactures, and are in no want of good ports, both in the Ocean and Mediterranean, do, nevertheless, neglect all those advantages; whence it follows, that they stand in need of the assistance of all other nations, who thereby exhaust them of their gold and silver, and fetch away their raw materials for their own manufactures, as the raw silk of Valencia, Granada, Murcia, &c. to France; the wool of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Leon, &c. to England, Holland, France, and Italy, for the very manufactures with which they afterward supply Spain. That in return for the French manufactures, &c. shipped for Cadiz, and thence in the galleons to Peru and Mexico, they have cochineal, indigo, Vigonia wool, hides, &c. and, in peaceable times, over and above, before the last wars, they received in money a balance of eighteen or twenty millions of livres, and by the flotas seven or eight millions more. But for some years past, since the English, Dutch, Hamburgers, and others, have imitated some of our manufactures, it is certain that our returns’ (i. e. the balance in France’s favour) ‘ are reduce to a small matter. They wish his Catholic majesty would lay aside entirely the Spanish garb, and introduce French fashions, and abolish the use of English bays, so much worn in his dominions both in Europe and America, &c. for the benefit of France.’

In speaking of the French Levant trade, they say, ‘ that the English carry on that trade to much more advantage than the French, their woollen cloths being better and cheaper. The English also carry to the Levant, lead, pewter, copperas, and logwood, which are goods they are masters of, together with a great deal of pepper; and, that

* Several such are, however, in force in France to this day. A.

‘ they may not drain their country of its gold and silver, they also take
 ‘ in dry fish of their own catching, sugar of their own colonies, and
 ‘ other goods of their own product, which they sell on the coasts of
 ‘ Portugal, Spain, and Italy, for pieces of eight, which they carry to
 ‘ the Levant, to make up a stock sufficient for purchasing their home-
 ‘ ward cargoes. Upon this plan, it would be more advantageous for
 ‘ France to permit her ports on the Ocean to carry on this trade direct-
 ‘ ly to the Levant, without being obliged, ever since the year 1669, to
 ‘ unload at Marseille on their return, on the pretence of preventing
 ‘ their bringing in the plague, which has obliged them to relinquish that
 ‘ trade entirely. And by the edict of 1685, 20 per cent was laid on all
 ‘ Levant merchandize imported, for preventing the western ports from
 ‘ being supplied therewith, as they before had been, from England and
 ‘ Holland. Thus Marseille alone thrives in this commerce, though by
 ‘ its being a free port, by its nearer situation to the Levant, and by a
 ‘ settled correspondence there, it would always have advantages enough
 ‘ over the ports of the Ocean, without the distasteful and impolitically
 ‘ exclusive trade.’

To this the deputy from Marseille replied, 1st, ‘ the towns on the
 ‘ Ocean can neither in themselves, nor in their neighbourhood, find
 ‘ consumption for divers gross merchandize which the Marseille ships
 ‘ are obliged to take in for making up their lading. 2dly, the duty of
 ‘ 20 per cent was laid for preventing the English and Dutch Levant
 ‘ goods from being run into France by the ports of Dunkirk and Rouen.
 ‘ 3dly, Marseille has within itself and the neighbouring provinces all
 ‘ kinds of manufactures and assortments proper for the Levant trade,
 ‘ &c. To this the deputies from the ports on the Ocean replied, by de-
 ‘ nyng most of the allegations of Marseille.’ And so the dispute end-
 ed for that time. We have too much ground to lament the great in-
 crease of France’s Levant commerce, and the decrease of our Turkey
 company’s commerce since that council’s memorial.

This new board farther represented to the king’s council, (after de-
 claring, that it was in no derogation from nobility, (‘ noblesse’)* to be
 a wholesale merchant, though not a retailer; and that gentlemen who
 are merchants should for the future in all assemblies precede other
 merchants) ‘ that the appellation of merchant being too general and
 ‘ extensive †, it is necessary to settle a distinction; and that those who
 ‘ trade by wholesale by sea or land be named negociants, and that re-
 ‘ tailers only be called merchants; and no retailer to take the name of

* *Noblesse* in France includes not only those whom we call noblemen, but also the gentry. *A.*

† *Marchand*, unless the sense be now narrowed by this new distinction, comprehends all dealers, from the highest to the lowest, e. g. *marchand negociant*, a merchant; *marchand drapier*, a woollen-draper; *marchand d’œufs*, a higgler of eggs. *A.*

‘negociant under a pecuniary penalty, and a like penalty on mechanics stiling themselves merchants.’

That board farther proposed, ‘to take off the duty of 50 sols per ton from the shipping of the northern crowns, in order to allure them to trade with France, on as advantageous a footing as the Dutch do, who had that duty remitted by the peace of Ryfwick. That the principal end for laying on that duty, was to confine the coasting navigation to French shipping alone, which had before been wholly carried on by foreign bottoms, much to the prejudice of France. But as it also affected the voyages of the English and Dutch to France, those two nations were obliged to lay a like duty on French ships coming into their ports.

‘It was very provident in the Dutch to obtain the remission of that duty, seeing by the French custom-house books it appeared that the Dutch had possession of almost all the commerce from France to those northern nations: that duty, before the Dutch were exempted, yielding 700,000 livres yearly, but now only 100,000. That the moderate duties in Holland give the Dutch considerable advantages, as does also their good husbandry in their navigation, scarcely imitable by any other nation. Thereby do they retain navigation and trade to themselves, and get into their hands the effects of other nations selling them again to great profit. By such methods they have made their provinces the storehouse of Europe, from whence other nations are obliged to furnish themselves. In brief, the Dutch having thus made themselves masters of the inland trade of France, by the help of the refugees, and by commissions from the new converts*, and the factors they have in all our ports, they there sell goods cheaper than even the wholesale merchants of France can do, and are enabled to supply the French retailers as well as the northern nations, with assortments of goods. So that while this is the case, no wholesale business can be managed by the French, nor any great commerce carried on directly between the French and the northern nations.

‘For all which reasons this board proposes to suppress the duty of 50 sols per ton.

‘Or else to prevent the entrance into France of all commodities of the north, which shall have been before landed in any other country, and shall not be brought hither directly from the place of their growth or manufacture. To this the deputies from Nantes replied, that the Dutch trade to the Baltic was so well settled, that they will ever govern the prices of all merchandize going to, or coming from, the north. Because, carrying thither their own manufactures and merchandize, and especially their spices, of which the northern people

* The protestants of France who *profess* the catholic religion. A.

' are very fond, they can afford to take off the corn, timber, iron, copper, flax, hemp, &c. of the north at high rates, and yet they are generally cheaper at Amsterdam than in the places they were brought from, because of the great gains they (the Amsterdammers) make by the assortments they carry to the north. And the Dutch commerce to Portugal is likewise on the same footing. For these and such reasons,' said the Nantois, ' we fear we cannot depend on being regularly supplied with every thing directly from the north. The Dutch, moreover, take off very great quantities of our wines and brandies, which they brew, mix, and fit, to the taste of the northern people. These reflections apply not only to Holland, but also to Hamburgh, which city is likewise a staple or storehouse for all the trade of the north, and is usually very helpful to us in taking off our commodities, and in supplying us with what we want. Another powerful reason is, the frequent alteration of our coin, which absolutely prevents foreigners from sending us their ships and merchandize *.'

The other deputies replied, ' that it was plain, those of Nantes owned the evils which the board complained of, particularly that the retailers in France carry on a disadvantageous trade with the Dutch; and that it is certainly more sure and more profitable for us to sell our goods at home, than to carry them to the northern people to sell. In the first case, it is we who give the law; in the other, we receive it. No merchant is ignorant of the effects of this difference, the one being ever profitable, the other very uncertain and often very pernicious, and the common source of bankruptcies.' They add a little further: ' we have heretofore seen 5000 foreign ships come into the kingdom to take them off, but our being deprived of trade with the English, and our duty of 50 sols per ton, have interrupted this great commerce †.' In farther answer to those of Nantes, the council ' disallows, that corn and other commodities of the north are sold cheaper in Holland than in the places from whence they are fetched. ' For,' say they, ' this never happens, but when the quantities imported into Holland are so large that they exceed the consumption or demand for them: in this therefor,' say they, ' there is nothing extraordinary, being the case everywhere else. As they plead only for having the northern goods brought in alone, and directly from the places of their growth and manufacture, without being first landed in any other country, they cannot believe that the Dutch will, on France's making such a regulation, suffer above 4000 ships, which they employ

* The blind policy of altering the national currency has often been ruinous to France, which ought to be a lesson to other nations to guard against it with the strictest vigilance. See *Le Blanc sur les monoyes Francoises*. M.

† This new board of trade were not sufficiently

sensible of the value of the carrying trade. But it must be acknowledged that their arguments apply with greater force to perishable goods (and such most of the French commodities are) than to those which can wait a reasonable time for a market. A

‘ between France and the northern nations, to lie rotting in their ports :
 ‘ but rather than not be employed, will let them fetch the northern
 ‘ merchandize directly from thence into the ports of France, as now
 ‘ proposed.’

Besides the said objections of the deputy of Nantes, he of Marseille urged, ‘ that the voyage from Dantzick, or even from Copenhagen, to
 ‘ Marseille, is too long for a ship to go and come with certainty in one
 ‘ season, considering the ice and the long nights : and that therefor
 ‘ there is no avoiding the use of entreports,’ (i. e. middle-way or half-way ports) ‘ for the trade of Marseille *.’

The deputy from Bayonne objected, ‘ that their commerce with their
 ‘ neighbours of Spain could not be continued in competition with the
 ‘ Dutch, had they not the liberty of supplying themselves from entre-
 ‘ ports at seasonable times, as they have occasion, with wax, cacao-
 ‘ nuts, &c.’

The deputy of Nantes, *inter alia*, farther replied, ‘ that it was to be
 ‘ feared this novelty may confirm the English in their obstinacy of con-
 ‘ tinuing their high exclusive duties on French goods ; and that while
 ‘ that commerce subsisted with England,’ (for at this time the near ap-
 ‘ proach of a war interrupted it), ‘ we constantly furnished them with
 ‘ the merchandize of France, to the value of many millions more than
 ‘ we consumed of theirs. He also farther urged against this proposed
 ‘ regulation the consideration, that the productions of France are al-
 ‘ most all perishable, and that therefor we cannot be too circumspect in
 ‘ cultivating a good understanding with foreign nations, which surely is
 ‘ not to be done by prescribing laws to them.’

The board justly inveigh against the practice of their grand monarch,
 ‘ of granting monopolies or farms to particular persons, to be the sole
 ‘ venders of certain commodities, as being most ruinous to trade.

‘ As, I) lead from England, which supplied their own wants, and
 ‘ with which France also supplied Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland,
 ‘ the Levant, and the French West-Indies, granted solely, as to shot,
 ‘ to one person.

‘ II) The sole making, furnishing, and distributing, of saltpetre and
 ‘ gunpowder.

‘ III) Other monopolists for provisions, &c. These make themselves
 ‘ masters of all the good branches of trade, by means of their privi-
 ‘ leges, to the great prejudice of the public. And we are of opinion,
 ‘ that it is for the good of the state to suppress them all : and to lay
 ‘ open those branches of trade, whereby our navigation will increase,
 ‘ and the king will receive much more duties than those he gets by the
 ‘ monopolies.’

* The dread of a *long* voyage from the north to the south parts of Europe contributed in a great measure to make Antwerp in former times the general magazine of Europe. *A.*

Thus this otherwise-sagacious monarch, for the sake of an immediate sum advanced by the monopolists and farmers, occasioned incredible hurt to many thousands of families, and the real loss of much commerce to his kingdom: which practice he nevertheless continued to the end of his life. The remainder of the memorial relates to the regulation of their coin, and reducing the proportion of silver to gold to the same standard as in England and Holland: 'whereas in France it approaches too near to that in Spain; which country, being the source of silver, does not trouble itself to use any arts to draw our coin thither; besides that the Spaniards are always our debtors on account of the trade to the West-Indies.'

The proportions are,

'I) In England and Holland, $14\frac{1}{8}$; or near 15 marks of silver buys a mark of gold.

'II) In Spain, $16\frac{1}{4}$ ditto.

'III) In France, $15\frac{4}{8}$, or very near $15\frac{1}{4}$.'

Against raising the nominal value of their silver coin higher than is contained in its intrinsic quantity of pure bullion, this board's reasonings corresponded exactly with those of our great Locke about seven years before. Upon the whole, their representations to the royal council are so full of historical matter, not only for the commerce of France, but of England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, &c. that we could not excuse ourselves from giving a complete, though compendious, account of so useful and entertaining a subject.

We shall here only farther remark, that, had the French afterwards strictly pursued all that is therein so judiciously laid down, they might have been much more considerable in commerce than they are even now. But to this very day they have continued many monopolies and exclusive grants, which the other commercial countries of Europe have no reason to find fault with; and their court has also frequently, and sometimes shamefully, varied and enhanced the nominal value of their coin beyond its intrinsic value, to serve temporary expedients, though to the general prejudice of their people.

On the 12th of June 1701 was passed the ever-memorable act of the English parliament [12 *Gul. III, c. 2*] for the farther limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject; whereby the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, now on the throne, was most happily established.

On the 16th of September [N. S.] in this same year, 1701, King James II died at St. Germain in France; and thereupon the French king having declared his son king of the British realms, Lord Manchester, the English ambassador, was instantly recalled from France, and the French ambassador was ordered forthwith to depart the realm. Both

fides therefor prepared for war, though not formally declared till after King William's death.

The great elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia, (Frederick William) for his services and attachment to the common interests of the German empire, and of the grand alliance just formed against France, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe, was, by the interest of his kinsman King William of England, recognized by most of the princes and states in Europe as king of Prussia in this year 1701; his large dominions and revenues very well suiting the high dignity he now assumed.

From a monthly Political state of Great Britain for November 1721, we have the value of all the merchandize imported from, and exported to, the following countries of the north, from michaelmas 1697, after the peace of Ryfwick, to christmas 1701, being yearly upon an average as follows, viz.

	Imported from	Exported to	Annual loss.
Denmark and Norway,	L76,215	L39,543	L36,672
East country,	181,296	149,893	31,403
Russia,	112,252	58,884	53,368
Sweden,	212,094	57,555	154,539

Total annual loss to England on an average, L275,982 *

On the 7th of September 1701, the grand alliance of the emperor Leopold, William king of Great Britain, and the states-general of the United Netherlands, was concluded against France, for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and for the security of England and Holland, and of the Hanover succession to the crown of Great Britain, as well as for a safe barrier to the United Netherlands: and thus all things were prepared for war prior to the death of King William †.

1702.—King William died on the 8th of March (new stile) 1702, and

* This account will in some measure be confirmed by comparing it with another from the same author in the year 1716. *A.*

† From the returns to the circular letters of the commissioners of the customs it appears, that in January 1701-2 there belonged to all the ports of England 3281 vessels, measuring (or rather estimated at) 261,222 tons, and carrying 27,196 men and 5660 guns. Of these there belonged to

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
Hull, -	115	7,564	187
Whitby, -	110	8,292	571
Liverpool, -	102	8,619	1,101
Scarburgh, -	100	6,860	606

None of the other ports had 100 vessels; but Newcastle had 63 vessels measuring 11,000 tons, and Ipswich had 39 measuring 11,170, being on an average 271 tons; if, indeed, there be no mistake in the number. Of the Hull vessels 80 were at this time laid up, which accounts for the small number of men in that port. It is worth while to observe that the *fishing* town of Yarmouth was the third in England in the number of vessels. *M.*

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
London, -	560	84,882	10,065
Bristol, -	165	17,338	2,359
Yarmouth, -	143	9,914	668
Exeter, -	121	7,107	978

was succeeded by his sister-in-law Anne, the daughter of the abdicated king.

D'Avenant [in his *Essay on loans*, 1700] observes, that, 'when upon the revolution the parliament fell most willingly into the war, as a thing the enemy, by espousing King James's interest, made absolutely necessary, the first branch of our expense was carried on in the common road of levying taxes, and the money required for every year's expense was raised and paid within the year. The nation was rich, trade prodigiously great, paper-credit ran high, and the goldsmiths in Lombard street, &c. commanded immense sums. Anticipations were indeed in practice; they had been so of old; and borrowing clauses were added to the bills of aid; but these lasted but a few months: the money came in of course, and they were paid off in their turn. Land-taxes, polls, additional duties of customs, excises, and the like, were the ways and means by which these things were done. The year generally supported its own demands. All the loans were supposed to be temporary, and to end with the collection.'

Happy had it been for posterity had ministers gone on to King William's death in the manner thus described in the former part of his reign; or had Queen Anne's ministers resolutely determined that King William's debt, which was above fourteen millions, should on no pretence be increased, the nation could with great ease have borne so moderate a burden. But the ministers of every succeeding reign going on to accumulate the public burdens, is truly a very sad prospect, and most grievously affects the commerce, manufactures, and navigation, of the nation, and also the landed interest; which melancholy consideration will, we hope, sufficiently justify our present brief animadversion thereon.

On the 4th of May Queen Anne declared war against the French king, not only on account of his seizing on the Spanish monarchy, as before mentioned, but 'for the great affront and indignity' (says the queen) 'offered to us and our kingdoms, in taking upon him to declare the pretended prince of Wales king of our realms.'

The states-general's declaration of war sets forth, in substance, that Louis had long since cast his eyes on their provinces, and had twice attacked their republic (i. e. in the years 1672 and 1688) by most unjust war, in order to make his way to universal monarchy. That so far was he from designing to observe the treaty of Ryswick, that he thereby solely aimed at lulling the allies asleep, and particularly to ruin the commerce of the Dutch; since that treaty was scarcely ratified, before he began manifestly to encroach on their trade, which is the great finew of their state, by openly refusing the tariff promised by that treaty.

This year an attempt was made by the English from Carolina against St. Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida; but though they took

and held the town for a whole month, they were not able to take the castle for want of mortars (which they ought to have duely considered beforehand); they were therefor forced to withdraw on the arrival of two Spanish men of war, and to abandon their ships, ammunition, &c. to the enemy.

The land-proprietors of East and West New-Jersey in English America, who had purchased of the first proprietors, not readily finding purchasers of under-shares thereof, and being likewise at variance amongst themselves, they agreed to surrender into Queen Anne's hands both the charters for those two governments, reserving their particular rights and properties of the lands and settlements therein; whereupon the queen consolidated the two provinces into one, and appointed Lord Cornbury to be the first royal governor. This colony of New-Jersey has since prospered very well, and has been extremely useful in supplying our sugar colonies with provisions, lumber, &c. Its two best towns are Burlington and Elizabeth-town; but that of Perth-Amboy is reckoned to have the best harbour, and to be most commodious in point of situation.

We have seen under the preceding year the indispensable necessity there was for uniting the old and the new English East-India companies, even if it had been for no other reason but for the sake of the public tranquillity. This coalition was made on the 22d of July 1702, by an indenture tripartite between the queen and the two companies, in substance as follows, viz.

	Stock.
The old company, being possessed (in the late subscription)	
of - - - - -	L315,000
And the new company of - - - - -	1,662,000
And the separate traders (now discovered to amount to the	
sum) of - - - - -	23,000
Making in all the subscription for - - - - -	L2,000,000

I) It was now agreed by both companies, that the old company should purchase of the new one at par L673,500 of their stock, whereby their whole stock will be - - - - - L988,500

Leaving the like sum for the new company, viz. - 988,500

And the separate traders, as above, have - - - 23,000

L2,000,000

II) That the whole trade to India should be carried on for the said two united stocks for seven years, for the benefit of all the members of the new or English company; the said old company to have a right and

power, equal to all the rest of the members, in the management of the trade during the said seven years, but to keep their stock in their politic or corporate capacity for the said term, without transferring it to their particular members.

III) The old company's dead stock (viz. forts, factories, buildings, &c.) being valued at £330,000, and that of the new company but at £70,000, the new one shall therefor pay £130,000 to the old one, to make up £200,000 for their moiety of the whole dead stock, being now £400,000, intended to be a new additional stock on the joint bottom.

IV) But the old company, during the said seven years, shall have the use of their dead stock at home, (i. e. their office and warehouses in Leadenhall street, &c.) which shall then go to the united one, comprehending the proprietors of both companies.

V) During the said seven years (from the date hereof) each company shall hold their distinct courts*; shall have distinct courts of directors: may raise money two ways, viz. either for their respective moieties of the united trade, or to transact their own separate affairs, (such as paying their own separate debts, &c.); but debts contracted for the joint trade shall be discharged out of the united company's stock.

VI and VII) Both companies shall forthwith bring home their separate estate, dividing the same amongst their respective members; after which, neither company shall send out any ships, goods, &c. on their separate account, but all shall be on the joint account, by such orders as shall be made by the general courts of both companies, in the name of the English company trading to the East-Indies, by direction of twelve directors out of each company, subordinate to both the general courts.

VIII and IX) Both companies shall bear an equal proportion of the united trade, and the members of each may transfer their nominal stocks in the books of their respective company, but so as the old company shall keep their moiety of stock entire in their corporate capacity for the said seven years.

X) Both companies covenant with her majesty that the joint account shall export annually to India, of the growth, product, or manufacture, of England, at least one tenth part of the whole sum they shall trade for; an account whereof shall be annually delivered to the privy council; hereby releasing both companies from all former covenants, salt-petre excepted: of which merchandize they shall be obliged to deliver to the office of ordnance $494\frac{1}{4}$ tons, at £45 per ton in time of peace, and at £53 in time of war; the retraction thereof settled at 15 per cent.

XII) The queen agrees to take the company's sealed bonds for all

* The new company's office was at Skinners hall on Dowgate hill. A.

‘ the customs on their merchandize, the 15 per cent on muslins only excepted.

‘ XIII, XIV, XV, and XVI) Nothing to be transacted in the joint trade without the concurrence of both companies: and only servants and free merchants, or other corporations, the bank of England excepted, may be licenced to trade for themselves in the company’s ships, &c.

‘ XVII) The queen grants that the general courts of both companies and their sub-managers shall have the sole government of their forts: may coin foreign money in India; and the old company may convey to the new one Bombay and St. Helena.

‘ XVIII, XIX, XX) The old company, at or near the expiration of the said seven years, shall transfer into the new company their moiety of the joint stock to their respective members. And shall also, some time before the expiration, assign to her majesty all the debts due to them; which debts she engages to re-assign, in ten days after, to trustees, for answering the old company’s debts, and afterwards for the benefit of their members. And they also covenant to resign their charter, in two months after the expiration of the said seven years, into the queen’s hands: whereupon the new company shall thenceforward be called *The united company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies*; whose affairs shall thenceforth be conducted by their own sole directors, agreeable to their charter of the 10th of King William. And lastly, the queen promises that this indenture shall be construed in the most favourable sense for the advantage of both companies*.

Thus a prudent stop was put to much contention.

Upon advice received by General Coddington, governor of the Leeward islands, that war was declared by England against France, he attacked the French part of the island of St. Christophers, and reduced it with very little trouble; ever since which time that fine island has been solely possessed by Great Britain.

Possibly the origin of the present great production of the fine rice of South-Carolina might have happened about this time. What the anonymous author of the Importance of the British plantations in America (London 1701) has said thereon is well worth recording, though he has not given us the exact year of its origin. It is a seasonable lesson for men never to despair of many more new productions in our colonies, and is therefor submitted to the honourable society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. ‘ A brigantine’ (says that author) ‘ from the isle of Madagascar happened to put in at Carolina, having a little seed-rice left, which the captain gave to a gentleman

* The remaining articles are merely temporary. A.

‘ of the name of Woodward. From part of this he had a very good
 ‘ crop, but was ignorant for some years how to clean it. It was soon
 ‘ dispersed over the province, and by frequent experiments and obser-
 ‘ vations they found out ways of producing and manufacturing it to so
 ‘ great perfection, that it is thought to exceed any other in value. The
 ‘ writer of this hath seen the said captain in Carolina, where he receiv-
 ‘ ed a handsome gratuity from the gentlemen of that country, in ac-
 ‘ knowlegement of the service he had done the province. It is like-
 ‘ wise reported, that Mr. Dubois, then treasurer of the East-India com-
 ‘ pany, did send to that country a small bag of seed-rice some short
 ‘ time after, from whence it is reasonable enough to suppose might
 ‘ come those two sorts of that commodity; the one called red rice, in
 ‘ contradistinction to the white, from the redness of the inner husk or
 ‘ rind of this sort, although they both clean and become white alike.’

Before this important new production, Carolina was not a little puzzled to supply the mother-country with merchandize sufficient to pay for all the necessaries constantly wanted from England. That fine grain, we shall see, has since been exported in immense quantities, as have also been the pitch, tar, turpentine, &c. of Carolina, in no inconsiderable quantities and value.

1703.—The necessity which all maritime trading nations lie under of being supplied with naval stores, and more especially England’s very great need thereof, as well for the royal navy as for her numerous mercantile shipping, has often put it in the power of the northern crowns to distress such nations as had none of their own. This eminently appeared in the year 1703 from the tar company of Sweden, who absolutely refused to let the English nation have any pitch or tar, although ready money was always paid for it, unless England would permit it all to be brought in Swedish shipping, and at their own price, and likewise only in such quantities as that company should please to permit. This disappointment (as the late ingenious Mr. Gee likewise observes in his *Trade and navigation of Great Britain considered*, p. 82) ‘ put the govern-
 ‘ ment and parliament on the method of allowing bounties for raising
 ‘ pitch, tar, hemp, flax, and ship-timber, in our own North-American
 ‘ colonies; as particularly in Carolina, (the southernmost parts of which
 ‘ lying near the latitude of Lower Egypt, and the northernmost nearly
 ‘ in those of Ancona and Bologna in Italy, in which parts the best hemp
 ‘ and flax grow).’ The first statute of this kind was the act for encouraging the importation of naval stores from her majesty’s plantations in America, judiciously setting forth, ‘ that as, under God, the wealth,
 ‘ safety, and strength, of the kingdom, so much depend on the royal
 ‘ navy and navigation thereof, and that the stores necessary for the same
 ‘ being hitherto brought in chiefly from foreign parts and by foreign
 ‘ shipping, at exorbitant and arbitrary rates, which might be provided

‘ in a more certain and beneficial manner from her majesty’s plantations in America, where the vast tracts of land lying near the sea and on navigable rivers may commodiously afford great quantities of all sorts of naval stores, by due encouragement, which may likewise tend to the farther employment and increase of English shipping and seamen, and also of the trade and vent of the woollen and other manufactures and product in exchange for such naval stores, now purchased of foreign countries for ready money: it was therefor now enacted, that whoever shall (in ships and with sailors qualified as by the acts of navigation) import from the English plantations in America the under-named naval stores, shall be entitled to the following bounties, viz.

‘ For good and merchantable tar and pitch, per ton of 8 barrels,	-	-	-	-	-	L4	0	0
‘ ————— rosin or turpentine, per ton,						3	0	0
‘ ————— hemp, water-rotted, bright and clean, per ton of 20 cwt.	-	-	-	-	-	6	0	0
‘ For all masts, yards, and bowsprits, per ton, of 40 feet each ton,	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	0

‘ 1. Provifo, that for the particular benefit of the royal navy, the pre-emption or refusal of the said naval stores shall be tendered to the commissioners of her majesty’s navy upon landing the same; and if within twenty days the navy board shall not bargain for the same, then the proprietors may dispose of them to their best advantage.

‘ 2. That none within the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusets bay, Rhode-island, and Providence-plantation, the Narraganset-country or King’s-province, and Connecticut in New-England; and in New-York, and New-Jersey, shall presume to cut, fell, or destroy, any pitch-pine trees, or tar trees, not being within any inclosure, under the growth of twelve inches diameter, at three feet from the earth, on forfeiture of L5 for each offence. Nor, 3dly, shall wilfully set fire to any wood or forest, in which are any such trees prepared for making pitch or tar, without first giving notice to the owners thereof, or to a magistrate, under the penalty of L10.’

‘ This to be in force for nine years, from the 1st of January, 1705, old stile.’ [3, 4 *Ann. c. 10.*]

The good consequence of this seasonable law was soon after felt: and the colonies, at this time import into England great quantities of merchantable pitch and tar, fit for most uses in the navy, and which may in time be probably brought to serve for all uses, so as to render us absolutely independent on Sweden for those two most necessary articles. Of late also good hemp and flax are raised in our colonies, where there are immense quantities of excellent lands proper for raising those commodities. Mr.

Gee was of opinion, that Russia exported annually to Britain and other nations hemp and flax to the value of one million sterling. How noble, how rational, a prospect is this, of saving great sums annually paid to foreign nations, who are frequently, too, in a very opposite interest to Great Britain.

Upon this occasion there were computations laid before the government of the following quantities of foreign pitch and tar, annually consumed in Europe, viz.

By Britain and Ireland, annually about	-	-	1000	lasts
By Holland, as well for their home use, as for what they export to Spain, Portugal, and up the Mediterranean,			4000	
By France,	-	-	500	
By Hamburgh, Lubeck, and other German ports,	-	-	500	

In all, 6000 lasts

Of which four fifth parts consisted of tar, and one fifth of pitch *.

By the act 8 *Ann*, c. 13, §. 30, the queen was empowered to apply £10,000, out of the supplies granted in that session of parliament, for the subsistence and employment of a number of skilful people, and for furnishing fit utensils and materials for effectually carrying on the good and profitable designs of raising such naval stores from the growths and products of the said plantations.

By another act, 9 *Ann*, c. 17, a penalty of £100 was inflicted on any person cutting down white, or other, pine trees, (not private property) in those plantations, of twenty-four inches diameter, or upwards, twelve inches from the earth. And the queen's surveyor-general of her woods in America was directed to mark all such trees as are fit for the navy royal with a broad arrow, for the use of the public.'

By another act, 12 *Ann*, c. 9, the above act was renewed, and the like bounties are allowed for naval stores brought from Scotland, though to little or no benefit hitherto; though it be true, as the statute remarks, that there is in several parts of Scotland great store of pine and fir trees, fit for masts, and for making pitch, tar, rosin, and other naval stores. But the act itself assigns the true reason, why they cannot be easily or cheaply brought to England, viz. because the lands and woods which may yield such naval stores are mostly in parts mountainous and remote from navigable rivers. This the York-buildings company experienced to their cost some years after this time, the timber, they felled in some of those woods at a great expense, being left to rot on the ground, the carriage of it to the nearest places of navigation being found imprac-

* Tar and pitch are produced in Norway and in Sweden, whence the greatest quantity is brought; and also in Russia, whence it is shipped at Archangel. A.

ticable*; which will probably ever be the case as to Scotland; notwithstanding the bounties allowed by that act, or any larger bounties to be reasonably granted.

The czar of Russia, Peter the Great, having conquered from Sweden the fine provinces of Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia, now formed a grand project for opening a free communication between Russia and the Baltic sea: his great genius had discovered, that the islands near the mouth of the river Neva, at the head of the Findland gulf, might be so fortified as to prove to Russia of equal benefit for war or for commerce: hence sprung up the fort of Cronstadt, now a commodious haven for his ships of war; by which all ships must pass: he also viewed the adjacent country with satisfaction, and, in short, determined to erect a new metropolis and emporium at the mouth of the Neva, from whence he might awe his enemies of the north, and open a naval communication with the rest of Europe, by a much shorter and safer course than from Archangel. He considered also, that by erecting a royal city and port there, though in the 60th degree of latitude, he should acquire a greater influence, by means of his navy, both in the Baltic, and even in the Northern and German oceans. He therefor brought thither labourers and artificers from all parts of his vast empire; many thousands of whom are said to have perished through cold, hunger, and distempers, in that damp place, which gave him little concern. Yet, in the end, he surmounted all obstacles; and having, by his despotic sway, obliged his nobility, merchants, artizans, &c. to erect and inhabit houses in this new city; and, encouraging many seafaring people and others from Livonia and other parts, to settle in it, he gave it the name of St. Peterburgh; and it very soon became a large and populous city. It was objected by the people of Wologda, a city in 59 degrees of latitude, that, should their handicrafts be removed from that city, where three German merchants alone employed upwards of 25,000 persons in dressing hemp and flax for the Archangel market, their provisions at Petersburgh would come much dearer, and so they should lose their trade; yet the czar overruled even this point.

Mr. De Dieu, the Dutch resident with the czar in the year 1720, acquaints his principals, that Petersburgh might then contain about 300,000 souls; a thing scarcely credible to be effected in these modern times, and much more resembling the power of the antient oriental monarchs than any modern potentate. There he established his admiralty, his mathematical schools, his royal academies, founderies, &c. His docks, powder-mills, paper-mills, &c. are at Cronstadt, where also there is a good town built, and where he established rope-walks, anchor-smiths, &c. At the said new city of St. Peterburgh he likewise esta-

* Could they not saw it into boards? Surely boards can be carried wherever a man can walk; to say nothing of the facility of floating them, even by the smallest streams when swelled by floods. *M*

blished manufactories of woollen, linen, &c. and every useful art for the improvement of the trade and navigation, as well as the general knowledge, of his people, obliging them also to send their children thither for that end. And, in consequence of these vast schemes, and of his possessing the fine port of Revel in Livonia, we have, since the building of Peterburgh, seen the new spectacle of a Russian fleet triumphant in the Baltic sea, obliging the fleets of their opponents there, to shelter themselves under the cannon of their fortresses. By the erection of this new city the port of Archangel in the White sea, to which formerly there usually resorted yearly 100 or more ships, English, Dutch, French, Hamburgers, &c. is considerably declined in its commerce, its former customs having by some been reckoned to amount to £100,000 sterling, annually: Riga also, and Narva, will probably be more and more impaired in their commerce, if Peterburgh continues to flourish, as the latter is so commodiously situated for the transportation of Russian merchandize, by the river Neva, and the great lakes Ladoga and Onega, as well as by land carriage, to and from the interior parts of the Russian empire; from whence, and from Livonia, &c. that city is well supplied with whatever it has need of. The watery situation of Peterburgh, and the overflowings of the Neva, are the principal inconveniencies attending it.

Peter also ordered a canal to be made between the river Woronitz and another small one falling into the great river Volga, whereby a communication was to be opened between the latter and the river Don, the one falling into the Caspian, and the other into the Black sea, under the direction of Captain John Perry, an Englishman, who likewise, by that great prince's order, had partly executed a much greater work, being a grand canal between the Volga and the Don, nearer the mouths of those two huge rivers; but the taking of Asoph from him by the Turks put a stop to that vast design.

The almost unparalleled tempest, which happened in November 1703, more especially round the southern coasts of Great Britain, was undoubtedly a great calamity, by the loss of many fine English ships of war, and a great number of merchant ships with their valuable cargoes, as well as of many lives; and was doubtless some obstruction to the increase of the nation's wealth: nevertheless it appears by D'Avenant's * report to the commissioners of accounts in the year 1712, that the exports of England in this same year, to all parts of the world, amounted to £6,644,103 of which there was exported to Holland alone £2,417,890, being above one third of the whole †.

* D'Avenant was then inspector-general of the customs. *A.*

† Sir Charles Whitworth, from the inspector-generals accounts, states the exports to Holland in 1703 at £2,405,599: and we must remember that the sum of £473,750, the amount of coin and bul-

lion exported, ought not to be included in the exports, to swell the total of a favourable balance by a fallacious statement, whereas it is in fact quite the contrary, the payment of an unfavourable balance. *M.*

In this same year John Methven Esquire concluded, on the part of the queen of Great Britain, a famous, though concise, treaty of commerce with Peter king of Portugal, much to the benefit of both nations, viz.

Article I) 'The king of Portugal, on his part, stipulates, for himself and his successors, to admit forever hereafter into Portugal the woollen cloths, and the rest of the woollen manufactures of the Britons, as was accustomed till they were prohibited by the laws; nevertheless, upon this condition:

II) 'That her royal majesty of Great Britain shall, in her own name and that of her successors, be obliged for ever hereafter to admit the wines of the growth of Portugal into Britain; so that at no time, whether there shall be peace or war between the kingdoms of Britain and France, any thing more shall be demanded for these wines, by the name of custom or duty, or by whatsoever other title, directly or indirectly, whether they shall be imported into Great Britain, in pipes, or hogshheads, or other casks, than what shall be demanded for the like quantity or measure of French wines, deducting or abating one third part of the custom or duty. But if at any time this deduction or abatement of customs, which is to be made as aforesaid, shall in any manner be attempted and prejudiced, it shall be just and lawful for his sacred majesty of Portugal again to prohibit the woollen cloths and the rest of the British woollen manufactures *.' [Dated at Lisbon, 27th December 1703.]

By this treaty, says Mr. King, the editor of the British merchant, in his dedication to Sir Paul Methven, the son of the minister who negotiated it, 'we gain a greater balance from Portugal than from any other country whatever. By it also we have increased our exports thither, from about £300,000 yearly to near £1,500,000.

It was by no means the interest of Britain, during a war with France and Spain, to use the wines of those countries, which, doubtless, could have been imported by neutral ships: and as Portugal's red wines were therefor become in some sort the only kind we could then conveniently and reasonably come at, this treaty was beneficial to both countries, though perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the above author, especially as Portugal has, in return for our taking such vast quantities of their wines, constantly taken off a greater quantity of our manufactures, so as to occasion a considerable yearly balance in our favour. And our palates being long since so well reconciled to Portugal wine, the Portuguese, for our supply, have turned great quantities of their lands into vineyards.

The bullion exported from England to East-India in six years, viz. from 1698 to 1703, both years included, was in silver £3,171,404:17:8,

* These are pretty nearly the very words of this famous treaty, as it is published from a copy in the books of the board of trade, by Mr. Chalmers in his *Collection of treaties*, V. ii, p. 303, ed. 1790. M.

in gold £128,229, total £3,299,633 : 17 : 8; being on an average, per annum £549,938 : 19 : 7 $\frac{1}{3}$ *.

1704.—By a law, made about the beginning of this year, for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, and wills, in any honours, manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within the west riding of the county of York, a memorial of all deeds and conveyances, and of all wills and devises in writing, whereby any honours, manors, &c. in the said west riding, may be in any way affected in law or equity, may, at the election of the party or parties concerned, be registered, as is herein after directed. And that, after such register, every subsequent deed or conveyance of the honours, manors, &c. so registered, or any part thereof, shall be adjudged fraudulent and void, unless a memorial thereof shall also be registered; and the like of wills, &c. The register's office to be kept at Wakefield. This act not to extend to copy-hold estates, nor to leases at rack-rent, nor to any lease not exceeding 21 years.

The very good reasons assigned for this law, in its preamble, were, that this west riding is the principal place in the north for the cloth manufacture: and that most of the traders therein are freeholders, and have frequent occasions to borrow money upon their estates for managing their trade; but, for want of a register, find it difficult to give security to the satisfaction of the lenders, although the security they offer be really good, by means whereof their trade is very much obstructed, and many families ruined. [2, 3 *Ann. c. 4.*]

What pity it is, that such a register could not be rendered practicable all over England, since thereby undoubtedly many frauds might effectually be prevented, and this too, without exposing gentlemen's circumstances farther than the nature of such registers absolutely require.

N. B. By an act [5 *Ann. c. 18*] for enrolment of bargains and sales in the west riding, several additional provisions were made for enrolling all bargains, sales, &c. needless herein to be particularized.

The former part of the year 1704 seemed at first to portend much hazard to the liberties and commerce of the greatest part of Christendom: France was in actual possession of the whole Spanish monarchy; the German empire powerfully invaded on the side of Bavaria by the French, where, as well as in Italy, their superiority gave them great

* Along with the account given by Mr. Anderson, I here lay before the reader the following official accounts.

According to the account made up by the accountant of the East-India company for the house of commons, the bullion carried to India (partly from Cadiz) from 25th December 1698 to 25th December 1703, being five years, was,

In silver, 5,160,225 ounces,	
at 5s per ounce,	£1,290,056 5 0
In gold almost 19,170 ounces at £4 per ounce,	76,680 0 0

Total value at the prices of bullion rated by Davenant

£1,366,736 : 5 : 0.

Agreeable to the account made up by Doctor Davenant, inspector-general of the customs, also for the house of commons, the East-India goods, re-exported from England in the four years from Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1702, amounted to £2,538,933 : 11 : 10 $\frac{1}{2}$. If the re-exportation of the year 1703 was in the same proportion, it was more than double the value of the bullion exported by the company, and strongly supports what is urged by the advocates for the India trade. *M.*

advantages, as did also an insurrection in Hungary. All these appearances were very melancholy considerations in England, and therefor occasioned a great fall in the prices of the parliamentary funds and public stocks. The bank of England therefor found themselves obliged again to issue their sealed bills for a large sum, bearing interest, in order to keep up their credit: and the East-India company were obliged to create a considerable sum in their bonds, to enable them to fit out their ships. Yet, such is the fluctuating state of things in time of war, two very great pieces of good fortune happened to the allies before this year ended, viz. the famous and most complete victory of the confederate army, on the 13th of August, at Blenheim or Hockstadt, over the French and Bavarian army, on which, it may be truly said, the fate and liberty of Europe, as well as more particularly of Germany, in a great measure depended: and the taking of the most important fortress and port of Gibraltar; both which gave a most marvellous turn to public affairs all over Europe, and particularly to England's hopes and public credit. Gibraltar, having been confirmed to Great Britain by the peace of Utrecht, has proved of very signal advantage to us; as it is not only a bridle on most of the christian states we may be at war with, a sure station for our ships of war, a safe retreat in war for our merchant ships, a refreshing place for both, and a curb on the piratical states of the opposite Barbary shores; in every view, therefor, highly meriting all the expense we can bestow for preserving it in our possession. It was also thought so dangerous a thorn in the side of Spain, that the French and Spaniards formally besieged it in October this same year; but it was twice seasonably relieved: and the like happened again in the year 1727, since which its fortifications have been much improved*.

The statute [15 Car. II] for the encouragement of trade, stiled by way of eminence the act of navigation, having enacted, that no merchandize of any part of Europe shall be imported into any part of Asia, Africa, or America, belonging to his majesty, but what shall be carried from England, except as is therein excepted; an act of this year [3, 4 Ann. c. 8] so far repeals the same, as to permit the exportation of Irish linen cloth to the English plantations. Its preamble sets forth, that for as much as the protestant interest in Ireland ought to be supported by giving the utmost encouragement to the linen manufactures of that

* To Mr. Anderson's opinion of the *immense benefit* of Gibraltar, it may not be amiss to contrast that of Dr. Adam Smith, who, speaking of it and Minorca, says, 'I would not, however, be understood to insinuate, that either of those expensive garrisons was ever, even in the smallest degree, necessary for the purpose for which they were originally dismembered from the Spanish monarchy. That dismemberment, perhaps, never served any other real purpose than to alienate from England her natural ally the king of Spain, and to unite the two principal branches of the

'house of Bourbon in a much stricter and more permanent alliance than the ties of blood could ever have united them.' [*Inquiry into the wealth of nations*, V. iii, p. 122, ed. 1793.] Whatever may be the value of Gibraltar in a political view, which I do not pretend to appretiate, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt, that the retention of it must be hurtful to the trading interest of Great Britain (notwithstanding the pretended secret advantages) exactly in the same manner, that a quarrel with a very good customer is hurtful to a shop-keeper, *si liceat magnis componere parva.* M.

kingdom, Irish linen therefor might thenceforward be exported from any port of Ireland directly to any of the English plantations, in English-built shipping, navigated according to law. The linen manufacture of Ireland was then, and in a great measure still is, principally carried on in the province of Ulster and parts adjacent, where the protestants are by far the majority of the people; but in most other parts of that kingdom it is well known to be otherwise.

For the encouragement of trade, a statute was made, [3, 4 *Ann. c. 9*] whereby promissory notes were enacted to be assignable by indorsement; and actions might be maintained thereon, in like sort as was enacted on inland bills of exchange in the year 1698. And whereas in the act of 1698 no provision was made for protesting inland bills of exchange, in case the party on whom such inland bill shall be drawn shall refuse to accept the same, it was now enacted, that if hereafter, upon presenting any such bill, the party on whom it shall be drawn shall refuse to accept the same by underwriting it under his hand, the person to whom the said bill is made payable, or his servant, agent, or assigns, may, and shall, cause the said bill to be protested for non-acceptance, as was by the said law of 1698 to be done, when due, for non-payment, and as is the case of foreign bills of exchange. Yet no such protest shall be necessary for non-payment of such inland bill of exchange, unless drawn for £20 or upwards; and also that the protest for non-acceptance shall be made by such persons as are appointed by the said act of 1698 (i. e. a notary-public, or &c. as already therein recited) to protest inland bills for non-payment. Also, that if any person doth accept (i. e. receive and take) any such bill of exchange for, and in satisfaction of, any former debt, the same shall be accounted and esteemed a full and complete payment of such debt, though the receiver of it doth not take his due course to obtain payment thereof, by endeavouring to get the same accepted and paid, or else by protesting, as aforesaid, either for non-acceptance or non-payment thereof. Lastly, nothing in this act shall discharge any remedy which any person may have against the drawer, acceptor, or indorser, of such bill.

It is somewhat strange, that two such salutary and important regulations as this law has made in promissory notes and inland bills of exchange, were not sooner enacted in a country of such considerable mercantile transactions as England has long been. But to say the truth, what many have remarked of our national slowness in reforming abuses and defects seems but too well grounded.

This law was made perpetual by an act 7 *Ann. c. 25*.

Queen Anne this year granted a charter of incorporation to Thomas duke of Leeds, Pawlet earl of Bolingbroke, Francis lord Guildford, Sir Thomas and Sir Humphry Mackworths, and other gentlemen, ' for working and managing mines and minerals, and smelting, refining, and manufacturing, the same; to be forever a body-politic, by the

‘ name of the governor and company of the mine-adventurers of England ; the duke of Leeds to be governor for life ; and a deputy-governor and twelve directors, to be elected by their general courts, who are also empowered to make bye laws, &c. as customary in other royal charters. Hereupon, in the same year, Sir Humphry Mackworth and William Waller, who had before purchased fundry leases, for terms of years, of certain mines in different parts of Wales, conveyed them to this new corporation, on certain conditions mentioned in that conveyance. The company, principally, if not solely, under Sir Humphry Mackworth’s direction, (who was elected deputy-governor for life) went on in a pompous manner, adding so many new shares as made the whole number amount to 6012 ; purchasing fresh mines, and raising vast quantities of lead, copper, and litharge, from which they made a great deal of red lead ; and from the lead they extracted considerable quantities of silver ; and they issued cash notes, which they caused for some time to be circulated throughout a great part of Wales. They also erected themselves into a money bank, and circulated their sealed bills and cash notes for some time in London, till restrained by a clause in an act of parliament, of the year 1708, in favour of the bank of England. Sir Humphry Mackworth went on imposing on the proprietors, for five years from the date of the charter, by false and sham calculations of their profits ; by purchasing lead and litharge from other people’s mines, and declaring them to be digged from the company’s mines ; buying also the silver extracted from other men’s lead, and getting it to be coined in the king’s mint, as coming from the company’s mines, while, at the same time, he was not able to go on without fresh artifices and calls on the proprietors, nor to pay the vast expense of workmen, &c. whose wages were suffered to run in arrear ; and his schemes being too extensive for the company’s abilities, he was obliged to stop payment of their sealed bills and cash notes, being by such wild management run greatly in debt, while, at the same time, he was erecting charity schools in Wales with the company’s money, to draw in well-meaning people.

1705.—The French burnt and destroyed many of the plantations in the island of St. Christophers, at this time solely possessed by England, as also the neighbouring island of Nevis, yet they were not able to take the forts of either of those islands. The damage done to the planters was afterward made good by debentures granted by parliament.

The English arms proving prosperous both by sea and land against France, the supplies were raised with the greatest ease for the current services of this and several succeeding years ; particularly the annuities of 99 years at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the capital, or principal, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions for the ensuing year’s supply, to be sunk at the expiration of that term. This way of raising money, we are sensible, has since been censured by

many, (though resumed during the last and present expensive wars): yet contemporary writers were not of that opinion, and they also unanimously observe very truly, that the national or public credit of England was never before at so high a pitch, nor more sacredly maintained. Nothing indeed seemed amiss, either with regard to our foreign commerce, or colonies, both which were in a prosperously-increasing state, as well as our home manufactures.

1706.—The parliament enacted, that, after midsummer 1706, any bankrupt who should not, within thirty days after public notice, surrender himself, and discover his effects, should suffer as a felon, unless the lord-chancellor should enlarge the time. Five per cent was allowed to the bankrupt, unless his estate should not produce 8s per pound to his creditors. Bankrupts who have, within one year preceding their bankruptcy, lost L5 at once at any kind of game, or L100 in all, receive no benefit by this act. And those not discovering all their estates were to suffer as felons, without the benefit of clergy. [4 *Ann. c. 17.*]

The most important transaction that ever happened in Great Britain was finally and legally completed at the close of the year 1706, viz. a consolidating union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, 104 years after their crowns had been united in the person of King James I. This great and happy union had been several times before attempted in different reigns, but had been as often obstructed by various objections started, and not seriously and steadily combated. Nothing certainly could be more obvious, than that it was the true interest of two nations solely inhabiting and possessing the same island, perfectly to unite for their common defence against all attacks from the continent; for, by such a close union of hearts, as well as constitution, a people so situated, and so warlike, and so numerous, as to amount to about nine millions of souls, could be always able to defend themselves against any foreign attacks; but, remaining disjointed, they had their different, and often contrary, interests to pursue, not only in matters of trade and commerce, product, and manufactures, but even in friendship and affection, with regard to different nations on the continent. Religion, or rather the mere external mode of it, also contributed its share in keeping up the difference; and what had, perhaps, the greatest influence of all, antient, ill-judged, national prejudices on both sides still remained too strong to be easily conquered. Finally, the great hereditary officers of the smaller kingdom, and the possessors of many other lucrative state offices there, which must necessarily be sunk upon such an incorporating union with England, had no small influence in obstructing it. But an able ministry in both nations, more especially in England, joined to a more moderate way of thinking than formerly, of many wise men in both parliaments, among the commissioners for this solemn treaty, at length got the better of all obstructions. And, as preparatory laws were made in both kingdoms, the parliament of Scotland having first

agreed to the articles, they were finally ratified by a most solemn act of the English parliament, [5 *Ann. c. 8*] intitled, an Act for an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The articles are 25 in number ; but, as it is foreign to our subject, and also superfluous, to recite what is to be found in all our histories at large, it will be sufficient for our particular purpose briefly to note, that by the 4th article it was enacted, that all the subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain should, from and after the union, have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation to and from any port or place within the said united kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging : and that there should be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, which do, or may, belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these articles.

By the 15th article it was stipulated, ‘ that whereas, by the terms of this treaty, the subjects of Scotland, for preserving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to several customs and excises now payable in England, which will be applicable towards payment of the debts of England contracted before the union, it is agreed, that Scotland shall have an equivalent for what the subjects thereof shall be so charged towards payment of the said debts of England ;’ which equivalent is herein stipulated to be £398,085 : 10 sterling, to be granted by the parliament of England, and to be applied, 1st, for indemnifying private persons for any losses they may sustain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the coin of England ; 2dly, for indemnifying the sufferers in the late African and Indian company of Scotland * ; 3dly, for discharging the public debts of Scotland ; 4thly, for improving the manufacture of the coarse wool of Scotland ; and, 5thly, for encouraging and promoting the fisheries, and such other manufactures and improvements in Scotland as may be most conducive to the general good of the united kingdom ; for which ends commissioners were to be appointed, &c. ; for which end also, the laws of England, relating to coin, and weights and measures, as well as concerning the regulation of trade, customs, and excises, were, by the three succeeding articles, to take place in Scotland. This is the substance of all the articles that immediately relate to our subject.

But before we treat of the actual commencement of this union, which was not till the succeeding year, we must, in order of time, remark, that by an act of the English parliament, [5 *Ann. c. 13*] for continuing the duties upon houses, to secure a yearly fund for circulating exchequer bills, whereby a sum not exceeding £1,500,000 was intended to be raised, &c. the bank of England’s fund and privileges, which had

* The Scots were so generally enraged at the destruction of the Darien company, that nothing less than a complete reimbursement of their capital, with interest, could bring them to agree to the union.
A.

been limited to one year's notice after the 1st of August, 1705, were farther prolonged, upon their now undertaking to circulate the exchequer bills at $L4:10$ per cent per annum. By this act, therefor, the bank was empowered to call in money from their members, to enable them to circulate the exchequer bills, in proportion to their respective stocks in that company; whence there arose another temporary addition to their old capital, which had before been reduced to its original sum of $L1,200,000$ by government gradually paying off the principal and interest of $L5,160,459:14:9\frac{1}{4}$, which had been subscribed into the bank in tallies, orders, &c. as has been fully related under the year 1697. The temporary addition to bank stock was $L1,001,171:10$, which, with the $L1,200,000$ original capital, made the whole now amount to $L2,201,171:10$. And by this act the bank was to remain a corporation till the redemption of all the $L1,500,000$ in exchequer bills. This was the first time that the bank of England undertook the circulation of exchequer bills, whereby they rendered themselves favourites of the government; and they have ever since made agreements with the public for that purpose annually, on easy or moderate terms. This year the bank again issued sealed bills for enabling them to perform their contracts, at an interest of $2d$ per cent per day, or about three per cent per annum.

1707.—The most important, wise, and happy, incorporating union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland took place on the 1st day of May, 1707. And though the two rebellions since that period were both originally propagated from Scotland, through the violence of party zeal, and of clanſhip and ſuperiorities; yet a peaceable, loyal, and induſtrious ſpirit having ſince univerſally prevailed, the great benefits accruing to both nations by this union do now daily appear more and more conſpicuous. From that country England has her American plantations very much increaſed in people: from Scotland likewiſe the navy and armies have been ſupplied with many thouſands of ſtout and well-affected men, as has very lately and very effectually been experienced. By an union with Scotland ſhe has the more abſolute uſe of many good ports, of a more extenſive fiſhery, of a ſupply of very good, though ſmall, cattle, and of ſundry other benefits. Scotland, on the other hand, receives ineſtimable advantages by her incorporating union with England, 1ſt, by gradually and very viſibly enriching herſelf from a participation of commerce with England's foreign plantations, factories, &c. 2dly, By her union with England, ſhe gradually learns the melioration of her ſoil, which in many parts is now known to be much more capable of improvement than was formerly imagined. 3dly, By this union, Scotland's coarſe woollen ſtuffs and ſtockings, and her more valuable linen manufactures, now of many various, beautiful, and ingenious kinds, have a prodigious vent, not only in England, but for the American plantations, as well as the conſumption of ſo many of her black

cattle in England, and of her peltry, &c. And great pity it truly may be said to be, that two nations, sprung from the same original stock, speaking the same language, essentially professing the same religion, and whom nature seems to have designed for one, by being separated by the great ocean from the rest of mankind, should not have sooner pursued their true and evident mutual interests, and thereby have much sooner increased in wealth, security, and power. If, upon the death of King Alexander III, and of his grand-daughter filed the maid of Norway, Scotland had voluntarily united itself to England, (about 500 years ago) how much more populous, powerful, and rich, would both parts of the island have been at this time, freed from much of the cruel bloodshed and devastations occasioned by their many wars since that period.

Considering the much fewer people and the greater poverty of Scotland, compared with England, it may not be improper to remark the quantity of gold and silver coin of all sorts, which, in consequence of this union, was brought into the mint at Edinburgh to be recoined into the pieces and denominations of sterling money, and of coin not then brought in. We have it from the accurate Ruddiman, in *p.* 84, of his most curious and learned preface to Anderson's *Thesaurus diplomatum et numismatum Scotiæ*; being no less than L411,117:10:9 sterling, actually then brought to that mint: besides, perhaps, as much more hoarded up by the whimsical, disaffected, and timorous, who were strongly prepossessed against the union, and were far from believing it could last any long time: besides, also, what was then exported, and what was retained by silversmiths for plate, &c. So that our author was of opinion, that there was then in gold and silver coin about L900,000 sterling in Scotland*.

The act of parliament [13, 14 *Car. II*] prohibiting the importation

* It will be doubtless agreeable to the reader to see the amount of the commercial intercourse by water carriage between England and Scotland, when they were separate kingdoms. The following is a statement of it from the commencement of the inspector-general's accounts till the union.

England received from Scotland merchandise to the value of			Scotland received from England merchandise to the value of		
1697	-	L 91,302 16 10	L 73,203	6	0
1698	-	124,835 1 11	58,043	17	9
1699	-	86,309 19 1	66,303	15	8
1700	-	130,087 9 10	85,194	1	3
1701	-	73,988 18 11	56,802	2	2
1702	-	71,428 18 11	58,688	2	2
1703	-	76,448 8 3	57,338	15	5
1704	-	54,379 16 8	87,536	9	8
1705	-	57,902 12 0	50,035	13	2
1706	-	50,309 0 10	60,313	3	7
1707	-	6,733 1 8	17,779	0	1

Of the goods carried by land then, as now, there could be no account. Though no custom-house account is now kept of the amount of the trade between the two British kingdoms, it may be presumed to be now a pound for every shilling it was before the union. Mr. Knox (I know not upon what authority or calculation) has stated the value of goods received by Scotland from England in the year 1775 at L2,000,000. [*View of the British empire, p.* 93.] *M.*

of foreign bone-lace, cut-work, embroidery-fringes, band-strings, buttons, and needle-work, being found to obstruct the vent of English woollen manufactures in the Spanish Netherlands, was now repealed, as far as relates to that country. [5 *Ann. c. 17.*]

By an act [5 *Ann. c. 22*] to explain and amend an act of the last sessions of parliament, for preventing frauds frequently committed by bankrupts, it was enacted, ' that bankrupts who should, after the 25th of April 1707, remove, carry away, or embezzle, any part of their effects, should suffer as felons. A bankrupt should not be discharged, unless his certificate were signed by four fifths in number and value of his creditors. Commissioners of bankrupts might appoint assignees, whom a majority of the creditors might afterwards remove. No commission of bankruptcy should be issued by the application of any creditor, unless his single debt amounted to £100, or of two creditors, so petitioning, to £150, or of three or more creditors to £200. This act was to continue for two years, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament, and no longer.'

By an act [6 *Ann. c. 2*] for better securing the duty on East-India goods, the security thereafter to be given, pursuant to the act of the 9th of King William, that the East-India company should cause all the merchandize in any ship from India to be brought to some port of England, without previously breaking bulk, was directed to be after the rate of £2,500 for every 100 ton of each ship sent to the Indies, (necessary provisions, stores, and merchandize, for the people and garrison of St. Helena, for their own proper consumption only, excepted) and except also, where the breaking of bulk, or landing of goods, should happen by the danger of the seas, enemies, restraints of princes, &c, under penalty of forfeiting such goods or their value, &c.

For the advancement of our woollen manufacture, and for encouraging the dressing and dying of woollen cloths before exportation, a duty of 5s was laid on every white woollen cloth exported. And it was also enacted, that such white cloths, commonly called broad cloth, shipped before the duty be paid, should be forfeited. [6 *Ann. c. 8.*]

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

